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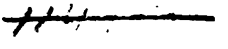
Thomas Blayds



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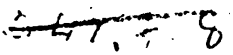

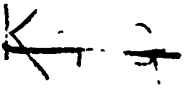

Engraved by J. C. Varrall from a drawing by R. Smirke, in the Collection of Sculpture of England, Wales &c. &c.

Monument of the Lord Chancellor Bacon.

In St. Michael's Church.

St. Albans

Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees & Orme, Paternoster Row, May 1, 1806.

THE

Beauties

of

ENGLAND AND WALES;

OR

DELINEATIONS

TOPOGRAPHICAL, HISTORICAL,

and

DESCRIPTIVE.

Vol. VII.

Saltwood Castle Kent

London. Published by Vernor, Hood & Sharpe, Poultry, Oct 1st 1808.

THE

BEAUTIES

OF

England and Wales;

OR,

ORIGINAL DELINEATIONS,

TOPOGRAPHICAL, HISTORICAL, AND DESCRIPTIVE,

OF

EACH COUNTY.

EMBELLISHED WITH ENGRAVINGS.

BY

EDWARD WEDLAKE BRAYLEY.

VOL. VII.

" 'Tis thine, Britannia, thine the noble aim
To live through long futurity of fame;
To gain the wreaths that grateful Arts bestow,
Pow'rs proudest immortality below!
In Time's decay, ere Albion's Empire dies,
To leave her constellation in the skies;
Eclipse the glories of the World combin'd,"
Exalt thy sons, and dignify mankind!

NEW-YORK.

LONDON:

Printed by Thomas Maiden, Sherbourn-Lane,

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1808.

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TO

THE RIGHT HONORABLE

GEORGE CAPEL CONINGSBY,

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VISCOUNT MALDEN, AND BARON CAPEL OF HADHAM,

LORD LIEUTENANT OF THE COUNTY OF HEREFORD,

HIGH STEWARD OF LEOMINSTER,

AND

VICE PRESIDENT OF THE BENEVOLENT INSTITUTION,

THIS VOLUME

OF

Topographical, Historical, Descriptive, and Literary,

DELINEATIONS IN THE COUNTIES OF

HERTFORD, HUNTINGDON, & KENT,

IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,

IN

GRATEFUL MEMORIAL

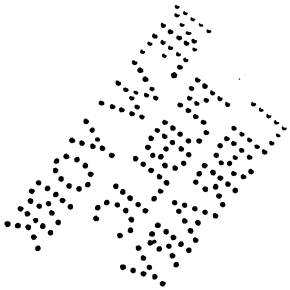
FOR THE

FAVORS CONFERRED BY HIM

ON HIS OBEDIENT SERVANT,

EDWARD WEDLAKE BRAYLEY.

Newman Street, Oxford Street,
August, 1808.



ADVERTISEMENT.

THE completion of the present VOLUME once more gives me an opportunity of speaking in the first person; and I seize it with eagerness, to express the grateful and strong sense which I feel for the many kindnesses I have received from the numerous Gentlemen of whom I have had occasion to make enquiries during its progress: and also to acknowledge my obligations to the many Friends and Correspondents who have favored me with information, either verbally or by letter. The extent of my own researches, though by no means commensurate with my wishes, has been fully equal to what can be accomplished in a Periodical Publication of this kind, and will be readily appreciated by those acquainted with the Counties herein described. Taking the Histories of Chauncy and Salmon for a ground-work in the account of HERTFORDSHIRE, I have been enabled to correct various mistakes of those Authors, to supply many of their omissions, and to add much new matter; particularly as to what regards the present state of places and parishes. In these efforts I have been greatly assisted (and for that assistance I return my most sincere thanks) by my friends, MR. THOMAS FISHER, and THOMAS BLORE, Esq. The former Gentleman, with a liberality which can be duly estimated only by those acquainted with the expence and trouble of making Topographical Memoranda *on the spot*, has not scrupled to lay open his extensive Collections, both in this County and in Kent, for my service; a privilege of which I have made great use, as it saved me the labor of travelling over much ground; the *unquestionable accuracy* of his remarks and drawings, rendering any corroboration from personal review utterly superfluous. With a similar degree of liberality, Mr. Blore, also, who has made many Collections relating to the descent of property in Herts, permitted me to make whatever extracts from his papers I judged sufficiently to accord with the nature of my own Work. For reading the proof sheets of St. Alban's, and for various useful remarks and notices, I am highly indebted to JAMES BROWN, Esq. of that town; who, to the information of the scholar, unites the urbanity of the gentleman. Among the other individuals whose polite attentions I am at liberty to acknowledge, I have the pleasure to include the EARLS *of* CLARENDON *and* ESSEX, (the latter for the loan of a very scarce and valuable book,) LORD. VISCOUNT GRIMSTON, and MISS GRIMSTON, the COUNTESS DOWAGER SPENCER, the RIGHT HONORABLE CHARLES YORKE, GEORGE ANDERSON, Esq. RICHARD GOUGH, Esq. the Rev. MR. NEWCOME, GEORGE HARRIS, Esq. THOMAS BROOKE, Esq. GEORGE FOSTER, Esq. and MR. J. ANDREWS.

For

For the Description of HUNTINGDONSHIRE, independent of my own researches, I have been principally indebted to the Cotton Manuscript, (of which some account will be found in the *List of Books*,) and to the Latin Histories of Ramsey and Ely, published by Gale; these, with the general accounts given in Camden and Gough, and the scattered notices in Noble's Cromwell, constitute nearly the whole of my authorities. Many of the Parishes described, I have myself visited in three different excursions; and I should again have traversed the County, but from the miscarriage of some materials, which lost me much time; from the necessity of completing the Volume during the present month; and from a continued indisposition of several weeks. This explanation will, I hope, be sufficiently satisfactory to those Gentlemen whom I had engaged to call on in Huntingdonshire, as well as to some others who have favoured me with introductory Letters, which I have not been enabled to use; and particularly *J. — Brydges, Esq.* the *Rev. F. Wrangham*, and the *Right Hon. Lord Carysfort*. I stand equally indebted to their friendly intentions, though thus prevented from deriving that advantage from their favours which I had fondly promised to myself. For many personal civilities, and various information in respect to this County, I have to return my acknowledgments to the REV. MR. BAYLEY, the REV. MR. PANCHEN, and —— DESBOROUGH, Esq. of Huntingdon; the REV. MR. SHERARD, Godmanchester; the REV. F. G. PANTING, St. Ives; CAPTAIN WILLIAMS, Norman Cross Barracks; OLINTHUS GREGORY, Esq. Woolwich; the REV. J. ALLANSON, Uppingham; the REV. R. TILLARD, Bluntisham; WILLIAM OWEN, Esq. COLONEL WHITE, J. A. THOMPSON, Esq. and MR. WALMSLEY. The Engravings of *Colney House*, Herts. and the *Interior* of *Rochester Cathedral*, are contributed to this Work; the former by George Anderson, Esq. the latter by Mr. Thomas Fisher.

As I purpose immediately to proceed with the description of MIDDLESEX for the Tenth Volume, I shall be much obliged by the Communication of any materials, either in correction or addition, to what has been published relating to that County. The permission to look over any *Illustrated* Copies of Pennant, Lysons, or Malcolm, will be considered as a favor.

August 29, 1803. E. W. BRAYLEY,

Newman Street, Oxford Street.

THE

BEAUTIES

OF

England and Wales.

HERTFORDSHIRE.

HERTFORDSHIRE, with the adjoining counties of BEDFORD and BUCKINGHAM, was, previous to the Roman Invasion, chiefly possessed by the CASSII, or CATIEUCHLANI: both these appellations are nearly of the same import, and signify men in hostility, or, of battle; but the latter has an addition, denoting, that they lived in coverts, or woods. In the British language, the term Cassii would be written *Casi, Casiaid, Casion,* &c. The other would be *Cati-y-Gwyllon, Catau-y-Gwyllon, Catwylloni Cadwylloniaid, Catwylloni,* and *Catwyllonwys;* implying the Battlers, or Warriors of the Coverts.*

Cassivelaunus, the Sovereign of the Cassii, who was chosen to lead the associated Britons against the Romans under Cæsar, is thought to have had a principal residence, or city, at Verulam; at that period a strong situation, contiguous to the modern St. Albans, and afterwards advanced to the rank of a Municipium. On his defeat, and the consequent fall of his capital, he submitted to the Roman arms; though Cæsar, even according to the evidence of his own Commentaries, was obliged to depart from the Island without securing the full advantages of his recent success. After

* Owen's Cambrian Register. It should be observed, that Mr. Whitaker gives a different explanation of the term *Catieuchlani,* which, according to him, is, "only *Catieu-chlan-i;* the Clan of the Catti, or Cassii." *Hist. of Manchester, Vol. I. p.* 66.

the complete subjugation of the southern parts of Britain, by the more decisive victories of succeeding Emperors, Hertfordshire was included in the district named FLAVIA CÆSARIENSIS; but on the conquest and division of the Island by the Saxons, subsequent to the Roman departure, it became divided between the East Saxon and Mercian kingdoms; though by far the greatest part was included in the latter.*

The principal Roman Stations either in or connected with this county, were DUROCOBRIVIS; VERULAMIUM, or *Verulam;* and SULLONICÆ, or *Brockley Hills;*† but that the Romans had other, though probably less important stations within its limits, is evinced by remains that are yet discoverable, or by antiquities that have formerly been found. The principal ancient roads, which intersected Hertfordshire, were the *Watling Street,* the Icknield Way, and the Irming or Ermin Street. The Watling Street enters the county from Middlesex at Elstree, or Idelstree, near the Station Sullonicæ, and proceeding by Colney *Street,* and Park *Street,* skirts the western side of Verulamium; thence continuing in a north north-westerly direction, and passing through Redburn, and Market *Street,* it runs into Bedfordshire, near *Magiovinium,* or Dunstable. The *Icknield Way* enters the county on the west side from Buckinghamshire, and crossing about one mile northward from

* Salmon imagines, that the East Saxon and Mercian kingdoms were, in the upper part of this county, separated from each other by the Ermin Street; (History of Hertfordshire, p. 4.) and in the lower part, in the parish of Cheshunt, by a bank, "which anciently reached from Middlesex through Theobald's Park, across Goffe's Lane, to Thunderfield-Grove, over Beaumont Green, to Nine Acres Wood," &c. There is a custom in this manor, (Cheshunt,) he continues, "by which the elder brother inherits above the bank, and the youngest below it, in the same fields; which could not have been introduced, but from the different laws of a different government." *Hist. of Hertfordshire, p.* 8.

† Brockley Hills are generally reputed to be in Middlesex; though part of the high ground which compose them, are in the parish of Elstree, in this county. The station itself is in Middlesex; but the buildings connected with it, are thought to have extended a considerable way into Hertfordshire.

from Tring, again intersects a portion of Berks; but afterwards re-enters Herts between the parishes of Hexton and Lilley, and only a short distance to the south of the ancient camp called *Ravensbury*, or *Ravensborough*. Thence continuing in a north-easterly direction, it passes through *Ickleford*, and runs along the high ground towards Baldock, which it passes on the north side; and proceeding to the confines of the county, near Odsey Grange, becomes the boundary line between Herts and Cambridgeshire for several miles; and going through Royston, finally quits the county on the downs about one mile beyond. The *Ermin Street* enters Hertfordshire at Northall Common from Enfield Chace, in Middlesex; thence proceeding by Newgate *Street* and Little Berkhampstead, it runs through Hertford; and crossing the river Lea to *Port*-hill, continues by Wades-Mill, Puckeridge, Braughing, *Hare Street*, or *Here Street*, Bark-*way*, and Barley, into Cambridgeshire.*

The limits of this county are principally artificial, excepting on the south-east, where it is separated from Essex by the rivers Lea and Stort. On the south it is bounded by Middlesex; on the west, and part of the north, by Buckinghamshire, with which it is intermixed in a singular manner; as it is also with Bedfordshire: the latter county bounds the remainder of the west and north sides, excepting for a few miles towards the north-east, where it unites with Cambridgeshire: on the east, along its whole line, it is bounded by Essex. The medium extent of Hertfordshire, in its longest general direction, or to the south-east, is thirty-six miles; its general breadth is about twenty-six miles; and its circumference between 130 and 140 miles. According to Halley, its superficies

* This course of the Ermin Street is inserted on the authority of Dr. Salmon; and is, indeed, strongly corroborated by the names of places on its line; though some other antiquaries, with Stukeley at their head, have assigned it the same direction as the present high road into Huntingdonshire; namely, through Buntingford, Royston, and Caxton. The hundred of Edwin-stree (a corruption from *Ermin Street*) includes the three latter places named by Salmon, viz, Hare Street, Barkway, and Barley; while on the other plan, Buntingford only is found within its limits; Royston being in the hundred of Odsey.

includes 451,000 acres; yet this appears to be an exaggerated measurement, and if the statement was limited to 385,000, it would probably be more accurate. It is divided into eight hundreds, containing seventeen market towns, and about 134 parishes: the number of houses, according to the Population Act of 1801, amounted to 18,172; that of inhabitants to 97,577; of whom 48,063 were males, and 49,514 females. The parliamentary representatives for Hertfordshire are six; of which number two are returned for the shire, two for St. Albans, and two for Hertford.

The general aspect of this county is extremely pleasant; and though its eminences are not sufficiently elevated, nor its vales sufficiently depressed and broken, to afford a decisive character of picturesque or romantic beauty, yet its surface is enough diversified to constitute a very considerable display of fine scenery. The northern part is the most hilly; and a range of high ground stretches out from the neighbourhood of King's Langley towards Berkhampstead and Tring, which in many parts commands a great extent of country. Another elevated ridge commences at St Albans, and proceeds in a northerly direction towards Market Street, at a little distance to the east of the high road; while several other ranges of elevated ground run nearly parallel with the former from the vicinity of Sandridge, Whethampstead, Whitwell, &c. The southern line is also sufficiently high to include some extensive prospects. Most of the country is inclosed; and the inclosures, being principally live hedges, intermixed with flourishing timber, have a verdant and pleasing effect. Independent of the wood thus distributed in hedge-rows, large quantities of very fine timber are grown in the parks and grounds belonging to the numerous seats of the nobility and gentry, that are spread over almost every part of Hertfordshire, and give animation to almost every view. Several fine woods also enter into the composition of the different landscapes, and, in conjunction with the fertilizing streams which meander through the vales, give an interesting variety to the general features of the country.

The landed property in Hertfordshire is greatly divided: "the vicinity of the Capital, the goodness of the air and roads, and the beauty

beauty of the country, have much contributed to this circumstance, by making this county a favorite residence, and by attracting great numbers of wealthy persons to purchase lands for building villas: this has multiplied estates in a manner unknown in the distant counties.* Freehold estates have of late sold at twenty-five and twenty-eight years purchase; and, under particular circumstances, some very large tracks have obtained from thirty to thirty-two years purchase. The largest estate in the county is about the annual value of 7000l. Several others are averaged at from 3000l. to 4000l. annually; more at 2000l. and below that sum, they may be met with of almost every amount. A large portion of the county is held by copyhold tenure, with a fine certain, or at the will of the lord; but which fine seldom exceeds two years rent. Land thus held, sells at about six years purchase under the price of freehold.†

By far the greatest proportion of Hertfordshire is under tillage: as a corn country, it is considered as one of the first in England; and was so reputed, indeed, even in the beginning of the last century. Its progress in improved modes of husbandry, has not, however, kept pace with that of other counties during the same period; though the attention given to agriculture is very general, and of late years, it has become still more a favorite pursuit. The common extent of farms is from 150 to 400 acres; though there are many much smaller: several contain from 400 to 700 acres; and a few from 800 to 1000 acres; the latter being considered as the largest size of any in the county. The largest farms are, in general, the best managed, and most productive; the opinion is common, that the land cannot be kept in that degree of fertility, requisite to support the rental, and other expenses, without bringing large quantities of manure from the Capital; a business but insufficiently executed on small farms. The average of rent per acre is about 15s. subject to tithe, which is compounded for through the whole county, with

* Young's General View of the Agriculture of Herts, p. 18.

† Ibid. p. 19.

with very few, if any, exceptions, at an average of about 3s. 6d. or four shillings. The more productive of the arable lands, let at from 18s. to 25s. per acre; the open lands round Barkway and Royston, at about 10s. on the average; those in the vicinity of Buntingford, which are extremely productive, at twenty or twenty-one shillings. The meadow lands on the borders of the rivers Lea and Stort, obtain from 40s. to three pounds per acre; and those in other parts, let at proportionable sums. Several of the larger farms are under the immediate direction of the noblemen belonging to the estates; and, greatly to the honor of the accomplished Marchioness of Salisbury, a piece of ground, seventeen acres in extent, was inclosed at Hatfield, about ten years ago, for the purpose of making agricultural experiments.*

The prevailing *soils* in this county are loam and clay; the former is met with in almost all its gradations, and is more or less intermingled with flints or sand. The vales, through which the rivers and brooks take their course, are composed of a rich sandy loam, with the exception of a small quantity of peat and marshy moor; the slopes of the hills descending to these vales, exhibit inferior sorts of the same loams; but the flatter surface of the higher grounds, are composed of a wet and strong loam, of a reddish hue, and tending in a greater or less degree to clay, by which term it is frequently, though very improperly, denominated. The loam district extends westward from the river Beane, over the greatest part of the county; and is almost every where under a turnip course, and the crops are generally fed on the land. Good loam, or gravel and chalk, also prevails in the division of the county formed by Ware, Hockerill, and Buntingford; and very fine crops of wheat are grown in the vicinity of the latter place, and of Puckeridge. From Westmill to Walkern, the loam is very strong and adhesive, but still fertile; and in the nighbourhood of Hertford, the loams are of good quality. In the vicinity of Cole Green and Hatfield, they are less productive; but improve about Astwick and Sandridge; round which places some very good sandy loams

* Additional particulars concerning this Experiment ground will be inserted under Hatfield.

loams are found; in some parts intermixed with gravel. Round St. Albans, and extending to Watford and Rickmansworth, the soil is principally composed of deep flinty loam, with a chalk basis: towards Berkhampstead, Hemel-Hempstead, and Beachwood, the loam is of a reddish hue, and full of flints: in some spots it merges into clay. The most productive of the sandy loams are found on the west side of the river Lea, extending in a line of between two and three miles in breadth, through the parishes of Cheshunt, Wormley, Broxbourn, and Hoddesdon, and on to the hills about Amwell. This is of a very pale reddish hue; deep, moist, and friable; yet so adhesive, as sometimes to bind: it lets at 40s. an acre; and in favorable seasons, that quantity of ground produces five quarters of wheat.* The principal clay district is on the north-east, or Essex side; yet even here the upper surface is in general a strong wet loam, improved by hollow drainings, and by ample dressings of manure, from the Capital. The pure clay of the stiff harsh and tenacious kind, resembling the bean-lands of Middlesex and Berkshire, forms but a small part of the soil of this county. It extends, on the south side, in a line from one to three miles in breadth, through the parishes of Barnet, Totteridge, Elstree, Aldenham, and Bushey; and so on to the vicinity of Moor Park. In the parishes of Northall, and North-Mims, and lower part of that of Hatfield, the general description of soil is extremely sterile: Mr. Young supposes it the most unfertile in the south of England.† The characteristics of this soil, observes that gentleman, "are wetness, or spewiness, as the farmers term it, from many springs; most of which are sulphury, and extremely unfavorable to vegetation, abounding more or less with smooth pebbles; which, at various depths, are conglomerated into plumb-pudding stones,‡ in some places so near the surface as to impede the plough, if set an inch or two at a greater depth than the old scratchings

* Young's General View, p. 6. † Ibid.

‡ Some of these lumps of *Breccia*, that are occasionally dug up, are of considerable size, and when cut and polished, present a very curious variegated surface.

scratchings of bad ploughmen. It is stiff, without a matrix for the roots of plants; and sharp and burning even in the immediate vicinity of springs: it has much sticky clay in the composition, but of a most sterile nature." The most judicious method of preparing this kind of soil for cultivation, is by ploughing it into high ridges; and when it is sufficiently drained by that means, to manure it properly. The benefit of manuring is, however, soon lost; and the best appropriation, perhaps, that can be made of this kind of land, is to apply it to the growth of wood. The tract included in this general description, is interspersed with many fields of better quality, particularly when surrounded by any little stream.

The only soil that now remains to be noticed, is that of chalk, which prevails generally on the northern side of the county; and extends from the neighbourhood of Barkway and Royston, through all the contiguous parishes to Baldock, Hitchin, King's Walden, &c. The *basis*, indeed, of the whole county is chalk, either more or less pure; though the depths at which it is found are very different. "The surface chalk consists of two varieties: *chalk* with no other mixture than what ages of cultivation and manuring have added; and what is called *marme*, which is a white marle, from the mixture of a portion of clay; of these soils the latter is the best, though both are good."*

As the principal part of the land in Hertfordshire is under tillage, the produce in wheat, barley, and oats, is very considerable: large quantities of turnips are also grown; and artificial grasses are cultivated to a very great extent. The rotation of crops is varied according to the nature of the soil: but the most general course appears to be turnips, barley, clover, wheat, and oats: in the clays and strong loams, fallows are introduced in succession with barley, clover, and wheat, and occasionally varied by peas, beans, &c. The average quantity of seed-wheat sown per acre, is two bushels and a half: the average produce from the same extent of land, may be estimated at from twenty-three to twenty-five bushels: on the rich loams, in the vicinity of Buntingford, forty bushels are frequently

* Young's General View, p. 11.

frequently produced. The quantity of seed-barley sown per acre, is from three bushels and a half to four bushels; the average produce is thirty-two bushels: the produce of oats is nearly similar; the quantity sown varies from four to five bushels.

Turnips and clover are supposed to have been introduced into this county in the time of Oliver Cromwell, who is said to have allowed 100l. yearly to the farmer who first attended to their culture. The most experienced husbandmen plough in the seed, in preference to harrowing it in, by which method it is less liable to be destroyed by the fly, and the produce in dry seasons is much greater. The entire management, however, is not proportionably judicious; for the turnips are, in general, hoed but once, instead of twice or thrice, as in the Norfolk mode. Swedish turnips, though but of late introduction, have obtained a very general attention, and are deservedly held in great estimation, for their valuable properties in fattening sheep, oxen, hogs, &c. for these, as well as for other qualities, they are very much superior to the common turnip; and sheep and cattle are particularly fond of them. Clover is generally mowed twice; but in some places the second crop is fed on the land; though the former mode is considered as the best: the clover grounds, under judicious management, are sometimes appropriated to lucerne and trefoil. Saintfoin, rye-grass, and tares, are also grown in this county; and the culture of cabbages and potatoes is much attended to.

The system of drill-husbandry has not made any considerable progress in Hertfordshire: the success accompanying its introduction has been various; and in some parts it has been again laid aside; nor does the opinion in favor of its preference to the broadcast mode, appear to be very general. The spirited manner in which manures are employed in this county, tend greatly to increase the products of the soil. Chalk, obtained from pits sunk for the purpose within the district, is very generally in use; and night-soil, and stable-dung, brought from the Capital at considerable expense, has also a very extensive appropriation. In some few places the chalk is burnt into lime; but in all others it is strewed upon the land immediately from the pits. From sixty to one hundred

dred loads are commonly spread over every acre, at eighteen barrows-full to the load. Soot, ashes, and bones, are also used in considerable quantities: of the former, from twenty to forty bushels are used per acre; of the ashes, from fifty to one hundred bushels; and of the bones, from three to five chaldrons on the same extent of ground. Burnt bones are regarded as the most proper for pasture land; but for arable land, they are thought best when boiled only. Oil-cake, peat-ashes, woollen rags, hair, and various other substances, are also employed for manure in different parts of the county: the use of the sheep-fold is very general.

The grass lands of Hertfordshire, compared with those under tillage, are extremely small; though a tract of grass, rendered artificially productive, at a great expense, may be found connected with almost every seat in the county. The meadows on the river Stort, which extend from Hockerill to Hertford, are very productive, as are those in the vicinity of the Lea, and in the neighbourhood of Rickmansworth, &c. The many streams which intersect the land, are extremely favorable to irrigation; though that system is not carried on to any great extent, on account of the claims of the mill-owners, and which claims have, in several instances, occasioned much contention and expense. Wherever the practice of watering or flooding the land, has been pursued with judgment, the consequent advantages have been very considerable.

The principal agricultural implements employed are the great Hertfordshire wheel-plough, worked by three and four horses; the swing-plough, the Hereford plough, the skim-coulter, and the threshing-mill; but the latter is by no means in general use. In some parts, but chiefly on the estates of gentlemen farmers, the plough is drawn by oxen; and these are always worked in harness: they are also occasionally employed in the team. Different opinions are entertained of their utility in comparison with horses; but the best informed agriculturists appear to consider the use of both as essential to the interests of a farm. The oxen are sometimes shod, but the general practice is contrary.

In the south-west corner of the county, and particularly in the parishes of Rickmansworth, Sarret, King's Langley, Abbot's Lang-

ley, Flaunden, Bovington, and partly in Watford and Aldenham, are many *Orchards:* apples and cherries are their principal produce. The apples are most profitable; but the cherries are very beneficial to the poor, in the quantity of employment which they afford in gathering the crop. "In ten years after planting, cherry-trees begin to bear: each tree should have nine square perches of land. A full-grown tree will produce fifty dozen pounds in a favorable year; and from ten to twenty years, six dozen: prices vary from tenpence to three shillings per dozen. The Caroon, and small black, are the favorite sorts; the Kentish will not thrive here. The apples sell at from one shilling and sixpence to eight shillings the basket or bushel; each tree produces from two to twenty-five bushels. The orchards, whether of cherries or apples, should be under grass, and fed with sheep: and for ten years after planting, great care should be taken to keep the trees from the sheep, as their rubbing injures them. The size of the orchards seldom exceeds four or five acres; and their greatest value does not exceed 4l. per acre."*

The woodlands of Hertfordshire are extensive; and, independent of those which lie contiguous to the seats of gentlemen, the whole county is interspersed with small woods and copses. The timber trees are chiefly oak, beech, and elm; the oak and beech are particularly flourishing at Ashridge, Beach-wood, Hatfield, and Cashiobury, &c. The underwood is generally cut once in about ten or twelve years. The copses adjoining Essex, abound in hazel and hornbeam, which are also grown in various other parts, together with ash, birch, poplar, fir, alders, &c. The beech is occasionally burnt into charcoal. Where necessary, the woods have been hollow-drained, and with much success. The quantity of waste lands is but inconsiderable, when compared with that of other counties: the aggregate does not appear to exceed 4500 acres; and of this extent, many acres are appropriated as sheep downs. The common and open fields in the northern part of the county, as well as in the western district, and in one or two other parts,

* Young's General View, p. 143, 144.

parts, are pretty numerous; though more than 20,000 acres have been inclosed under different acts within the last ten years. The fences are generally good, and under such a judicious course of management on the plashing system,* that almost every farm is supplied from its own hedges, with sufficient fuel for its consumption.

As the land in this county is chiefly arable, live stock has become an object of very inferior regard. The sorts of cattle that are kept on farms, are principally of the Welsh, Devon, Suffolk, and Hereford breeds; the Suffolk breed is considered as the best. The sheep are mostly ewes, of the South Down and Wiltshire kinds; the former are esteemed as the most profitable in a general point of view: on some farms, a breed between the Cotswold and Leicester has been introduced. In several parts, the sheep are fed on oil-cake, and with great success, though not to so much advantage as formerly, the price of the cake having been considerably advanced of late years. The horses are of various kinds; the Suffolk breed appears to have the preference: tares and clover constitute a principal part of the feed of these animals, and have so done for a long period. The buildings and offices on the most considerable farms are well arranged, and convenient; but the diversity of plans on which they are built, is very great. The prices for labor have been greatly increased within the last thirty years, though certainly not in proportion to the augmented expenses for living, &c. the average price for day-laborers varies from nine shillings to twelve shillings per week. "The wages of annual (domestic) servants are nearly as follow: of a carter or ploughman, from six guineas to nine guineas; of a thresher or tasker, from six guineas to seven guineas; their task is five bushels per day, and they are paid at the rate of one shilling for every five bushels extra, and one shilling per load for binding wheat-straw for market. Boys receive from two to four guineas, and maid servants about five guineas annually."† The

* See particulars of the management in Young's General View, p. 49—54; where the description is illustrated by seven plates.

† Young's General View, p. 217.

The principal roads in Hertfordshire are very good; being chiefly turnpike, leading directly from the Metropolis: the cross roads partake of a similar character. The chief manufactures of this county are those of cotton and silk: the former is principally carried on in the neighbourhood of St. Alban's and Rickmansworth; the latter, in the vicinity of St. Alban's and Watford. About Berkhampstead, black lace is made: but the principal employment of the laboring females, in most parts of the county, is plaiting of straw, for bonnets, &c. The wages obtained by this employ, are very considerable; even young girls earn from six shillings to twelve and fifteen weekly; and the more expert women, from that sum to a guinea, and even twenty-five shillings, in the same time.

The *Grand Junction Canal* intersects the western side of this county: it enters on the south from Middlesex, and following the course of the River Colne, passes Rickmansworth; then pursuing the line of the Gade, it crosses Cashiobury, and the Grove, Parks, the noble proprietors of those demesnes having very patriotically given permission for that purpose. Proceeding in a northerly direction to Two-Waters, it there inclines to the north-west, and pursuing the line of the Bulbourne, it enters Buckinghamshire about two miles above Tring. Another Canal has been projected to extend from St. Alban's, and unite with the Grand Junction Canal below Cashiobury Park; but the estimate of the expense having exceeded the sums subscribed, the design has been suspended, though an act of parliament was obtained for carrying it into execution.

The principal RIVERS in Hertfordshire, are the Lea, the Rib, the Quin, the Beane, the Gade, the Colne, the Ver, or Meuse, and the Mimeram, or Maran. The *Lea* rises near Luton in Bedfordshire, and entering the county at Hide Mill, proceeds in a south-east direction through Whethampstead, Brocket Park, and Hatfield Park; thence inclining to the north-east, it flows past Hertford and Ware, in which neighbourhood some of its waters are diverted into the channel of the New River; which is continued, for some miles, in nearly a parallel direction. Changing its course

to the south, after its conflux with the Stort, about one mile east from Hoddesdon, it flows through the pleasant meadows of Broxbourn, Wormley, and Cheshunt, and finally quits the county near Waltham Abbey. This river is navigable to Ware and Hertford.

The *Rib* has its rise near Cornybury, above Buntingford, past which it flows; and, proceeding in a south-east direction, is joined below Braughing, by the *Quin*, which rises near Biggin. Thence flowing to the south, it passes Standon and Berwicks, near which, suddenly turning to the west, it runs past Wades Mill, and once more inclining southward, falls into the Lea between Hertford and Ware.

The *Beane* rises near Cromer, in the hundred of Odsey, and taking a southerly course, flows past Watton, and through Wood-Hall Park; thence continuing its direction, it meets with the Lea at Hertford: this river is sometimes called the *Benificiàn*. The *Gade* has its origin on the borders of Buckinghamshire, and flowing to the south, gives name to the villages of Little and Great Gaddesden: thence proceeding by Hemel-Hempstead, it is joined near Two-Waters by the *Bulbourne*, which rises near Penley Hall, to the east of Tring, and flows past Berkhampstead, in a south-easterly direction. The Gade thus enlarged, runs to the east of King's Langley, and flowing through the Grove and Cashiobury Parks, inclines to the south-east, and, near Rickmansworth, falls into the Colne, having previously received the waters of the Chesham River from Buckinghamshire.

The *Colne* is formed by the union of several small streams, one of which rises at Kit's End, in Middlesex: these unite in the vicinity of North Mims, and flowing across Colney Heath, assume a south-westerly course in Tittenhanger Park. Thence giving name to London Colney, Colney Park, and Colney Street, it is increased near the latter by the Ver, or Meuse River, from St. Alban's, and flowing on to Watford, passes that town on the south-east; then assuming a more westerly course, runs by the south of Rickmansworth, about one mile and a half from which it leaves this county, and enters Middlesex. The *Ver*, or *Meuse*, rises near Market Street, on the confines of Bedfordshire, and flowing to the south-

east, passes Redburn, and Redburn Bury: thence proceeding towards St. Alban's, it crosses that town at St. Michael's Bridge, and flows on towards the ruins of Sopwell Nunnery, near which it changes its course to the south, and continues in that direction till it unites with the Colne, which is but a very inconsiderable stream, till thus enlarged by the waters of the Meuse. It should be remarked, that the Colne, in one part of its course, has a short under-ground passage, though not particularly observable but in dry weather: this occurs near its entrance into Colney Park, in which it also again emerges, though the precise spot cannot be ascertained.

The *Mimeram*, or *Maran*, has its source in the vicinity of King's Walden, and flowing to the south-east, is soon enlarged by the *Kime*, after which it runs past Welwyn, and flows on in a meandering course, till it falls into the Lea at Hertford. Many other streams rise in this county, and several of them form the heads of more considerable streams in the adjacent shires: of these the *Thame* has its origin from three springs in the parish of Tring, and which uniting in one current, leave the county near Puttenham, and enter Buckinghamshire. The *Oughton*, the *Hiz*, the *Pirral*, and the *Ivel*, also rise on the north side of this county; the three former flow into the latter, which forms one of the principal rivers of Bedfordshire. Several of the small streams which unite to form the *Rhee*, a chief branch of the Cam, have likewise their origin in this county, in the vicinity of Ashwell. It must also be remembered, that the springs which constitute the source of the *New River*, have their rise in Hertfordshire, in the neighbourhood of Ware; yet, as this useful stream may, with the greatest propriety, be regarded as belonging to Middlesex, the description of it will be reserved for that county.

The few *Medicinal Springs* which rise in Hertfordshire, are chiefly *Chalybeate*: these are confined to the south part; the principal is near the Race-ground, on Barnet Common; others rise on Northaw Common; and another at Cuffley, in Northaw parish. Some incrustating springs have been noticed near Clothall, in the northern part of the county.

VERULAM AND ST. ALBAN'S.

VERULAM, or *Verulamium*, from the ruins of which ST. ALBAN'S derived its origin, was an important British city, the seat of the Princes of the Cassii, and, according to the evidence of the Roman historians, of greater antiquity than even London itself. Camden mentions British coins, which he supposes to have been struck here, from the letters VER on one side, and on the reverse, the word TASCIA* surrounding a running horse. In White's Table of British Coins, (published in 1773,) is an engraving of a gold coin, that has also been referred to this city,† it having on one side the word VERO; the reverse exhibits several rude and, perhaps, inexplicable marks, together with a chariot wheel, and a figure bearing a distant resemblance to a stork, though probably intended for a horse, as appears from comparing it with other coins of the British period.‡

Under the domination of the Romans, Verulam acquired the dignity and privileges of a *Municipium*, and this as early as the time of Aulus Plautius; a circumstance that strikingly intimates its previous consequence. Its advance to the peculiar honors of a free city is, however, ascribed to its attachment to the Roman government, and to the essential aid furnished by its inhabitants to the Roman arms. But the same causes by which its prosperity had

* Camden, on the authority of Dr. Powel, contends, that the word *Tascia* signifies *Tribute Money*, and that the coins on which it appears, were struck by the British Sovereigns, to pay the tribute imposed on them by the Romans: this opinion has been refuted by Mr. Pegge, and other antiquaries. The former explains the term Tascia, as the name of the *Monetarius*, or Mint-master, who, on a coin attributed to Cunobeline, is represented as sitting at his work: this figure, however, Mr. Gough supposes to be a Vulcan, and copied from the Phœnicians.

† Pegge's Treatise on the Coins of Cunobeline.

‡ See Gough's Camden, Vol. I. Plate of British Coins, Nos. 4, 25, 42, 52, 54, and 55: the four latter are copied from Borlase.

Engraved by J. Gray from a Painting by Geo. Arnald

for the Beauties of England & Wales

ST ALBAN'S CATHEDRAL, &c.

Hertfordshire.

In part of the Ancient Watch of Verulam at the foreground.

had been augmented, contributed to its fall; by inflaming the vengeance of the Britons associated under Boadicea, who, after the destruction of Camalodunum and Londinium,* poured forth her indignant wrath upon this devoted settlement. Tacitus insinuates, that the riches of Verulam operated as an additional incentive for the Britons to attack it; and that they passed other military posts without assault, for the sake of the plunder to be acquired here.†

The victory achieved by Suetonius over the undisciplined multitudes of Boadicea, ensured the predominance of the Roman power, and Verulam gradually recovered its former lustre. In succeeding ages, its fame was still more heightened by the martyrdom of ALBANUS, or *Alban*, during the fell persecution of the Christians, which commenced under the authority of Dioclesian, in the year 303. At that period, the enmity of its citizens to the Gospel was so great, that, as a 'disgrace to Albanus's memory, and as a terror to other Christians, they had the story of his murder inscribed upon marble, and inserted in the city walls.'‡ Yet the flames of Paganism proved insufficient to effect the purpose for which they had been ignited; and both Bede and Gildas concur in the fact, that, within a very few years after the cessation of the persecution, a *Church* was founded in honor of the memory of Albanus, and that on the very spot on which he suffered, the precise site of the present Abbey Church of St. Alban's. The sculpture recording the scene of his martyrdom, was removed from the view; and in its place, and over the gates of their walls, the inhabitants erected square stones, inscribed with memorials of the triumph of their newly-adopted religion.

* See Vol. II. p. 4—7.

† Annal XIV. c. 33. *Omissis castellis, præsidiisque militum, quod uberrimum spoliant, et defensoribus intutum; læti prædâ et aliorum segnes petebant.*

‡ *In hujus opprobrium et Christianorum terrorem, ut in antiquo ejus agone habetur, Verolamienses ejus martyrium marmori inscripserunt, mœnibusque inseruerunt.* Camden, from an ancient History of St. Alban's.

The Pelagian heresy having occasioned great dissentions among the Christians, early in the fifth century, Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus, Bishop of Troyes, came into Britain for the avowed purpose of restraining its progress: during their stay in this Island, they assisted at a Synod held at Verulam in the year 429. Germanus was particularly distinguished for the success of his exhortations; and a *Chapel* was afterwards erected to his honor, just without the walls of the city, 'on the spot on which, as from a pulpit, he spoke the Divine word.'* This Chapel, the ruins of which existed till the beginning of the last century, gave name to *St. German's Farm*; and this now comprehends a very considerable part of the site of the ancient Verulam. The grave of St. Alban is recorded to have been opened by Germanus, in order to deposit in it the relics of other Saints, that 'those whom Heaven received, one tomb might contain.'†

In the war of desolation which accompanied the descent of the Saxons, Verulam was an early sufferer; yet, previous to its final subjugation and ruin, it is said to have been recovered by the Britons under Uter Pendragon, who, having been wounded in a great battle, fought in the vicinity, was, after some time, according to Brompton, cured of his wounds by resorting to a salubrious spring, or holy well, at a little distance from the city walls. The Saxons, on recovering possession, are supposed to have destroyed the population, and reduced the buildings to a mass of ruins. For two centuries its name is not even mentioned in history; though various events, of subsequent occurrence, render the opinion probable, that it was not wholly deserted till after the rise of the modern St. Alban's.

The derivation of the name of Verulam has not been decisively ascertained; but its situation on the river Ver had unquestionably some

* *Juxta prostratæ urbis mœnia, Germani sacellum etiamnum nomine, etsi profano usu, superest; quo loci ille, pro suggestu verbum divinum effatus erat; ut antiquæ jam Albani membranulæ testantur.* Camden.

† Ibid.

some share in its etymology. The Saxons called it *Werlamcestre*, and *Watlingceastre*; the latter term is clearly derived from its connection with the Watling Street. The great extent of the area surrounded by the ruined walls, the immense embankments called the Verulam Hills, with the deep ditches accompanying them, and the innumerable Roman coins, antiquities, and other remains of Roman occupation, that have been dug up here, are sufficient, even in the absence of all written record, to testify the former grandeur and magnificence of this city.

When the Romans became possessed of Verulam, it is probable that they enlarged its boundaries; yet they did not confine its exterior form to that so generally adopted in their tactics, the rectangular; but, modifying their own rules to the nature of the ground,* suffered their Municipium to assume the figure of an irregular ellipsis: internally, however, their buildings were extended in right lines; and though the area has been long under tillage, and divided by hedges into fields, the sites of various streets may yet be discovered at particular seasons of the year, by the diverse hues of the vegetation. Some considerable masses of the walls yet remain, and furnish demonstrative proofs of the excellence of the Roman masonry. The walls were about twelve feet thick; they were composed of layers of flints, embedded in a strong cement of lime, small gravel, and coarse sand, and strengthened, at intervals of about three feet, by rows of large Roman tiles,† two or three in a row: these were continued through the whole range of the walls, as is evident from the fragments remaining on the different sides of the station. The extent of the area has been variously estimated; but, from the accurate admeasurements by Dr. Stukeley, its

 length,

* *Prout loci qualitas aut necessitas postulaverit.* Vegetius, Lib. I. c. 23.

† These tiles measure from sixteen to eighteen inches in length, and from eleven to thirteen inches in breadth: they are of a very compact texture; yet so adhesive is the cement which binds them together, that it is almost impossible to remove one of them from the wall in a perfect state.

length, from north to south, appears to be 1730 yards; its greatest breadth, from east to west, is nearly 1000 yards. The highest ground is on the south and west sides; but the whole has a gradual descent towards the east, where the river Ver, which now flows in a regular channel from one to two hundred yards beyond the line of the wall, originally formed a great pool, covering about twenty acres of ground, and including what is now the lower part of the present St. Alban's. This still preserves the memory of its origin, in the name of Fish-pool Street; and this street connects with the high north-west road, which intersects the area of Verulam, from St. Michael's Bridge to that massive fragment of the ancient wall, called Gorham Block.* One of the entrances to the city appears to have been near this spot; another was at the south-east angle, and secured by a double ditch and rampart: a third entrance, very strongly defended, was on the west side. The banks and ditches on the south and west sides, are the most perfect; though in many places they are overgrown by large trees; even in the ruins of the wall itself, some small oaks are now flourishing.

"Were I to relate," says Camden, "what common report affirms of the many Roman coins, statues of gold and silver, vessels, marble pillars, cornices, and wonderful monuments of ancient art, dug up here, I should scarcely be believed." In this sentence, our renowned antiquary most probably alludes to the discoveries made during the time of Ealdred, and Eadmer, the eighth and ninth Abbots of St. Alban's; the former of whom, having conceived the design of rebuilding the Abbey Church, began to search for materials among the ruins of Verulam; and on his death, the latter adopted the plan, and continued the researches. "Ealdred," says Matthew Paris, the early and the best historian of the Abbey, "ransacking the ancient cavities of the old city which was called Werlamcestre, overturned, and filled up all. The rough broken places, and the streets, with the passages running under-ground, and

* So named from its situation where the road turns off to Gorhambury. The same appellation, however, was primarily bestowed on the stump of a huge oak, that stood contiguous, and which has been rooted up within memory.

and covered over with solid arches, (some of which passed under the water of the Werlam river, which was once very large, and flowed about the city,) he pulled down, filled up, or stopped; because they were the lurking holes of thieves, night-walkers, and whores: but the fosses of the city, and certain caverns, to which felons and fugitives repaired as places of shelter, from the thick woods around, he levelled as much as ever he could."* Oaken planks with nails, and pitched over, oars of fir, and anchors half destroyed by rust, were also dug up at the same period.

The most memorable of these discoveries, however, was made in the time of Eadmer, who again employing men to ransack the ruins, they "tore up the foundations of a great place in the midst of the ancient city; and while they were wondering at the remains of such large buildings, they found in the hollow repository of one wall, as in a small press, among some lesser books and rolls, an unknown volume of one book, which was not mutilated by its long continuance there; and of which neither the *letters* nor the *dialect*, from their *antiquity*, were *known to any person who could then be found*: but the inscriptions and titles in it shone resplendent in letters of gold. The boards of oak, the strings of silk, in great measure retained their original strength and beauty. When inquiry had been industriously made very far and wide concerning the notices in this book, at last they found one priest, aged and decrepit, a man of great erudition, Unwon by name, who, knowing the dialect and letters of different languages, read the writing of the before-mentioned book, distinctly and openly. In the same manner he read without hesitation, and he explained without difficulty, notices in other books, that were found in the same room, and within the same press; *for the letters were such as used to be written* when Verulam was inhabited; and *the dialect* was *that of the ancient Britons then used by them*. There were some things" in the other books, "written in Latin, but these were not curious; and in the

* Matt. Paris, 904; as translated by Whitaker, in his 'Ancient Cathedral of Cornwall, (St. German's,) Historically Surveyed,' Vol. II. p. 66.

the *first* book, the *greater* one, of which I have made mention before, he found written THE HISTORY OF SAINT ALBAN, the proto-martyr of the English, *which the Church at this very day recites and reads;* to which that excellent scholar Bede lends his testimony, differing in nothing from it. That book in which the History of St. Alban was contained, was reposited with the greatest regard in the treasury of the Abbey; and exactly as the aforesaid presbyter read the book *written in the ancient dialect of England or Britain,* with which he was well acquainted, Abbot Eadmer caused it to be faithfully and carefully set down by some of the wiser brethren of the convent, and then more fully taught in the public preachings. But when the History was thus made known, (as I have said) to several, by being written in Latin, what is wonderful to tell, the primitive and original work fell away in round pieces, and was soon reduced irrecoverably to dust."*

Though the antiquities that have been recently discovered at Verulam do not afford any thing so remarkable as the above, yet many of them are still curious. In the year 1719, an urn, seventeen inches deep, and six feet four inches in circumference, was found, with various other Roman remains, at a little distance from the walls towards the river. This has been engraved by Mr. Gough; together with a small lachrymatory, that was found with eleven others set round the urn; and also a large long jar, ending in a point, that was dug up at the same time and place, with several smaller vessels, coins, pateræ,† &c. In the year 1767, a very curious small and elegant Roman vase, of black earth, and very perfect, that had been found among the ruins of Verulam, was exhibited before the Society of Antiquaries.‡ The Roman coins that have been dug up here at different periods, have been so extremely

* Whitaker's Ancient Cathedral of Cornwall, Vol. II. p. 67, 68; and Matt. Paris, 994, 995.

† Gough's Camden, Vol. I. vide Plate of Urns, opposite p. cxlix. and Plate XVII. opposite p. 341. See also p. 347.

‡ Ibid.

tremely numerous, that many persons have formed large collections; and they are still occasionally met with in great abundance.

In tracing the progression by which the town of ST. ALBAN'S arose from the ashes of Verulam, it becomes necessary to revert to the martyrdom of *Albanus*, whose sufferings and piety procured him an early admission into the calendar of Saints; and from whom the town itself derives its origin and name. Albanus is recorded to have been an eminent citizen of Verulam; and to have given shelter to a Christian preacher, named Amphibalus,* who had fled from Wales for security against the effects of the dreadful persecution that had then begun to rage under the edicts of Dioclesian. Being discovered in his retreat, the Judge of the city ordered some soldiers to arrest him; but Albanus having received notice of their coming, contrived to send his guest away in privacy, and, disguised in *his* habit, presented himself to the soldiers as the person for whom they were in search. Heedless of the deception, they bound and conveyed him before the Judge, when throwing off his cloak, and avowing his conversion to Christianity, he was severely scourged, to induce him to recant; but this availing not, he was ordered to be beheaded on a neighbouring hill:—that hill† on which the Abbey Church of St. Alban's is now proudly exalted,—and he was executed on the same day.

Thus far the history of our Saint is consistent and credible; but the circumstances recorded to have attended his execution, have too much of the marvellous to ensure general belief. The bridge over the river being too narrow to afford passage to the multitudes that crowded to witness the scene of his death, he is said to have prayed that the stream might part, in order to admit sufficient room for them to cross on dry ground, through the midst of the channel. This

* This name was first assigned to the priest who sought refuge with St, Alban, by Geoffrey of Monmouth: in the more early writers on Ecclesiastical affairs, it does not occur: the remark of some modern authors, that it signifies nothing more than Albanus's *cloak*, is therefore without foundation.

† Called *Holmhurst* by the Saxons.

This was accomplished: and the executioner was so impressed by the sight, that he refused to perform his office, and, for this refusal, was himself destined to die. Another executioner having been procured, the procession moved on; and on the top of the hill, Albanus besought Heaven for some water to quench his thirst, and immediately a fine spring gushed out of the earth at his feet. This second miracle had no effect on the obduracy of the Pagans; and the stroke of death being given, the head of the holy martyr was severed from his body; and, at the same instant, the eyes of him who had executed the bloody office, started from their sockets, and fell with it to the ground!

These, according to the early legends of superstition and ignorance, were not the only events of a miraculous complexion that threw lustre on the sanctity of Albanus. Offa, the great King of the Mercians, whose dominions had been enlarged by crime, whose power had been cemented by blood, was at length struck with remorse, and sought to relieve the horrors of a guilty conscience, and the dread of future punishment, by the customary mode of commuting guilt in his age, the foundation of a monastery. The particular act that most haunted his imagination, was the death of Ethelbert, Sovereign of the East Angles, who had been murdered under a complication of treacherous wiles, at Offa's own palace,* when on a visit of friendship and proffered alliance. To regain his peace of mind, he, therefore, resolved to carry his design into immediate effect; and having, in answer to his prayers, received intimation from Heaven, that his intention was approved, began to reflect as to whom he should chuse as the patron Saint of his new establishment. Here his perplexity was again relieved by miraculous interposition; "for, after some time, being at Bath, in the rest and silence of the night, he seemed to be accosted by an Angel, who admonished him to raise out of the earth, the body of the first British martyr, ALBAN, and to place his remains in a shrine, with more suitable ornaments."† This

* Sutton Walls in Herefordshire; See Beauties, Vol. VI. p. 586, and also same Vol. p. 459.

† Hist. of the Abbey of St. Albans, by the Rev. P. Newcome, p. 25, from Matthew Paris.

This vision, according to Matthew Paris, was communicated to his *Special Counsellors*, Humbert, Archbishop of Lichfield, and Unwona, Bishop of Leicester; and a day was appointed to commence the search for the relics of the martyr, at Verulam; over which city, as the King journeyed, he saw a light shining, resembling a large torch. This appearance was considered as the harbinger of success: for the devastations committed by the Saxons, had occasioned the exact spot of the interment to be forgotten. "When the King, the clergy, and the people," continues the historian, "were assembled, they entered on the search with prayer, fasting, and alms, and struck the earth every where, with intent to hit the spot of burial: but the search had not been continued long, when a light from Heaven was vouchsafed to assist the discovery; and a ray of fire stood over the place, like the star that conducted the Magi to find the Holy Jesus at Bethlehem. The ground was opened; and, in the presence of Offa, the body of Alban was found, deposited, together with some relics in a coffin of wood, just as Germanus had placed them 344 years before."

The united testimonies of venerable Bede, and Matthew Paris, establish the fact of a *Church* having been built on the spot where Albanus suffered, and that within a short period of the time of his martyrdom. This fabric, Bede describes as of "admirable workmanship, and worthy of such a martyr;"* and as even existing in his days, as appears from the words that immediately follow: '*in quo videlicet loco*,' at the tomb of St. Alban, '*usque in hanc diem, curatio infirmorum et frequentium operatio virtutum celebrari non desinit.*' As the death of Bede occurred only fifty-five years previous to Offa's visit to Verulam, (anno 790, or 791,) and, as Matthew Paris records, that the remains of Albanus, when raised from the earth, were conveyed in solemn procession to 'a certain Church, small in its size, that had been formerly constructed by the *new converts to Christianity*, without the walls of Verulam, in honor of the blessed martyr, and on the very spot where he suffered;'

* *Ecclesia est mirandi operis, atque ejus martyrio condigna, extructa.* *Bede i. 7.*

fered;* it would seem that the words of both historians refer to the same building; though Paris, unconscious of the circumstance, infers, that the original Church, built in honor of Albanus, had been destroyed by the Saxons long before.

Into this Church, then, was the raised body of the martyr now translated, and deposited in a shrine enriched with plates of gold and silver: Offa himself is recorded to have placed a circle of gold round the scull of Albanus, inscribed with his name and title. The walls of the Church were also hung with pictures, tapestries, and other ornaments.

The next step taken by the Mercian Sovereign, was to assemble the prelates, nobles, and chief personages of his kingdom, for the purpose of concerting the most effectual means of accomplishing his design. In this assembly it was determined, that he should proceed to Rome, to solicit the approbation of the Roman Pontiff, and to procure the requisite immunities and privileges for his intended foundation. His mission was attended with success; but is the more memorable, perhaps, from its having been the occasion of entailing, for many centuries, upon the English nation, the tax called *Peter-pense*, which Ina had originally granted for the maintenance of a Saxon College at Rome, and which Offa now conferred in perpetuity on the Papal See.

On his return to England, Offa again assembled his nobles and prelates at *Verulam*, (a circumstance which strongly intimates, that this ancient city was not even then wholly destitute of inhabitants,) and with them determined on further measures for the foundation of his Monastery. He resolved that its endowments should be ample, that its means of exercising hospitality might be sufficient for the entertainment of the numerous travellers whom its vicinity to the Watling Street would probably attract during their respective journies either to the Metropolis, or to the north. From houses of the most regular discipline, he assembled a convent of monks

* —*Quandam ecclesiolam, ibidem extra urbem Verolamium a neophytis in honorem beati martyris constructam, &c.* *M. Paris*, p. 984.

monks to the tomb of the martyr; and appointing his relation, Willegod, as the Abbot, he began the establishment of his Monastery. The first stone of the new building was laid with great solemnity, and by his own hand. He recommended, with fervent prayer, the protection of his foundation to the Saviour and to St. Alban; pronounced maledictions on all who should disturb it, and invoked eternal blessings on those who should become its benefactors.

It is a curious fact, though completely in opposition to the general belief, and even contrary to the testimonies of several authors who have written expressly on the subject, that Offa *did not erect* a Church at St. Alban's; neither for the use of his monastery, nor for the greater honor of the Saint, for whose remains he had procured the glories of canonization. For the knowledge of this circumstance, and for the perspicuity of the statement by which it commands assent, we are indebted to the Rev. Mr. Whitaker,* who, on perusing the pages of Matthew Paris with those keen principles of investigation which, springing from the comprehensiveness of his judgment, accompany his progress through all the mazes of laborious research, elicited the long hidden truth.† Offa, says the original historian, "at his own expense, constructed all the buildings, except *an old edifice*, which he found *erected formerly* out of *the ancient edifices of the heathens*."‡ This edifice, though Paris

* See his 'Ancient Cathedral of Cornwall,' Vol. II. p. 164—166.

† It must not be denied, however, that Mr. Whitaker, who has undertaken to prove that the *Church*, constructed by the converted Britons on the site of St. Alban's martyrdom, forms a very considerable part of the Abbey Church *now* standing, has failed in resting his deductions, in support of this opinion, on the same basis of unimpeachable accuracy. This failure is, perhaps, to be attributed to his not having had an opportunity of personally inspecting the building, of the British origin of which he is so strenuous an advocate.

‡ *Ædificia omnia præterquam pristinum, quod invenit de veteribus ædificiis Paganorum pridem factum; sumptibus propriis construxit.* Matt. Paris, 986.

Paris himself seems unconscious of the fact, could be neither more nor less than the very Church which he previously mentions, as "built by the early converts to Christianity," and into which the body of St. Alban had been removed. Still more explicit, however, is the language of Paris: he affirms that Offa, "in his Monastery, which he had begun from the foundations, within four or five years after he began the pious work, had in a style of excellence erected nearly all the *officinal* buildings;"* all the buildings officinal to that which was the principal and denominator of the whole—the Church.†

So much was the mind of Offa occupied by the concerns of his new foundation, that he is recorded to have continued at St. Alban's till the very eve of his death; engaged in the active superintendance and carrying on of the work. When the Monastery was sufficiently completed, he granted it the most ample privileges, and endowed it with numerous manors and mansions, for the perpetual maintenance of one hundred monks of the Benedictine order, and the entertainment of all travellers who should seek relief within its precincts. Among his endowments was his manor and palace of Winslow, in Buckinghamshire. The former, says Matthew Paris, was twenty miles in circumference, "as the writings of the King, now preserved in this Church, can testify;" and for this estate he had procured exemption from the payment of Rome-Scot, or Peter-pence; a privilege that was enjoyed by no other place in his kingdom. Soon afterwards, he retired to his Palace at Offley in this county, where he died; (anno 796;) he was buried in a Chapel on the banks of the Ouse, near Bedford, into which river, tradition reports his sepulchre to have been carried by the torrent in a time of flood, together with the Chapel in which it had been deposited. The death of Willegod, the first Abbot, in about two months after that of his Royal master, is said to have been hastened

* *Fere omnia officinalia ædificia laudabiliter in cœnobio suo, quod a fundamentis inchoaverat, ædificaverat infra quartum quintumve annum postquam pium opus illud inchoaverat.* Matt. Paris, 987.

† Whitaker, Vol. II. p. 165.

hastened by the grief which he felt at having been refused permission to inter the body of Offa in the Monastery of his own foundation.

Vulsig, or Ulsin, the third Abbot, is recorded to have been much addicted to intemperance and hunting; and to have practised, say his annals, the "great enormity" of inviting crowds of noble ladies to his table, by which means he not only injured his own fame, but corrupted the sobriety of his brethren. He also wastefully expended the treasures of his house, altered the form and color of his garments, used "vestments of silk, and walked with a long train." His female relations he gave in marriage to the nobles and great men, enriching them at the expense of the Abbey: but, after his death, the Monks obtained restitution of the greater part of the estates that had been alienated. His successor, Vulnoth, during the first three or four years of his supremacy, strove with exemplary diligence to reform the abuses that had been thus generated. He afterwards fell into all the vices of Vulsig; but altered his conduct, on being struck with the palsy, "and changed his life to such a degree of sanctity, as to reform many by his example, and to end his days in felicity." In the time of this Abbot, and about the year 930, the tomb of St. Alban is said to have been broke open by the Danes, and some of his bones to have been taken away, and carried into Denmark, where they were deposited under a costly shrine, in the hope that they would there become as much venerated and adored, as they had been in England. Ædfrid, the fifth Abbot, was equally distinguished by his festive cheerfulness, and relaxation from monkish discipline, as his predecessors, till near the close of life; when he resigned his pastoral office, and devoting himself to seclusion, retired to a Chapel that had been re-built, by his permission, by Prior Ulpho, in memory of Germanus, and on the spot where the latter had preached to the citizens of Verulam: in this retirement he passed the remainder of his days.

Ulsinus, the sixth Abbot, was the most considerable benefactor to the town of St. Alban that had yet presided; and that "by inviting persons to settle in it, by assisting them with money and

materials for the erection of houses, and even building no fewer than *three Churches* for them." These Churches were erected at the different entrances into the town; and were respectively dedicated to St. Peter, St. Michael, and St. Stephen. He also built a small Chapel, or Oratory, at a short distance from St. Germain's Chapel, and consecrated it to the honor of St. Mary Magdalen. His successor, Ælfric, obtained great repute for his erudition and piety. He was the author of many epistles and sermons: he composed a Saxon Grammar; and he translated a considerable part of the Scriptures.* The great fish-pool, which has been mentioned under Verulam, and which belonged to the Crown, and had been productive of much loss to the Abbey, by the company it attracted during the festivities displayed here by the Saxon Sovereigns, who had a *Palace*, called Kingsbury, on the banks of the pool, near St. Michael's Bridge, was purchased of King Edgar by this Abbot; or rather, perhaps, received in exchange for a cup of excellent workmanship, that had been obtained, for the purpose of holding the consecrated wafer, by Abbot Ædfrid. The embankment which held in the waters, was then cut away, and a small pool only was suffered to remain for the use of the Abbey.

Ealdred, the eighth Abbot, who appears to have been the first that took measures for re-building the Abbey Church, is represented, by Matthew Paris, as searching into the ruins of Verulam, "laying up those materials which he found fit for an edifice, and *reserving them for the fabric of a Church;* as he had *determined*, if he could be furnished with the means, to *tear down the ancient Church*, and to *build it anew*:"† but, "when he had collected a great quantity of materials for *the fabric of the Church*, he was prevented by an over early death, and obliged to leave the work undone."

* Some books of this translation were printed under the direction of Dr. Hickes, at Oxford, in the year 1698.

† *Quos invenit aptus (aptos) ad ædificia seponens, ad fabricam ecclesiæ reservavit; proposuit enim, si facultates suppeterent, diruto veteri ecclesiâ novam construere. M. Paris, p. 994.*

undone."* His immediate successor, Eadmer, "did not disperse nor consume what Ealdred had collected for the *construction of the Church;*" he even searched for more among the ruins of Verulam, and "reserved all that were necessary for the *fabrication of that Church*, which he *proposed to fabricate to the holy martyr Alban;*" yet "did not so far please God and the martyr, as *to erect and finish a house for the martyr himself.*"† After him the intention was never revived by any of the Saxons; and even the search for materials was discontinued by them all: yet the intention was never abandoned, as the materials *in general*, remained entire to the Conquest, and the application of them was then begun."‡

The very curious discovery of the History of St. Alban, in the British language, made at Verulam during the searches carried on under Eadmer, has been noticed above. His workmen are recorded also to have found sundry glass and earthen vessels, originally used as pitchers and cups, together with vessels of glass containing the ashes of the dead: temples half ruined were likewise discovered, with altars and statues of heathen gods, and divers sorts of coins: all these the mistaken piety of the Abbot "caused to be stamped to dust, and destroyed."‖

* *Cum jam multam—ad fabricam ecclesiæ cœacervâsset quantitatem, maturâ nimis morte præventus, imperfecto negocio, viam universæ carnis est ingressus.* M. Paris, p. 994.

† *Adquisita—ad ecclesiam construendam, non dispersit vel consumpsit;* M. Paris, 994: *quæ ecclesiæ fabricandæ fuerunt necessaria, sibi reservaret, quam proposuit sancto martyri fabricare:* Ibid, 995: *non in tantum placuit Deo ac martyri, ut domum ipsius martyris ædificaret et consummaret.* Ibid. 994.

‡ Whitaker's St. Germans, Vol. II, p. 166.

‖ By a most singular mis-construction of the words of Matthew Paris, Sir Henry Chauncey has affirmed, in his History of Hertfordshire, that Eadmer, "out of the ruins of Verulam, built anew the greatest part of his Church, and Monastery, with an intent to have finished the whole, but death disappointed his hopes." See p. 431.

Leofric, son to the Earl of Kent, and afterwards promoted to the See of Canterbury, succeeded Eadmer. This Abbot was renowned for benevolence: during a grievous famine, that raged over England, he expended the treasures that had been reserved for the fabrication of a new Church, in relieving the distresses of the poor; and when this was found insufficient, he sold the slabs of stone, the columns, and the timber, that had been dug up from the ruins of the ancient city, to provide additional supplies for the same purpose, together with all the gold and silver vessels, both belonging to his own table, and to the Church. This generous attention to the wants of his fellow-men, occasioned much dissention, and procured him many enemies among the more superstitious and inconsiderate classes of his monkish brethren; yet his own firmness, and the support he received from the many exalted personages to whom he was related, at length succeeded in composing the differences. On his acceptance of the See of Canterbury, in 993, Ælfric, the second of that name, his younger brother, became Abbot. He had previously been Chancellor to King Ethelred, and had obtained from that Monarch a grant of the manor of Kingsbury, with all its appurtenances: of this grant he procured a confirmation from King Canute, and immediately caused the regal Palace to be levelled with the ground, that it might no more occasion inconvenience to the Abbey, from becoming the residence of a court: one small tower, however, that was situated somewhat nearer to the Monastery, Canute would not suffer to be demolished, that some memorial of royalty might still remain.*

Leofstan,

* During the government of Ælfric, many ravages were committed in different parts of the kingdom by the Danes; and the Abbot becoming apprehensive of their visits, secured the most valuable effects of the Monastery, together with the shrine and relics of St. Alban, in a wooden chest, which, with the privity of only a few of his brethren, he concealed in a secret cavity in the wall of the Church. Then, the more completely to effect their preservation, he openly solicited the Monks of Ely to receive into their Convent the relics of the holy martyr; requesting that, as their house was well secured from danger by waters and marshes, they would preserve the invaluable pledges, till the same should

Leofstan, the twelfth Abbot, who was Confessor to Edward, and Edith, his Queen, procured various rich grants for the Monastery, through his interest with the great; and also presented some ornaments to his Church. Much of his attention was employed in rendering the high roads to the town, safe and commodious for merchants and travellers. The Watling Street, as well as many parts of the Chiltern Hills, being covered with thick woods and groves, had become the haunts of wolves, wild boars, stags, and wild bulls; and also furnished hiding-places for robbers and outlaws, to the great danger and annoyance of all passengers. To remedy these evils, Leofstan granted the manor of Flamstead to a brave Knight, named Thurnoth, and his two fellow-soldiers, named Waldeof and Thurman, on condition that they should guard the said road, and all the western parts of the Chiltern; that they should be answerable for any losses that might happen through their neglect; and that they should strenuously protect the Church of St. Alban,* on the occurrence of any general war within the kingdom.

should be demanded in more peaceable times. On obtaining the permission which he sought, he inclosed the remains of a common Monk in a very rich chest, and dispatched it to Ely, with many of the Church ornaments, and an old shagged garment, which he insinuated was the very cloak that had been worn by Amphibalus, the instructor of Albanus. When the alarm had subsided, Ælfric demanded the relics; but they were considered as of such immense value by the Monks of Ely, that they scrupled not to express their determination to keep them for their own Church. On its being threatened, however, to inform both the King (Edward the Confessor) and the Pope of this impious breach of a religious engagement, a great schism arose among the brethren, but the majority determined that the relics should be kept; yet, to save appearances, they agreed that the chest should be returned, having first contrived to open the bottom of it, and to substitute other remains for those of the supposed St. Alban. The cheat was, however, discovered; the real relics of the martyr were removed from the hidden recess of the wall, and again placed with the shrine in the midst of the Church; while the Monks of Ely, the dupes of their own artifice, incurred all the odium of knavery, without benefiting by its wiles.

The successor of Leofstan, was Fretheric, or Frederic, a man of the Royal blood of the Saxons, and also related to King Canute. He was installed in 1066; but had performed all the business of the Abbacy during the two preceding years. This was the man whose spirit and bravery impeded the march of William the Conqueror near Berkhampstead, by causing the trees that grew on the road-side to be cut down, and laid across the way; and when, at a subsequent meeting, William enquired the reason, he boldly answered, that 'He had done no more than his duty;' and that, 'if all the ecclesiastics in the kingdom had performed theirs' in like manner, it would not have been in the power of the Normans to have advanced so far.' This was not the only occasion on which the Abbot displayed the generous love of independence that animated his soul; for the tyrannical sway of the Conqueror having excited a strong hatred against his government in the breasts of all the English, Fretheric placed himself at the head of a confederacy of the malecontents, whose object was to compel the King to reign according to the ancient laws and customs of the country, or, in his despite, to raise the exiled Edgar Atheling to the throne; who was, indeed, the rightful heir, and was held in so much estimation, that he was called *Engelondes Dereling*. In this dilemma, the wily Sovereign found it necessary to temporize; and, by the advice of Lanfranc, whom he had promoted to the See of Canterbury, he submitted to the terms proposed; and in a grand assembly of the Nobles and Prelates at Berkhampstead, swore, upon all the relics of the Church of St. Alban, that 'he would keep, and inviolably observe all the ancient laws of the realm, which his pious predecessors, and especially the holy Edward, had established.' The oath was administered by Fretheric; but neither the superstition of the age, nor the more genuine feelings of religion and honor, had influence over the cupidity of the King; and no sooner were the effects of his dissimulation sufficiently matured by the gradual dissolution of the confederacy, than his despotism, gathering strength from the storm which had rolled it back upon itself, overwhelmed the liberties of the nation with a deeper flood, and a more extensive ruin. St. Alban's particularly suffered for the

conduct of its Abbot, who was himself obliged to seek refuge from the vengeance of the King, in the Monastery of Ely, where he died of grief and mortification. William seized all the Abbey lands between Barnet and London-Stone, together with the manor of Redburn; and but for the solicitations of Lanfranc, would have effectually ruined the Monastery: his interposition stayed the impending blow; and his influence procured the vacant Abbacy for Paul, a Norman, and his kinsman, or, as some have conjectured, his son.

Paul was the first Abbot who began to apply the immense stores of materials that had been collected from the ruins of Verulam, towards the re-construction of the Abbey Church; which, in the express words of Matthew Paris, he "re-edified," together with all the buildings of the Monastery, except the bake-house and the mill-house.* In this important undertaking, he was assisted by Archbishop Lanfranc, who gave 1000 marks in aid of the expenses. Anselm, Lanfranc's successor, assisted Paul in finishing the Church, *quod imperfectum* erat in ædificiis *ecclesiæ* Sancti Albani juvit—*consummare;* and Paul, who had already passed about twelve years in carrying on the works, completed, in the four remaining years of his life, 'all that he had begun.'† That this was an entire re-construction of the Church, and not a mere reparation, or enlargement of the building, is evinced by the language of Paris; who affirms, that Paul constructed the *whole* Church, with many other edifices, of *brick*-work. Paulus—*totam ecclesiam Sancti Albani, cum multis aliis ædificiis, opere construxit lateritio;* thus applying the term brick-work, as many modern writers still do, to what is manifestly of Roman tile. The reputation which the Abbey obtained under Paul's government, occasioned many new benefactions to be made to it; and his own influence was sufficiently great, to enable him to procure restitution of several estates that had been alienated. Paul himself made many gifts to the Church, and

 adorned

* *Iste (Paulus,) hanc ecclesiam, cæteraque ædificia præter pistorium et pinsinochium, re-ædificavit ex—materie—quam invenit a prædecessoribus suis collectam et reservatam.* M. Paris, 1001.

† *Omnia quæ incæpit laudabiliter consummavit.* M. Paris, 1004.

adorned the space *(concameratio)* behind the high altar with "stately painting." He also made various new ordinances for the government of his Monastery, according to the principles adopted and promoted by Archbishop Lanfranc; and among them established several regulations respecting the diet of the Monks.*

After the death of Paul, in 1093, William Rufus, who was then King, retained the Abbacy in his own hands during four years, and applied its revenues to his own use. At length, Richard de Albany was appointed Abbot, and by him the new Church was consecrated, at the festival of Christmas, 1115: Henry the First, his Queen, Matilda, Geoffrey, Archbishop of Rouen, the Bishops of Durham, Lincoln, Sarum, and London, with many Abbots, and inferior Prelates, together with many Earls, Barons, and Nobles, were present at the ceremony, and were all lodged and entertained during eleven days, at the cost of the Abbey. Richard died in 1119; having previously built a small Chapel, within the Church, in honor of St. Cuthbert, by whose intercession he is fabled to have received 'a wonderful cure of a withered arm.'

Geoffrey de Gorham (so named from the place of his birth, near Caen, in Normandy) was the next Abbot. His attention was principally directed to the internal economy of the Monastery; to the providing of rich vessels, and costly and splendid garments, for the various services of the Church; and to the preparation of a very

* "To the young Monks," says Paris, "who, according to their custom, lived *upon pasties* of *flesh-meat*, he prevented all inordinate eating," by stinting the quantity; "and he heaped up a dish for them all in common, of which the mere appellation remains at present, made of *herrings*, and *sheets of cakes*," or, in other words, of herrings under covers of pasty, "which he, *therefore*, in the sophistical pronunciation of the Normans, denominated Kar-*pie*, for *Karen*-pie: i. e. Haren-pie." Whitaker's St. German's, Vol. II. p. 305, from M. Paris, p. 1003. From this, and various other historical notices, Mr. W. p. 300—305, Ibid. has demonstrated, that the Herring Fishery must have been established much earlier than is generally admitted; even as early as the Saxon times.

very sumptuous Shrine* for the relics of St. Alban. Into this Shrine (anno 1129) the remains of the martyr were removed with great solemnity; the ancient tomb being first opened in the presence of the Bishop of London, several Abbots, and the whole Convent. On this occasion, and to remove the doubts which had been excited by the assertions of a certain College in Denmark, and also by the pretensions of the Monks of Ely, "the bones were numbered, taken out, and shewn singly: the head was lifted up for the inspection of all present, by the hands of the venerable Ralph, Archdeacon of the Church: on the fore-part was a scroll of parchment, pendant from a thread of silk, with this inscription, *Sanctus Albanus;* and the circle of gold inclosed the skull, which was fixed there by the order of Offa, engraved with these words, *Hoc est caput Sancti Albani, protomartyris Angliæ.* In reviewing the bones, the left scapula, or shoulder-bone, was missing: however, the translation was effected; and some years after, saith the historian, came two Monks, with letters credential, from the Church and Monastery of Naumburg, (Nuremburg,) in Germany, saying, that they were possessed of this valuable relic, (the scapula,) and that the same had been brought to them many years ago, by King Canute.† Abbot Geoffrey made several additions to the Abbey buildings,

* The ornamental parts of this Shrine, which was of silver gilt, embellished with plates of gold and precious stones, were wrought by a goldsmith, named Anketill, who had been Mint-master to the King of Denmark, and also employed by him in the fabrication of curious works: he afterwards assumed the Monkish habit in this Abbey.

† Newcome's St. Alban's, Vol. I. p. 58, from Matt. Paris. In the time of Ralph, Geoffrey's successor, the Shrine was stripped of its decorations, in order to provide a sufficient sum for the purchase of the vill of Brentfield. The succeeding Abbots, Robert de Gorham, and Symonds, embellished it anew; and the latter caused it to be somewhat more elevated, that its splendor might have the greater effect. As the workmanship of this Shrine throws some light on the state of the arts in the reign of Henry the Second, we shall here describe it from Matthew Paris, who declares it to have been more splendid and noble than any other

buildings, and also founded a Nunnery at Sopwell, and an Hospital for Lepers near the town, on the London road.

Ralph, the seventeenth Abbot, succeeded Geoffrey in 1146-7; but finding his health decaying, he resigned in favor of the Prior, a nephew of Robert de Gorham, his predecessor, in 1151, and died in July, the same year; having previously erected some chambers of 'very strong work,' for the use of the Abbots.

The election of Robert de Gorham marks an important era in the annals of this Church: he procured for it many distinguished privileges, and was the first Abbot that obtained the honor of wearing the mitre. In the early part of his government, he solicited, and with success, permission from the King (Stephen) to demolish that part of the Palace of Kingsbury, which Canute had ordered to be left standing; and which, through the extortions and vexatious conduct of those to whom its custody had been committed, had continued to subject the Abbey to much inconvenience. But the most memorable of his deeds, was procuring exemption for his Monastery from all ecclesiastical jurisdiction whatever, except what arose from the authority of the Pope himself. This important privilege was obtained through his immediate intercession with Adrian the Fourth, who was born near Abbot's Langley, and was the only Englishman that ever sat in the pontifical chair.

On

other he had ever beheld. In form it resembled an altar-tomb, having a crest, or lofty canopy, over it, supported on pillars; these were of plate gold, shaped like towers, and having apertures, to represent windows: the under part of the canopy was inlaid with crystals. Within the tomb was a coffin, containing the relics of St. Alban, inclosed in another case, the sides of which were embossed with gold and silver figures, in high relief, exhibiting the principal events in the martyr's history. At the head of the Shrine, which was towards the east, was a large representation of the Crucifixion, having the figures of Mary and St. John at the sides, and ornamented with a row of very brilliant jewels: at the foot, or west end of the Shrine, was an image of the Virgin, seated on a Throne, with the infant Jesus in her arms; the work apparently of cast gold, highly embossed, and enriched with precious stones, and very costly bracelets.

On his exaltation to this distinguished rank, Robert was among the foremost to congratulate him on the ascendency of his fortune; and having judiciously accompanied the expression of his joy with many rich presents, he was treated by the Pope with great familiarity and kindness; and at length procured the exemption as above stated. By the same grant also, the Abbots of St. Alban's were authorized to take precedence of all others in England; that "as St. Alban was distinctly known to be the first martyr of the English nation, so the Abbot of his Monasterie should at all times, among other Abbots of the English nation, in degree of dignity, be reputed first and principal."

These privileges occasioned great dissention between the Abbot and the Bishop of Lincoln, who had hitherto exercised episcopal jurisdiction over the Monastery and its appurtenances; and the disputes became so violent, that the King (Henry the Second) found it necessary to interfere: by his mediation, and after the respective claims of the parties had been solemnly argued, during several days, in a great assembly of prelates and nobles, the Bishop of Lincoln consented to resign all pretensions to sovereign rule, on receiving a grant of some estate of the annual value of ten pounds.* The Abbot's claim to precedency was equally disputed; but Robert having obtained a confirmation of Adrian's grant, from Pope Alexander the Third, was at last successful in causing it to be established. Robert died in October, 1166, and was buried at the foot of Abbot Paul, in the Chapter-house, which he had rebuilt, together with some other parts of the monastic buildings.

The contest between the Church and Throne for supreme authority, was now at its zenith; and Henry the Second, who had boldly withstood the vengeance of the Papal thunders, kept the Abbacy vacant for several months; but was then induced, by Gilbert Foliot, Bishop of London, to bestow it on Prior Symond, or Simon, who, in June, 1167, was invested in the proper habiliments, and enthroned. This Abbot was in much repute for the extent

* Tynkurste, (Fingest,) in Buckinghamshire, was made over to the Bishops of Lincoln in pursuance of this agreement.

extent of his learning; and, by keeping several scribes and copyists constantly employed, he added a great number of very fair and reputable books to the library which his predecessor had founded in the Abbey. He died in 1183, and was succeeded by Gaurine, or Warren, a native of Cambridge, who, though of humble birth, had obtained much renown for his piety, learning, and accomplishments. In his time, an attempt was made, by the then Bishop of Lincoln, to re-assume that jurisdiction over the Abbey which his predecessor had consented to relinquish; but this was repelled with much warmth by the King himself, who was then on a visit to the Abbot, accompanied by numerous attendants.*

Warren died in 1195; and was very little lamented by his brethren, to whom he had behaved with much intolerance. He bequeathed to his successor, John of the Cell, one hundred marks, for the purpose of rebuilding the west front of the Abbey Church. This John, having studied at Paris, had returned to England with the reputation of being "a very Priscian in grammar; a perfect Ovid in poetry; and in physic, a Galen." Soon after his election, he began to apply Warren's bequest to its destined use, and commenced his operations, by causing the ancient front to be 'torn down to the ground;'† even the hard and solid part of it, where the materials 'were of tile, and the mortar impenetrable.' He did not, however, confine himself solely to the re-construction of the west end, but began to enlarge the fabric in that direction; and, as the whole tenor of Matthew Paris's relation proves, involved

* The speech of the King is remarkable; its energy for ever silenced the pretensions of the See of Lincoln. "By the eyes of God," exclaimed the incensed Monarch, "I was present at the agreement. What is it, my Lord of Lincoln, that you would attempt? Do you think these things were done in secret? I, myself, and the most chosen men of the realm, were present; and what was then done, is ratified by writings the most incontestible, and confirmed by the testimony of the nobles. The determination stands good; and whoever sets himself to combat this Abbot and Monastery, combats me. What seek you? to touch the pupil of mine eye." *Newcome from Matt. Paris.*

† *Murum frontis ecclesiæ nostræ in terram diruit.* Matt. Paris, 1047.

volved himself, and his Monastery, in much embarrassment, from the magnitude of the plan on which the work had been commenced. It is probable, also, that, during the progress of the building, some considerable alterations were made in the designs first determined on, in order that the new parts might assimilate with the more ornamental style of ecclesiastical architecture, which, about that era, was obtaining predominance.* The hundred marks bequeathed by Warren, were expended in a very short time, together with many more, and that even before the new foundations were raised to the level of the ground. This somewhat disheartened the Abbot: and his perplexity was further increased, when he saw that Hugo de Goldcliff, who was at the head of a band of masons, *(Cementarii,)* whom he had hired to carry on the work, was adding many minute, yet very expensive, carvings and ornaments: this appears to have occasioned some dispute; and the undertaking was for a short time abandoned.

"The Abbot then assigned the work to the care of one of the brethren, named Gilbert de Eversholt, and imposed an annual tax of one sheaf of corn for every acre sown on the Abbey estates. This tax was first levied in the third year of John's government, and was continued during his whole life, which was seventeen more, and for ten years of his successor's; yet the work did not advance in any manner to administer joy to the old Abbot, but was a constant source of grief and sorrow. He offered many presents of gold and silver to any person who would forward the work, and caused this offer to be proclaimed throughout all the lands of the Abbey, and some of the diocese; and having sent one *Amphibalus* to travel about with relics, and pretend, 'that he had been raised from the dead by the merits of Alban and Amphibalus, and was able to give good proof of their miracles,' he collected, by this illusion, great sums of money: but this unfortunate work *absorbed all the supplies*, just as the *sea drinks up all rivers;* and as the sea thereby receives no signs of increase, so this work received no advancement."

* See the description of Winchester Cathedral, and of the Hospital of St. Cross. Beauties, Vol. VI.

advancement."* After the death of Eversholt, the building was once more suspended; but it was again recommenced under the superintendance of William Sisseverne, who is recorded to have received great supplies for carrying on the work; though its progress was still so slow, that it "did not advance two feet in height in any one year."

The embarrassments occasioned by this partial re-construction and enlargement of the Church, were much increased by the extortions of King John; whose minions, even in one year, exacted, on different pretences, no less a sum than eleven hundred marks. Some considerable expense had also been incurred by the rebuilding of the Refectory, and the Dormitory; the more ancient ones having become decayed, and ruinous. Abbot John died in the year 1214, having obtained great reputation for his devotion and sanctity; so much so, indeed, that it was recorded of him, that when he sang alone, the responses were made by angels!

William de Trumpington, the succeeding Abbot, who had obtained his election by the influence of a powerful relation, was installed in November, 1215. In the following month, King John assembled a council of his adherents in the Chapter-House, in order to concert measures for regaining the authority which he had lost by signing the Great Charter. Soon afterwards the Abbot was visited by Lewis, the Dauphin of France, who required him to do homage to him as to his lawful Sovereign; but the Abbot firmly refusing to comply, Lewis swore to destroy the Abbey with the town; but his anger being softened by the intercession of Sayer, Earl of Winchester, he consented to delay the execution of his vengeance, on the payment of eighty marks. The town and Abbey were again in great danger, early in the reign of Henry the Third, when Falcasius de Brent,† with a band of desperate followers, committed many acts of atrocity here, and was only induced to leave the place, by a contribution of one hundred marks.‡

At

* Newcome's Hist. of St. Alban's, Vol. I. p. 98; from Matt. Paris.

† See Beauties, Vol. I. p. 5.

‡ This was an age of extortion: a little previous to this, and but a short time before the death of King John, the Abbot had been summoned

to

At length, the government becoming more settled, Abbot William directed his attention to the Abbey Church; and, besides the completion of the west end, ("finishing the same, with its roof and arches,") he made a general repair of the whole fabric. He altered the forms of many of the windows in the side walls, and repaired the transept, making at each end a great window, "suitable in form, and fashion, and lighting, to the rest about the Church; so that, by the advantage of this new light, the Church seemed, as it were, rebuilt." He also heightened the tower, and most probably raised on it the small spire that is now standing; besides varying the flat surface, on the outside, by a kind of pilaster, extending from the leads, up the middle of each front. St. Cuthbert's Chapel, in the interior of the edifice, was likewise rebuilt by this Abbot, of hewn stone; and over it a small Dormitory was constructed. The finely-wrought Screen, which still bears the name of St. Cuthbert, and still exhibits the place of St. Cuthbert's Altar, must also be attributed to him, as the style of the workmanship demonstrates it to be of his age. The names of the artists recorded to have been concerned in these improvements, are Richard de Thydenhanger, Treasurer of the Abbey; Matthew de Cambridge, Keeper of the Abbey Seal; and Walter de Colchester, Sacrist: the latter was eminent in several branches of art, as appears from Matthew Paris, who testifies his excellence in painting, sculpture, and carving. Abbot William died on St. Matthew's Day, 1235; but was not buried till the calends of March following, in order that his funeral might be honored by a greater assemblage of persons. He was then interred *in pontificalibus*, in the centre of the Chapter-house, with a mitre on his head, gloves and a ring on his hands, his usual staff under his right arm, and sandals on his feet. This seems to have been the customary mode of interment for Abbots at that period.

John of Hertford, the next Abbot, made several considerable additions to the Abbey buildings, and, in particular, erected a magnificent Hall for the entertainment of strangers: several smaller chambers

to attend a general council at Rome, and was obliged by the Pope, to pay 100 marks for permission to return home!

chambers were attached to this apartment, and the whole was furnished with *chimnies*. He also erected a long stone building, as a store-house, and lodging-house for the upper servants of the Abbey: and this edifice is recorded, by Matthew Paris, as being likewise furnished with *chimnies*.* In the time of this Abbot, Henry the Third was frequently entertained here; and he seldom departed without bestowing some new presents for the service of the Church. In May, 1248, by charter dated at Woodstock, he granted liberty of free warren to the Abbot, and his successors, in all their demesne lands throughout England; and empowered them to inflict a penalty of ten pounds on all persons who should hawk or hunt thereon without their license.† In 1250, as Hollinshed records, a great earthquake was felt in this town, and its vicinity. John of Hertford died in April, 1260, having ruled the Monastery with much honor, during a period of twenty-five years: in the preceding year, 1259, the Abbey had lost one of its most valuable members, the celebrated historian, Matthew Paris.

The vacancy was supplied by the election of Roger de Norton, in whose time St. Alban's was put into a fortified state, and every avenue strongly barricadoed, in order to prevent the ravages accompanying the Barons' wars. Some tumults, however, arose in the town, respecting the Abbey-mills, which the towns-people wished to apply to the fulling of cloth, contrary to the will of the Abbot: these differences were adjusted by the interference of the Queen; but they had already proved fatal to Gregory de Stokes, Constable of Hertford Castle, who rashly entering the town with a few attendants, and behaving with much indiscretion, was seized on,

* These, if not the *very first*, are among the earliest historical notices, that occur in our annals, respecting the construction of chimnies in this country. It evinces that chimnies were formed at St. Alban's, even prior to those so particularly described by Leland, as existing at Bolton Castle, in Yorkshire. This Castle was built by Richard le Scrope, between the years 1377 and 1399; but the chimnies in this Abbey have an earlier date, by at least twenty years.

† Chauncey's Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire, p. 441.

on, and beheaded, with all his followers; and their heads being fixed upon poles, were set up at the different entrances of the town. For this outrage, the inhabitants were amerced in the sum of one hundred marks. During the time of this Abbot, the Infirmary was rebuilt; and the Church and Monastery were additionally embellished at much cost: the different chambers were also rendered more convenient, by the construction of chimnies and closets. He died in 1290, and was interred before the High Altar.

John of Berkhamsted, the twenty-fifth and succeeding Abbot, was principally engaged in disputes and compromises with the Crown, respecting the claims and privileges of the Church: on different occasions, he was compelled to pay considerable sums; but was at length successful in obtaining a charter of confirmation from the King, (Edward the First,) of all the former grants that had been made by his royal predecessors. He died in 1301, and was succeeded by John Maryns; concerning the events of whose government, nothing of particular import has been recorded: on his death, in March, 1308, he was buried near the body of the last Abbot, before the High Altar.

Hugo de Eversden, the next Abbot, was involved in many contentions with the townsmen, as to what privileges the latter had a right to exercise independently of his will. In fact, the liberties of the people were begun at this period to be better understood than formerly; and the claims which were every where enforced against the Church, were little more than a resumption of natural rights. They were, however, strongly contested; and many disorders were committed before the one party was sufficiently strong to oblige compliance, or the other sufficiently reasonable to relinquish claims which prescription had favored, and the law allowed. Hugo was twice besieged in his Abbey, and each time during several days, to compel him to sign a charter, granting liberty to the inhabitants to return their own Burgesses to Parliament, to grind their own corn, to regulate the assize of ale and bread by twelve men chosen from among themselves, and to answer all pleas and inquisitions before the itinerant justices, by a jury of townsmen, *(sine conjunctione forinsecorum,)* without the admixture of persons from a different

vicinage. These claims were strenuously resisted by the Abbot; but the inhabitants succeeded in obtaining the King's writ, commanding him to place all the liberties, privileges, and franchises, of the town, on the same establishment as was recorded in Domesday Book. This was the prelude to a more complete concession on the part of the Abbot, who, at length, was prevailed on to sign a deed, by which certain limits, that had been previously agreed on, were constituted the boundaries of the borough; and all the tenements within the said limits were made burgages; and all the inhabitants advanced to the rank of burgesses, with full powers, to their heirs and successors, to return two representatives to every Parliament. The signing of this instrument was strongly opposed by the Archdeacon, and the whole body of the Monks: but on the Abbot representing to them the danger to which they would be exposed, by offending the King, they at length gave their consent, but not before they had entered a solemn protestation against the act. The beautiful, but now shamefully neglected, Chapel of Our Lady, was built during the Abbacy of Hugo, who was assisted in defraying the expense, by very liberal gifts from Reginaldus, an Advocate in the Court of Rome, but of this town; and likewise by large sums from Walter de Langley, and Alicia, his wife. The name of William Boyden is recorded as the principal architect. Hugo died in 1326, very little lamented by his brethren; his concessions in favor of general liberty having alienated their esteem. He left the Abbey considerably in debt; arising in some degree, perhaps, from the charges incurred by the erection of the Chapel of the Virgin.

Richard de Wallingford, the succeeding Abbot, was the son of a blacksmith. Having lost his parents at an early age, he was noticed for his docility by the Prior of Wallingford, who sent him to Oxford, where he very soon attained considerable reputation for his piety and learning. He was then admitted a monk at St. Alban's; and, on the death of Hugo, was chosen to succeed him; but before he could get a confirmation from the Pope, was obliged to swear on the Holy gospels, that he would pay the sum of 840 marks, on a pretended claim of arrears for the expenses of a visitation.

lation.* This Abbot was a very successful defender of the claims of his Church; and, by the policy of his conduct, obtained from the towns-people, a formal surrender of all the privileges they had wrested from Hugo de Eversden, together with all their charters and records of whatever kind. He died in 1335, and was interred near his immediate predecessors. Wallingford was a proficient in most of the liberal sciences, and was also a very excellent mechanic. He constructed an astronomical clock, called *Albion*, of which Leland gives the following interesting description, partly drawn up from an inspection of the clock itself, and partly derived from a tract concerning it which Wallingford had written, and which Leland had seen in the library of Clare Hall, at Cambridge. "Willing," says our author, speaking of the Abbot, "to give a miraculous proof of his genius, of his learning, and of his manual operations, with great labour, greater expense, and very great art, he formed such a fabric of a Clock, that *all Europe*, in my opinion, *cannot show one even second to it;* whether you note *the course of the sun and moon*, or *the fixed stars;* and whether you consider, again, the *increase or decrease of the sea*, or *the lines, with the figures and demonstrations, almost infinitely diversified:* and when he had completed a work *truly worthy of immortality*, he wrote and published in a book, as he was *the very first of all the mathematicians of his time*, a set of canons, lest so fine a piece of mechanism should be lowered in the erroneous opinion of the monks, or should be stopped in its movements from their ignorance in the order of its structure."†

Michael de Mentmore, the succeeding Abbot, made many new regulations for the better government of his Monastery: he also repaired the south part of the transept, the roof of which, with

* Many instances of similar exaction occur in the annals of the Abbots; and, in fact, the possessors of the Papal See appear to have seized with avidity every opportunity that could furnish them with a pretence for extorting money.

† Leland de Scrip. Brit. 404, 405; as translated by Whitaker, Hist. of St. German's, Vol. II. p. 349.

part of the wall, having been rotted by the wet, had fallen during the time of Hugo de Eversden. He died in the year 1349, a victim to the dreadful pestilence that was then tracking its course with destruction over the greatest part of the globe.* The Prior, Sub-Prior, and many of the inmates of the Monastery, died at the same period, and of the same virulent disease.

Thomas De la Mare, the thirtieth Abbot, son of Sir John De la Mare, Knt. and Joanna, daughter of Sir John de Harpsfield, Knt. was related to many illustrious families; and had been admitted into this Abbey when a youth. He commenced his studies at the Cell of Wymondham, in Norfolk, where he cultivated the art of rhetoric with such success, that his skill therein was a principal cause of his future advancement. For some years previous to the death of Mentmore, he had been Prior of the Cell at Tinmouth, in Northumberland; and in that situation had entertained the Scottish Earl Douglas, after the latter had been made prisoner at the battle of Neville's Cross. De la Mare was in high favor with Edward the Third; and at his request, made a general visitation of the Benedictine Monasteries throughout the kingdom, with a view to correct the irregularities, and depravities, into which many of them had fallen. Under a license from the same King, he also surrounded the Abbey with a stone wall, in place of the ancient bank of earth which had inclosed the Abbey precincts, but which, on several occasions, had proved an insufficient barrier.

The insurrection which broke out in the fourth year of Richard the Second, and under those popular leaders, Wat Tyler, and Jack Straw, threatened a complete subversion of all existing establishments, proved a fruitful source of danger to this Abbey; but the prudence of the Abbot, in complying with the demands of the insurgents before they proceeded to extremities, effected its security.

* The date (1342) given by Weever in his epitaph for this Abbot, is erroneous; though it has been explicitly copied both by Chauncy and by Salmon: the epitaph, as corrected, will read thus:

Hic jacet Dominus Michael, quondam Abbas hujus Monasterii Bacchalaureus in Theologia, qui obiit pridie Idus Aprilis, An. M.CCC.XLIX.

rity. Many of those demands, indeed, were in themselves perfectly consonant with every principle of reason and of justice; yet, being intermingled with others of a more questionable nature, and with some, perhaps, undeniably hostile to the very basis of social intercourse, they assumed a form and texture but ill calculated to support the durability to which they laid claim. The contagion had widely spread, and the inhabitants on most of the manors belonging to the Abbey, put in their repective claims to particular or to general exemptions. In the then state of the kingdom, denial was in the highest degree dangerous; yet the boons thus extorted, were of little advantage to the possessors; for the principal malcontents having fallen, either on the scaffold, or in the field, the King issued a proclamation, commanding that all persons, whether bond or free, who owed any suit or service to the Abbot and Convent, should perform the same in the customary manner, under pain of forfeiture "of all that they had to lose," besides being subjected to further punishment. So great, however, had been the disorders in this town, that Richard thought it expedient to attend the trial of the ringleaders in person, and came hither with the Chief Justice, Tresilian, and a guard of 1000 bowmen and soldiers. Fifteen or eighteen of those who were considered as the chief rioters, were executed; and afterwards hung in chains, *in terrorem*. Still further to prevent any future commotion, the King obliged "all the commons of the county," between the ages of fifteen and three score, to attend him in the great court of the Abbey, and there to make oath to behave as faithful subjects, and never, from that time, to rise or disturb the public peace; but rather to die than to follow those who would excite them to rebellion.*

De la Mare is recorded to have expended 4000l. in adorning his Church; but it is probable that the expense of re-building the great gate of the Abbey, which had been blown down by a violent high wind, is included in this sum. He also built a house for the copyists, and new paved the western part of the Church. He

* Hollinshed, Vol. II. p. 438.

died in the year 1396, at the age of eighty-eight; and was buried in the Choir, habited in his best and richest vestments. The spot of his interment is yet pointed out by a large slab, inlaid with fine brasses. In his time, the service of the Church appears to have been in the very zenith of its splendour; the habiliments were of the most costly and gorgeous kind; the cups, and other vessels, were of gold, or silver, curiously wrought; the crosses were set with the most precious stones; the altars well furnished with rich vials and patines; and, in short, every method was employed to render the celebration of divine worship attractive by its brilliancy, and impressive from its magnificence.

John De la Moote, the succeeding Abbot, obtained various new privileges for his Monastery, from the court of Rome. He constructed a new chamber for the Abbot, at an expense of more than 600 marks, re-built part of the cloisters, and increased the monastic buildings by other additions. Various edifices were also constructed under his direction, on many of the granges and manors belonging to the Abbey; and the mansion of the Abbots at Tittenhanger was begun by him, though it was not completely finished till the time of John of Whethamsted. In this house De la Moote was seized with a pleurisy, and being removed to his Abbey, he died there three days afterwards, on St. Martin's Day, 1400.* His successor, William de Heyworth, governed the Monastery

* In the time of John De la Moote, the Abbots of Westminster attempted to assume the uppermost seat in Parliament, contrary to the grant of precedence made by Pope Adrian the Fourth to Robert de Gorham, Abbot of St. Alban's;* and these attempts being frequently repeated, were eventually successful, as appears from the register of these transactions made by John of Whethampstead; this is given by Newcome, in the following words. "In the reign of Richard the Second, who was a great promoter of the Abbot of Westminster, the Parliament then sitting, John Moote, at that time Abbot of St. Alban's, took his proper seat; viz. the first and uppermost. The Abbot of Westminster coming in late, made some essay to sit in that place, but was hindered by Moote;

* See page, 43.

mastery with much prudence till the year 1421, when he resigned his office on being promoted to the See of Lichfield.

John of Whethamsted, who was chosen Abbot on the death of Heyworth, very early directed his attention to the state of the Abbey Church; and, by his influence with the great, procured some large sums towards putting it into repair, and furnishing it with additional ornaments. The nave of the Church was new ceiled and painted; the choir was repaired, and a neat Chapel erected in it for the Abbot's burial-place: the Chapel of the Virgin was also fresh painted, and further embellished: the cloisters were new glazed, with painted or stained glass, representing a series of subjects from Scripture History: the Bake-house, which Abbot Paul had left standing, was re-built, together with the Infirmary: a new Library was constructed; and various other improvements were made in the monastic edifices. The beautiful monument, in memory of Humphrey, Duke of Glocester, was also constructed dur-

 ing

Moote; and this attempt was repeated many times after, and as often repulsed by Moote, and Westminster took another seat. But one day, Moote being absent, and his place supplied by his Prior, Westminster came, and a great dispute arose; the Abbot claiming, the Prior defending. Henry, Earl of Northumberland, perhaps, on reference to him, said, that 'the late Abbot, Thomas De la Mare, of St. Alban's, who died in 1396, having been absent for ten years by reason of infirmity, had lost all right, and that others had sat above him *ad libitum*.' The Prior appealed to the Lords who had seen these things ten years before; and these were, the Duke of Buckingham, the Lord Scrope, and William de Wykeham. These noble Lords, unwilling to offend the King, by determining against the Abbot of Westminster, referred it to his Majesty, with a request that he would save harmless all the rights, privileges, and immunities, of his ancient and royal Monastery of St. Alban. The King decreed, that the two Abbots should take the seat, alternately, day by day: but the Abbot of St. Alban, being often absent, by reason of distance, and Westminster being near at hand, he took the advantage, and seated himself at pleasure; and William Heyworth, who succeeded Moote, contenting himself with a consciousness of having most learning, never asserted his ancient right, nor moved the question more." *Hist. of St. Alban, p.* 311, 312.

ing the time of Whethamsted; and it is extremely probable, that the elegant Screen also, which separates the chancel from the presbytery, was designed and begun under his direction, as his arms are carved on it over the doorways.

The limitations, enacted by the Statute of Mortmain, had prevented this Church, in common with all others, from benefiting so much by the gifts of the devout, the ostentatious, or the repentant, as it had done previously to the passing of that statute. The desire of ecclesiastics to increase their possessions was, however, still ardent; and various subterfuges were practised, to prevent the penalties of the law from being enforced on the estates that yet continued to be given. Whethamsted appears to have been engaged in some transactions of this description; and though, by a subtle policy, he had procured grants from the Crown of all the property thus acquired, he found it expedient to solicit the Royal pardon: this was granted, and confirmed by the Parliament, and by a most singular kind of phraseology, it includes a complete indemnity for many of the worst crimes that disgrace human nature; crimes too, which there is every reason to believe the Abbot never had in contemplation.* Shortly afterwards, (anno 1440,) the approaching troubles of the state, and the reverse of fortune, which seemed impending over his best friend, Humphrey, Duke of Glocester,

* This pardon was obtained in the twentieth year of Henry the Sixth: its tenor is as follows. "We have pardoned unto the said John, Abbot of St. Alban's, the suit of our peace, which belongs unto us, against him, for all treasons, murders, rapes, rebellions, insurrections, felonies, conspiracies, and other transgressions, extortions, misprisions, ignorances, contempts, concealments, and deceptions, by him in anywise perpetrated before the 22cd. of September, in the twentieth year of our reign, and also any outlawry that shall have been published against him on these occasions. Provided, nevertheless, the said Abbot appear not to be conversant in the mystery of coining, nor be a multiplier of coinage, nor a clipper of our money, nor a common approver, nor a notorious thief, nor a felon, who had abjured the realm: but so that he stand *rectus in curiâ nostrâ*, if any one should question him in the premisses." *Newcome's St. Alban's, p.* 335.

cester, induced Whethamsted to resign, and this he did, though contrary to the persuasions of all his monastic brethren.

The next Abbot was John Stoke, of whom little is recorded, but that he held the privileges of the Abbey with a feeble hand, and suffered its possessions to be wasted by the inferior inmates. In his time, the Duke of Glocester died, not without strong suspicions of violence, and was interred in the Abbey Church, in the vault where a few of his bones may yet be seen by the curious visitant. On the death of Stoke, in 1451, Whethamsted was again made Abbot, and continued to govern the Monastery with exemplary discretion till the year 1462, when he also experienced the common fate of all mankind. The period of his second rule was that eventful era, which of every other, perhaps, that occurred during the disastrous struggle between the houses of York and Lancaster, was most deeply shaded with human blood. Two battles were fought in this town by the rival partizans, and both of them were extremely sanguinary.

The first battle of St. Alban's was fought on the twenty-third of May, 1455:* the King himself, the meek-spirited Henry the Sixth, being present. This ill-fated Prince, who, from the recesses of his heart, could exclaim, 'that he had fallen upon evil days,' had set out from the Metropolis with about 2000 men, apparently with the design of impeding the progress of the Duke of York, who was marching from the north, accompanied by the Earls of Warwick and Salisbury, and a body of about 3000 hardy soldiers. The Duke, who had not yet advanced his claim to the Throne, encamped on the east side of the town, in Key-field; while the King occupied the town itself, and fixed his standard at a spot called Goselow, in St. Peter's Street. The avowed purpose of the Yorkists, was to seize, and bring to trial, Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, who had been impeached of treason by the House of Commons, and committed to the Tower, but was afterwards

* Chauncy has erroneously assigned the date 1445, for the year in which this battle was fought; see Hist. of Herts, p. 446: he has also made various errors in the times of the accession, &c. of the Abbots.

afterwards released in despite of the impeachment, by the influence of the Queen, Margaret of Anjou.

When the King, as appears from Hollinshed, heard of the Duke's approach, he sent the Duke of Buckingham, with some other noblemen, to inquire the reason of his coming in that hostile manner. The Duke answered that, 'he and his army were the King's faithful liege subjects, and intended no harm to his Majesty; but only desired that he would deliver up the Duke of Somerset, who had lost Normandy, taken no care to preserve Gascoigne, and had brought the realm into its present miserable condition: they would then return to their countries, without trouble or breach of peace; otherwise they would rather die in the field, than suffer a continuance of this grievance.'

As the Duke of Somerset was then with the King, and was himself at the head of the Royal councils, this demand was not acceded to; and both parties prepared to try their strength in battle. The barriers of the town were well defended by the Royalists; and the assault made on the side next St. Peter's Street, by the Duke of York, proved unsuccessful; till the Earl of Warwick, with a chosen band, forced an entrance on the garden side, in Holywell Street; and, by the terror of his name, his soldiers shouting, 'A Warwick! a Warwick!' and the vigor of his onset, obliged his opponents to give way. Thus aided, the Duke was enabled to overpower the force opposed to him at the barriers; and, after a short, but sanguinary, conflict in the streets of the town, the Royal army was defeated. The King himself, being entirely deserted, and wounded in the neck with an arrow, took refuge in a small house, or cottage, where he was afterwards discovered by the Duke of York, and by him conducted to the Abbey. The slain on the King's part amounted to about 800: among them were the Duke of Somerset, the Earls of Stafford and Northumberland, John Lord Clifford, Sir Robert Vere, Sir Bertin Entwysel, Sir William Chamberlain, Sir Richard Fortescue, and Sir Ralph Ferrers, Knts. besides many esquires and gentlemen. About 600 of the Yorkists were killed: not any person of distinction, however, is recorded to have fallen on this side. The bodies of

the slain were mostly interred at St. Peter's; but those of the principal nobles were, at the intercession of Whethampstead, received into the Abbey Church; and, after their obsequies had been solemnly performed, they were interred in the Chapel of the Virgin. That the King had not at first sought refuge in the Abbey, was considered as a fortunate occurrence, as in that case it was supposed it would have been plundered, as the town was, by the victorious party.

The second battle of St. Alban's was fought on Shrove Tuesday, the seventeenth of February, 1461. The Duke of York had been recently defeated and slain at Wakefield, in Yorkshire; but his claims to empire, which the Parliament had admitted, devolving on his son Edward, Earl of March, were now asserted with additional vehemence. The administration of government was still carried on in the name of Henry the Sixth; but as he was a mere instrument in the hands of the Yorkists, his high spirited Queen employed every means in her power to regain her lost authority, and to rescue her weak partner from bondage. Her success at the battle of Wakefield had inspired her with firm hopes of an eventual triumph; and she advanced towards the Metropolis, where the Earl of Warwick governed in the absence of the Earl of March, who was then recruiting his army in Wales. Warwick, having received intelligence of her advance, quitted London with a strong force, carrying the King with him. On arriving at St. Alban's, he found that the Queen's army had taken post on Bernard Heath, on the north-east side of the town; and his forces were quickly attacked by a strong party, which advancing to the market-place, was there repulsed, and driven back on the main body. The fight then became more general, and the Yorkists for some time maintained their advantage; but the van not being properly supported, either from want of skill, or treachery, on the part of an inferior officer, was at length obliged to give way; and the panic spreading through all the ranks, Margaret obtained a complete victory. Between two and three thousand of Warwick's army were slain; one of whom, Sir John Grey, of Groby, first husband to Elizabeth Widville, had been knighted

knighted by the King, at Colney, the preceding day. Warwick fled to the Earl of March: the other noblemen, that fought on his side, dispersed in different directions, except the Lord Bonville, and Sir Thomas Kyriell, who remained with the King on assurance of safety; but they were afterwards beheaded by the Queen's order.

"When the King was in a manner left alone, without any guard, Thomas Hoo, Esq. a man well learned in languages, and well read in the law, advised the King to send a messenger to the Northern Lords, and let them know, that 'he would gladly come to them; for he knew they were his friends, and met to serve him.' The King approving it, appointed him to carry the message, who first delivered it to the Earl of Northumberland, and returning back to the King, brought several Lords with him. They conveyed the King first to the Lord Clifford's tent, that stood next to the place where the King's army had encamped. They then brought the Queen, and her son, Prince Edward, to him, whom he joyfully received, embracing, and kissing them, and thanking God, who had restored his only son to his possession. The Queen caused him to dubb the Prince a Knight, with thirty other persons, which the day before had fought valiantly on her part: then they went to the Abbey, where the Abbot and Monks received them with hymns and songs, brought them to the high altar, then to the shrine, and thence conveyed them to the chamber in which the King was wont to lodge. The Abbot moved the King and Queen to restrain the northern men (of whom the Queen's army was chiefly composed) from spoiling the town; and proclamation was made to that effect; but it availed nothing; for the Queen had covenanted with them, that they should have the plunder and spoil of their enemies after they had passed the river Trent, and they spared not any thing that they found that was fit for them to carry away."* The ravages thus committed, were the principal causes of the subsequent ill success of the Queen; for many who had been inclined to afford her assistance, now begun to waver, and

* Chauncy's Hertfordshire, p. 447.

and held back, lest they should themselves contribute to the extension of the rapine which marked this period of the civil war with more than its accustomed calamities. The rapid approach of the Earl of March, and the evident disinclination of the Londoners to aid her progress, again induced her to retreat to the north; and she quitted St. Alban's a few days after the battle.

Early in the following month, the Earl of March was proclaimed King, by the style and title of Edward the Fourth. He had previously made an appeal to the people, whom he had caused to be assembled round him for the purpose in St. John's Fields; and the popular voice being confirmed by an assembly of the most distinguished personages then resident in London and its vicinity, he mounted the throne. The battle of Towton, however, was still to be fought; yet even here, the star of his fortune obtained the ascendancy, and he became fully possessed of sovereign power. In a subsequent parliament, a general bill of attainder was passed against the chiefs of the Lancastrians, their estates were seized, and their persons proscribed. Even the possessions of some of those who were now no more, but who, when living, had favored the Lancastrian interest, were adjudged to be forfeited to the Crown. Among the estates included by this ordinance, was "the Priory of Pembroke, with all its lands, rents, goods, and appurtenances," which had been given to the Abbey of St. Alban by Humphrey, Duke of Glocester. To prevent the resumption, Abbot Whethamsted had a bill brought into the Upper House, and by the influence of George Neville, Bishop of Exeter, who was then Chancellor, his claim was admitted; and on the twenty-second of December, in the same year, (1461,) the King confirmed, by his letters patent, the said Priory, and all its dependencies, to the Abbot and his successors for ever. This was not the only favor which the address of Whethamsted procured for his Monastery from the new Sovereign, to whom, in the ensuing year, he presented a petition on the impoverished state of the Abbey, the revenues of which had much decreased through the distractions of the times. The King, having taken the petition into consideration, granted a new charter of privileges, by which the civil power of

the Abbots were greatly augmented; and a kind of palatine jurisdiction vested in them, in many respects similar to that still enjoyed by the Sees of Durham and Ely.*

Shortly

* "We," says the King, in the words of the charter, "being willing to succour the said Abbey, and all the possessions thereof, as much as in us lies, and all the possessions to maintain and support, and rather to augment than diminish; and also for the inward devotion which we bear and have for that glorious martyr, St. Alban, to whose honor the Church is dedicated, being willing to adorn the said Abbey with divers liberties, franchises, privileges, and immunities, of our special grace, and to the honor of our blessed Lord Jesus Christ; the Holy Mary, his mother; of the said St. Alban; and of all the Heavenly court; have granted, and by this our present charter, do grant, for us and our heirs, as far as in us lies, to God and the Church of St. Alban, to our beloved in Christ, JOHN, now Abbot, and the CONVENT of the same place, and to their successors for ever, that they shall have cognizance of all, and all manner of pleas, arising or touching of lands or tenements, within their towns of St. Alban, Barnet, and Watford, and also the hundred of Caisho, and all their whole liberty of St. Alban: and also of assizes of novel-disseisin, mort-ancestor, certificates and attaints of the said lands and tenements, as before us and our heirs, our justices, and those of our heirs assigned, to take assizes in our county of Hertford, Middlesex, or elsewhere, taken, or to be taken, arrained, or to be arrained, or other our justices, or of our heirs, begun, or to be begun; and also of attaints, debts, accompts, trespasses, covins, contempts, deceipts, and of all other whatsoever pleas and plaints, real, personal, or mixt, and pleas of the Crown, within the towns, hundred, and liberty, aforesaid, any manner of way arising, or henceforward to arise; whereof the cognizance of the same, or of any of them, to us or our heirs, or to our courts, or of our heirs doth belong, or in any manner of wise, ought, by the aforesaid Abbot and Convent, and their successors, or their attorney or attorneys in this behalf, before such justices, from time to time, as the case shall require, to be challenged, and before the Steward of the said Abbot and Convent for the time being, at the said town of St. Alban, or elsewhere within the liberty aforesaid, and where it shall please them, to be holden and determined. And that the said Steward, so for the time being, shall hear and determine, all and singular, the said things, according to the exigency of the case, within the said town of St. Alban, or elsewhere

Shortly after the signing of this charter, Whethamsted died, and was succeeded by William Alban;* of whose government not any interesting particulars are recorded. He died in 1476; and William Wallingford, the Prior, was chosen his successor. In his time the beautiful Screen at the high altar was finished, at the expense of 1100 marks: but the most important event, perhaps, that occurred under his rule, was the introduction into the Monastery, of the art of printing with fusile types, which but a few years before, had been brought into England by Caxton. The first book printed here was a small quarto, bearing the following title: '*Rhetorica nova Fratris Laur. Gul. de Saona, ord. Minorum. Imp. ap. Villam St. Albani,*' 1480. In the same year were printed '*Alberti Liber modorum significandi,*' *&c.* and '*Incipiunt Exempla Sacræ Scripturæ.*' In 1481 appeared '*In Aristotelis Physica;* lib. VIII.' and two years afterwards, '*The St. Alban's Chronicle;*' part of which had been before printed by Caxton: the other part was a selection, intituled '*Fructus Temporum.*'† The celebrated book since intituled The Gentleman's

where within the liberty aforesaid, so that none of our justices, or of our heirs," &c. "shall anyways intermeddle within the towns, hundred, or liberty aforesaid, or any parcel thereof," &c. By the same charter, the Abbots were empowered to appoint their own justices, whose authority should be independent of all others in the kingdom; and also to have a gaol, "safely to keep felons, and other malefactors, until from the same, according to the law and custom of our realm of England, they be delivered." They were likewise privileged to have within the said towns, hundred, and liberty, "assay and assize of bread, wine, beer, meat, and all other victuals, measures and weights whatsoever."

* Newcome dates the accession of this Abbot in 1460; but this his own narration proves to be inaccurate: Chauncy fixes it in 1464; yet several circumstances concur to render it probable that the real date of his election was 1463.

† This Chronicle was re-printed by Wynken de Worde, at Westminster, in 1497; he himself mentions in the title, that "it was compiled in a Boke, and also emprynted by one, sometyme scole mayster of St. Albon's."

Gentleman's Recreation, which was partly compiled by the Lady Juliana Berners, Prioress of Sopwell Nunnery, was also printed here in 1486: this work consists of three treatises; one on Hawking; another on Hunting, and Fishing; and the third, on Coat Armour. The printer was a Monk of this Abbey, and is called, by Chauncy, John Insomuch. Newcome has confounded him with John Hertford, who was established here about half a century afterwards: the latter printed 'The Lyfe and Passion of Seint Alban,' as it had been translated from the French and Latin, by John Lydgate, the celebrated Monk of Bury. Wallingford died in August, 1484, and was interred in a small Chapel, which he had built for the purpose near the High Altar; but this has been destroyed, together with his tomb.*

During the times of the three Abbots last mentioned, Henry the Sixth, and Edward the Fourth, were frequently entertained at St. Alban's; but after their deaths, the favor of the Sovereign was in a great measure withdrawn. In the short reign of Richard the Third, the Abbey received some slight manifestation of Royal kindness; but his successor, Henry the Seventh, appears to have kept the temporalities in his own hands till the year 1492, when he permitted Thomas Ramryge, corruptly spelt Ramridge, to be appointed Abbot. How long he continued in this office is uncertain, as scarcely any of the records of his government are known to exist. That he was living till the twenty-second of Henry the Seventh, (anno 1507,) is evinced by a rental of lands and tenements purchased by him in that year:† Newcome imagines that he survived till 1523, "when Wolsey, then Bishop of Winchester, Archbishop of York, Chancellor of England, the Pope's Legate, and a Cardinal, thought proper to resign his bishopric, and take this Abbey in *commendam*." He was interred within a most elegantly carved monument, or Chapel, which he had built for the purpose in the choir.

Wolsey

* See Newcome's St. Alban's, p. 399. The Chapel and tomb cost 100l. on the latter was a marble effigies of the Abbot.

† Newcome's St. Alban's, Appendix, No. X.

Wolsey is supposed to have applied the revenues of the Abbey in aid of the charges incurred in founding his two new Colleges at Oxford and Ipswich; but when he was convicted on the statute of Premunire, in October, 1529, all his property was declared forfeited to the King, Henry the Eighth. On his obtaining a pardon in the succeeding year, he was permitted, among other titles, to retain that of Abbot of St. Alban; but Henry reserved all the revenues to himself. Wolsey dying in the September following, (anno 1530,) Robert Catton was made Abbot; and, although he has been charged with exercising the functions of his government merely at the will of the King's agents, there seems sufficient reason to doubt the entire validity of the accusation. He is admitted to have continued Abbot till the year 1538; and in the December of that year, Legh and Petre, two of the Commissioners appointed to visit the Abbey, transmitted a letter to the Lord Cromwell, in which occur the following passages.

"Please it your Lordship to be advertised. At our comyng to St. Albons on Thursday last, we beganne a visiatcion among the Monkes, the Abbot being then in London. And because we wolde the more fully knowe the hole state of all thing, tarred the longer in the examination of them. And upon Friday last we sent a monition for the Abbot to appear before us, who came hither on Saturday before none: whosome we have likewise as fully examined upon all things as we might. And although, as well by the examination of the Monkes, as by the confession of the Abbot himself, there doth appear confessed and fully proved, intire cause of deprivation against the Abbot, not only for *breaking the King's injunctions*, but also for manifest dilapidations, making of giftes, negligent administration, and sundry other causes; yet by what meanes we know not, in all communications or motions made concerning any surrender, he shewith hymself so stiff, that as he saith, he would rather choyse to begge his bredde all the days of his life, than consent to any surrender. We have everich of us severally, and also altogether, communed with him, and also used all fresh motions as we thought must most further that purpose; but he continueth always one man, and waxeth hourly *more obsti-*

nate, and less conformable: whether he so doo upon trust and confinance of any friendship, we know not. The premisses we thought our bounden duty to signifie unto your lordshippe, most humbly beseeching the same, that we may know the King's highness further pleasure by you; whether we shall continew in the proofs of deprivation against him, and so deprive him according to the Order of Justice without longer delaye: which don, the house will be in such debt, that we think no man will take the office of Abbot here upon him; except any doo it only for that purpose to surrender the same unto the Kinge's hands. And by these means we think this thing may most easily be, and with more spede be brought to the Kinge's highness purpose."*

Now the whole tenor of this letter evinces, that the Abbot referred to by the Commissioners, was determined not to become a willing accessary to the surrender of his possessions; and as Richard de Stevanache, or Boreman, who succeeded Catton, is recorded to have been made Abbot, "with no other view than to make a surrender in form," there is a strong probability that Catton was still Abbot when the letter was written; and that, to use the words of the record, he was deprived "according to the Order of Justice, without longer delaye." Boreman, the new Abbot, who had previously been Prior of Norwich, surrendered on the fifth of December, 1539; and for his ready compliance, had an annual pension granted him of 266l. 13s. 4d. The Prior was also pensioned in the sum of 33l. 6s. 8d. and smaller sums were granted to the remaining Monks, of whom there were then only thirty-eight. The entire revenues of the Abbey were estimated, according to Dugdale, at 210*2*l. 7s. 1¼d. yearly: according to Speed, they amounted to the annual sum of 251*0*l. 6s. 1¼d.

The possessions of the dissolved Monastery were very quickly dispersed among the interested courtiers who had favored the King's views. The monastic buildings, with all the ground lying round the Abbey Church, and the Parish Church of St. Andrew, which

* The original of this Letter is in the British Museum: Cott. MSS. Cleop. E. 4.

ST ALBAN'S ABBEY CHURCH.

which stood near the north side, were granted to Sir Richard Lee, [illegible] February, 1539-40: and Sir Richard had scarcely obtained possession, when he begun to demolish the whole. Great part of the materials was sold. The remainder was appropriated to the enlargement and reparation of the Nunnery at Sopwell, which had also been granted to Sir Richard, and was afterwards his chief residence. The Abbey Church was not included in the grant, but retained in the Crown till the year 1553; when Edward the Sixth sold it to the inhabitants of St. Alban's, for the sum of 400l. This bargain was afterwards confirmed by a clause in the Charter of Incorporation granted by the same Monarch, wherein it was enacted, that the late parish or chapelry of St. Andrew, should form a part of the borough of St. Alban, and 'the Abbey Church be called the Parish Church of the said borough.'

Having thus traced the history of St. Alban's Monastery progressively with that of the town, from the period of the foundation of the former to the era of its complete dissolution, we shall now describe its very curious and interesting CHURCH; which, together with the rich screens and monuments contained in it, displays some of the finest specimens of architectural grandeur in Great Britain. The general form of this structure is that of a Latin cross, with a square and massive tower rising from the intersection of the nave and transept, and supported on four large semi-circular arches. The most ancient parts are evidently the most central; both the east and west ends being of a dissimilar style of architecture, and of a much later period.

The *external* appearance of this fabric, when beheld from a distance, is dignified and imposing; but when nearly approached, it loses part of its effect, from the rude mixture of Roman tiles, flints, bricks, stones, &c. which appears in its walls, and which excites a stronger idea of dilapidation than the real state of the building will justify. The *Tower* seems the most perfect, probably from its having been covered with a coat of strong plaster, part only of which is worn off. The battlements and spire are of later date than the lower portion of the tower, which is divided by bands into three stages: the uppermost exhibits two double

windows on each side, (latticed,) having semi-circular arches ranging beneath a larger semi-circular arch: in the spandril between the large and smaller arches, and also above the former, are various diamond-shaped apertures, evidently constructed to give issue to the sound of the bells, which are hung in this compartment of the tower. Below the windows, in the middle division, are four double semi-circular arched openings on each side, which admit the light into a narrow passage formed in the walls; these also have larger semi-circular arches above them, and every double opening has a thick heavy column in the centre. In the stage beneath these, are eight circular windows, which admit light into the belfry.

Along the upper part of the south and north walls of the nave, extends a range of narrow pointed arches, reaching to the transept; these appear to have been altered into this form from round arches, and were formerly opened as windows, but are now for the most part stopped up: in the aisles below, the windows are few, and irregular. The whole eastern part of the Church is furnished with plain battlements; the buttresses are strong and massive. The south-east side displays some remains of elegant fly-buttresses, which rose from the aisles to the upper part of the choir, the windows of which are pointed. The Chapel of the Virgin (now used for a grammar school) exhibits some beautiful architecture in the forms and ornaments of its windows; but most of these have been mutilated, and are miserably patched and disfigured. The east end of the choir, and the extremities of the transept, are terminated by octagon turrets, rising above the roof, and embattled: two or three of these are of the Norman era; but the others are of subsequent date. The prospect from the summit of the tower is extensive and diversified. On the opposite sides of the north door-way, are two well-sculptured leaves, worthy remark, perhaps, inasmuch as they form the capitals of pillars, without any other band or moulding.

The principal entrance is at the west end, beneath a projecting *Porch*, opening by a high pointed arch, supported on massive buttresses, and ornamented with several mouldings: the outermost

moulding rests on two human heads, greatly mutilated. Above the arch are shields, displaying the arms of Offa, *three crowns;* and the Abbey arms, *azure, a saltire, Or.* The inside of the porch has been elegantly ornamented with pointed and trefoil arches, sustained on clustered pillars of Purbeck marble; some of which have capitals of foliage; and others, of the upper parts of angels, but much defaced. In the centre are three pillars, clustered, with a pointed arched door-way on each side, having three pointed arches above. The doors are of oak, finely carved into trefoils, quatrefoils, roses, finials, and other ornamental forms.

The *interior* of the Church has a very striking effect on entering from the west porch, and the variations in the architecture excite considerable interest. The opposite character of these variations is so distinctly marked, and the principles exhibited by the several modes of construction, are so essentially different, that, to refer them to the same era, as a late writer has done,* and that in the face of data collected by himself, were to sacrifice every deduction of common sense, to the vain desire of supporting an absurd theory. In fact, the parts of the building are so various, that, instead of referring them all to the same period, little hazard would be incurred by asserting, that the style of every age might be traced in progression, from the time of the Normans to the reign of Edward the Fourth.

 Immediately

* Newcome. See Hist. of St. Alban's, p. 45, 46; and again, p. 93—96. The extreme simplicity and plainness of those parts of the Church constructed with Roman tile, Mr. Newcome ascribes, and probably with truth, "to the rude and untractable nature of the materials;" but when, in continuation, he asserts, that the improvement in the architecture was owing to the use of *stone*, 'when the Roman tile was all used,' assisted by the greater 'taste and fancy of the builders and workmen employed,' he argues in contradiction to all rational evidence. His knowledge of the different styles of architecture, was, indeed, so very defective, that he states, 'York Cathedral' to be 'the most exquisite and perfect of all *Norman* edifices;' and the plain and simple Norman of the Abbey Church, he styles 'the rudest form of the *Gothic*.'

Ibid.

over the Abbot displays the Abbey arms; that over the King has the arms of Mercia; above the Queen are three lions passant; and over the Bishop, are the arms of Westminster; a cross fleury between five martlets: two other shields, with three lions passant on each, range in a similar manner, on the opposite sides of those just mentioned.

Above the large arches, runs a series of double pointed arches, beneath a larger arch, as before; yet these arches are more ornamented. The columns are clustered, as in the former instances; but the diamond chain-work at the angles is here exchanged for roses; and the capitals of the smaller columns are carved into foliage, instead of being left plain, like the others, and like the larger capitals of their own range. The heads of the double arches are also varied by the under parts being expanded into a sort of trefoil; the spandrils above them are smaller, from an extension of the mouldings; and the centre of each spandril is only pierced into a triplet of fleurs des lis, in place of a fourfold one. The outer moulding of the larger arches terminate in corbels of human and animal heads, all varying both in form and expression. The arches of the third, or upper range, are pointed, having plain mouldings, clustered pillars, and flats in front, as before; but the extreme mouldings rest on small heads, instead of being supported on the band, which in the other upper ranges crosses the middle of the flat.

Every part of the building yet described from the west end, is constructed of Tottenhoe stone; a very fine and close-grained freestone, obtained from the quarries at Tottenhoe, in Bedfordshire. The parts next to be described, with the exception of the screens, the choir, and presbytery, are of Roman tile, as every where appears, on piercing through the thick covering of plaster that has been spread over the walls; and this circumstance, combined with the historical information previously detailed, establishes the fact of all the ancient portion of the Church being exclusively of Abbot Paul's erection; for the style is so entirely similar, that it will not admit of two eras; and there is no other part in the whole fabric that can, with the least propriety, be attributed to him. Its simplicity is, indeed, remarkable, and would well accord with a prior date; but

but to assign this in the face of all record, would be to falsify fact in the support of an hypothesis.

The fourth column on the north side from the west, marks the extremity of the Norman Church in that direction: from this to St. Cuthbert's Screen, there are five other columns, of the same massive construction and magnitude.* These support plain semi-circular arches, over each of which is a short, round-headed window, now glazed with lights in the pointed form. Above each of these, and nearly reaching to the roof, has been another semi-circular arched window, now filled up, the apertures of which open wide into the Church, but contract gradually to the outward wall: these are all similar, except the one to the west, which has been widened, and pointed, in conformation to the improved style.

St. Cuthbert's Screen is of Tottenhoe stone, finely sculptured in the pointed order, but is not entirely uniform; the northern part extending into the aisle, and the parts being varied. The west front has seven canopied niches in the centre, terminating in pinnacles of rich workmanship: below these have been various smaller niches, in one of which has been a piscina. On each side the centre is an ornamented, pointed, arched door-way, with blank arches above, opening into the Baptistry. Beyond that, to the south, were three other canopied niches; and below these, four ornamental trefoil arches. Beyond the other door was another receptacle for holy water, in the middle of a range of seven small niches; and above them four other niches, reaching upward towards the arch. The east front is much less embellished, it having only a double range of blank pointed arches, divided by a kind of cornice, embattled. The summit of the Screen is broken by a range of trefoil ornaments, and foliage. Some of the sculptured parts are defaced and broken; and all the minute parts are obscured by whitewash.

The continuation of the nave, now called the *Baptistry*, from its containing the Font, comprehends the space between St. Cuthbert's

* One of these columns is called the *Hollow* Pillar, from the upper part containing a short circular flight of steps, which has led to a door-way that once opened upon the leads of the north aisle.

bert's Screen, and the first, or most western arch of the tower. Here are three square massive columns on each side, supporting as many arches, with a double range of semi-circular-headed recesses for windows, ranging over them as before; some of which are glazed in the pointed form, but the greater number has been filled up. The *Choir* comprehends all the space between the west arch of the Tower, and the Altar Screen. The Tower itself is supported on four noble semi-circular arches, springing from uncommonly massive piers. Above these arches, under the belfry floor, is a passage going round the tower, and opening in front by a treble range of double semi-circular arches, each of the latter being divided from each other by a short and thick column: several of the capitals are formed by a single Roman tile, and not any two of the columns are exactly similar. The light of the Belfry is admitted into the choir, through a circular opening in the centre of the floor, which has been surrounded by a railing, and covered by some open work above, to prevent accidents.

On passing beneath the east arch of the tower, the architecture is seen to assume a new form. On the south side are three large blank pointed arches; and on the north, two similar ones: all these seem to have been formed against the original walls, which probably terminated at no great distance from the point where Abbot Ramryge's monument on the one side, and Abbot Whethamsted's on the other, abut against the ancient columns, and beyond which no part of the Norman Church is now to be discovered; excepting in the passages which run through the walls, and in which the Roman tile may be traced farther eastward.

The monument of Ramryge fills up the lower part of a large pointed arch, which was originally open to the north aisle, and is ornamented with fluted and groined mouldings. The arch opposite to this is blank above; but the under part includes the neat monument of Abbot Whethamsted. Above the large arches, on each side, is a range of pointed arches, with trefoil heads; some of these are blank, and others open into the *Triforium*, which is continued through the walls of the whole Church: over these are three

three pointed arched windows on each side. The Altar is approached by a short flight of steps.

The *Altar Screen*, or, as it is more commonly denominated, *Wallingford's Screen*, which separates the Choir from the Presbytery, is one of the most beautiful pieces of stone-work in England, and very highly illustrative of the improved taste in architectural sculpture which distinguished the age of Edward the Fourth. Its proportions are extremely elegant; and though the masonry, that now forms the middle part of the west side, is of a more recent date, and of inappropriate execution, yet the whole appearance is graceful and interesting. This front may be more clearly described as consisting of three divisions; a centre, and two wings; the latter being perfectly symmetrical. The lower part of the centre displays a double series of small niches, with rich canopies; above these are several stages of square compartments, the upper ones terminating in trefoil heads, with finials and pinnacles above, and a cherub on each rib.* Over this are five elegant canopies, ranging under the rich cornice and open-work which forms the entire summit of the Screen. Adjoining the centre on each side, and forming a division of each wing, are three large and finely ornamented niches, with tower pedestals, and canopies; the uppermost embellished with sculptures of lambs between pelicans. The central divisions of the wings have a pointed door-way below, and two large canopied niches above. At the sides of the door-way, are ranges of quatrefoils in circles; and above are oak leaves, and shields of arms: that to the south contains England and France quarterly; the other the arms of Whethamsted. The extreme division of each wing is similar to those adjoining the centre; the angles between the divisions are each adorned with six small niches, reaching to the summit. Almost all the niches are beautifully sculptured, with ornamental trefoil arches; some pierced, others in relief,

* This is the more recent and incongruous part, and appears to have been inserted in the room of a representation of the Crucifixion, or of some other subject, which the zealots of the Reformation deemed profane or irreligious.

lief. The space between the Screen and the arch against which it abuts, on each side, is ornamented with canopied niches, and pinnacles to correspond. The east front of the Screen is much plainer than that to the west. The centre is a flat blank arch, ornamented with circles of quatrefoils, and smaller trefoil arches within; over it is the Abbey arms, supported by angels, with a canopied niche above: over the door-ways are the arms of Whethamsted, with similar niches. Higher up, are plain, narrow, trefoil-headed arches, with small buttresses and pinnacles; and above the whole is a very rich cornice of vine leaves, fruit, and tendrils, crested by ornamental open-work.

The *Presbytery* includes the space between the Screen, and what is now the east end of the Church; but this was formerly open to the Chapel of the Virgin, by three high, pointed, and well proportioned arches, springing from clustered columns. On each side, beyond the large pointed arches against which the Screen stands, is another high pointed arch, also springing from clustered pillars, and similarly ornamented with round and fluted mouldings: under that on the north side is the monument of Duke Humphrey; and beneath that on the south, an ancient Watch-tower, or gallery, of wood, in which the Monks were stationed to keep watch over the shrine of St. Alban. On the frieze of this gallery is a series of carvings in high relief, representing the most memorable events of St. Alban's history; and other singular subjects. In the pavement in the middle of the Presbytery, is a stone thus inscribed:

S: ALBANUS
VEROLAMENSIS
ANGLORUM
PROTO-MARTYR
XVII JUNII
CCXCVII.*

This

* It should be remarked, that this date must be erroneous, if the Martyrdom of Albanus actually occurred during the Dioclesian Persecution, as recorded in his history. See before, p. 24—27.

This is surrounded by smaller stones, in which are six hollow places, said to have been formed to receive the feet of the shrine. The windows above the large arches are pointed, with trefoil heads, similar to those of the chancel. The great east window has a double pointed arch below, with trefoils; and a larger pointed arch above, with a catherine-wheel in the centre: on each side is a narrow pointed arched window.

Returning through the Choir to the *Transept*, the simplicity of the Norman part of the Church again displays itself; though the large windows at each end are of a different style and age. That to the south was constructed about the year 1703, when the former window was blown down by the fury of the wind during the great storm, and has little claim to beauty: the north window is more highly embellished, and divided into numerous compartments by mullions and transoms. On each side of the transept is a series of squat semi-circular arches, supported by short heavy columns, and half columns, with very large capitals; the upper part of each of which is commonly a single Roman tile: the columns are of stone. These arches are ranged in fours, and over every two of them is a semi-circular indent, rising from the middle of the capitals: not any of the columns are similar; some of them are quite plain; others have single or double bands. The general form of these arches bears a striking similitude to that of the arches in the inside of the tower; and like those, they open into the passage which runs through the wall of the whole Church. In this south part of the transept have been several Chapels; and in a recess of the wall, was a seat for the watch Monk, who had the care of the respective altars: the door-way, which led from the upper part of the cloisters, has been walled up.

Beyond the south end of the transept, but opening into it by a flight of several steps, and running parallel with it, is a short covered passage, which probably communicated also with the Abbot's chambers, and with the cloisters. Against the wall, on each side, is a range of elegant intersecting semi-circular arches, ornamented with beaded mouldings, springing from slender columns, with well sculptured, and singularly curious capitals. All the sculptures are different, and

and in tolerably good preservation; though the humidity of the place has destroyed their original sharpness. Some of them represent wreaths of foliage; others display the heads of entwined snakes: on one is a human mask, with the stems of leaves issuing from his mouth on each side;* and on another three very singular grotesque figures, a kind of trio of Bacchants. Those at the sides are in sitting positions, but leaning backwards, as if to make room for the centre figure, which is formed by the head of a zany, apparently gorging a considerable quantity of fruits: one of the side figures is sustaining a sort of club, in a threatening attitude, as if to compel him to the performance of his task; the other is holding what appears to be a leathern bottle. These sculptures, as well, indeed, as all the columns and arches, are of Tottenhoe stone.†

The *Aisles* are of the same length as the present Church: the west end of each appears to have been once inclosed to the first large column, and to have been ornamented with slender, clustered, and single, Purbeck pillars, sustaining pointed arches, with plain mouldings. Some parts of the roof of the aisles are vaulted with stone, having groined ribs, intersecting, and resting on the great columns on one side, and on pilasters of clustered columns on the other. In the south aisle, between the west end and the transept, are several pointed arched windows; mostly divided by mullions into two lights, with a trefoil above each; and in the point above a quatrefoil. In one of these windows was a representation of the martyrdom of St. Alban, in painted glass; only a few fragments of which remain in the crockets. On the wall below was the following inscription, now almost defaced.‡

This

* On the south-west capital of the arch at the entrance of the chancel, in Hemel-Hampstead Church, is a sculpture very similar to this.

† At what period this passage was constructed, is very difficult to determine. It must have been subsequent to the erection of the transept; and yet the Saxon intersecting arches, and grotesque carvings, would seem to mark a prior era.

‡ Chauncy's Herts. p. 472.

This image of our frailty, painted glass,
Shews where the life and death of Alban was.
A knight beheads the Martyr; but so soon,
His eyes dropt out to see what he had done;
And leaving their own head, seem'd with a tear
To wail the other head laid mangled there:
Because, before, his eyes no tears would shed,
His eyes themselves like tears fall from his head.
Oh! bloody fact, that whilst St. Alban dies,
The murderer himself weeps out his eyes.

In zeal to Heav'n, where holy Alban's bones
Were buried, Offa rais'd this heap of stones;
Which, after by devouring Time abused,
Into the dying parts had life infused;
By James the First, of England,* to become
The glory of Alban's Proto-martyrdom.

Adjoining to the door-way, that originally formed the principal entrance on the south, but is now closed, is an ancient *Piscina*, beneath a recessed arch, in the pointed style, ornamented with various plain mouldings, and springing from three short and slender pillars, clustered on each side. The piscina itself is also sustained on three slender clustered pillars, and has a canopy above it, with a cinquefoil arch; over which is a triangular compartment, containing the remains of a mask of a Bacchus encircled by vine leaves, now much mutilated, and additionally obscured by white-wash.

The screen-work before the door-way just mentioned, is very beautifully sculptured in the pointed style, and consists of three divisions. The arch of entrance springs from slender pillars on each side, from the most central of which rises a range of trefoil indentations, with half circles above: in the spandrils are the Abbey arms, and the old arms of England and France quarterly. This forms the middle division: the others are uniform, each consisting

* This alludes to some repairs which the Church underwent in the time of James, and which, by the most gross flattery, were thus attributed to that King.

sisting of a niche, with fan-work above, and a finely sculptured pedestal of blank arches with a capital of foliage beneath; the statues are gone: both niches have two slender pillars on each side. Over the square mouldings, which terminate all the divisions, is a cornice ornamented with a tendril of vine leaves, and finished above by a range of pierced trefoils and vine leaves. These are partly destroyed; and the sharpness of all the sculpture has been injudiciously obscured by thick whitewash. The door itself is ornamented to correspond, with rich carvings of oak, and vine leaves, quatrefoils, &c. executed in a bold and able manner. This entrance is generally called the *Abbot's Door*. The north aisle does not display any thing particularly remarkable; excepting, perhaps, as presenting a larger part of the Norman Church than that on the south. Between the columns, in this aisle were several altars dedicated to different Saints.

The *Ceilings* of the nave, transept, and choir, are of wood, formed into square compartments and painted. That of the nave is of chesnut: every principal beam is supported at the sides by a smaller one, placed obliquely, and displaying on the lower part the carving of a monk, angel, or other figure, with a shield of arms. Every compartment, from the west end to the eleventh range from the arch of the tower, has the initials of *Jesus Hominum Salvator* in the centre: the others have those letters alternately with circles, containing half-length angels holding shields of arms. The ceiling of the south part of the transept is similarly divided by square compartments painted into circles, alternately displaying the letters I. H. S. as before, and angels sustaining shields of arms. The northern part of the transept is embellished in the same manner, with the addition of an indifferently executed painting in the centre, of St. Alban's Martyrdom. A representation of Offa seated on his throne, over an arch, in the north aisle, is probably of the same age. The ceiled roof of the choir is more highly embellished, and is also varied in form: it exhibits, in alternate compartments, the Holy Lamb, on a mount, vert, with the the banner of the Cross, gules, ensigned with a cross botone, or, and charged with the star of Bethlehem; and the eagle

eagle of St. John standing on a mount, vert:* these devices were those assumed by Abbot Whethamsted, in whose time the ceilings of the nave and chancel were certainly constructed, and most probably, those of the transept. Over the eastern front of the great arch of the tower, are these lines, in allusion to Whethamsted:

Sic ubicunq. vides sit pictus ut Agnus et Ales ·
Effigies operis Sexti Patris ista Johannis.
Esse vel in toto juvisse vel infaciendo
Est opus hoc unum causavit eum faciendum.†

The *Chapel of the Virgin*, the only part of the building itself that remains to be described, is now completely separated from the Church, by the arches having been walled up, as already mentioned. Though formerly, one of the most elaborate and beautiful parts of the whole structure, it is now the most dilapidated, and ruinous. Its windows were finely ramified, and adorned with circles, trefoils, quatrefoils, &c. and its ornaments were equally rich and appropriate. Its arches were elegantly pointed; and every part appears to have been well proportioned, and truly worthy of praise. The east end, now used as the School-room, still displays traces of fine sculpture, in ranges of figures surrounding the windows, and even yet exhibiting an air of gracefulness, though most lamentably obscured by whitewash. The original pavement has been covered by a boarded floor, so that no sepulchral memorials are to be seen; though it is probable that there are such beneath. Across what may now be called the Anti-Chapel, a low wall has been erected, in order to form a passage for the conveniency of the inhabitants of the town.

* Besides these figures, the ceiling of the chancel displays various shields of arms of the nobility and gentry who contributed towards repairing this Church about the year 1623: in that year also collections were made by Brief for the same purpose.

† These lines were most probably written by Whethamsted himself, who caused many Latin verses, in allusion to different subjects, to be inscribed on various parts of the Church.

The entire length of the Abbey Church, including the west Porch, and the Chapel of the Virgin, is 539 feet; of which the Chapel measures about 100, and the Porch eighteen. The breadth of the transept is nearly thirty-two feet; its extreme length 174. The breadth of the body of the Church is seventy-four feet and a half; that of the choir and chancel, thirty-four feet, eight inches; that of the nave, from the inner parts of the columns, thirty feet; and that of each aisle, twenty-two feet, three inches. The circumference of the clustered columns is eighteen feet; that of the ancient piers of the nave, is thirty-one feet, nine inches: the circumference of the columns which support the tower, is much greater. The height of the tower, according to Newcome, is 144 feet. The extreme breadth of the Virgin Chapel is seventy-six feet, six inches; of the middle part, thirty-five feet, nine inches; and of the east end, scarcely twenty-seven feet.

The *Sepulchral Inscriptions* in this Church are very numerous: though the monuments are but few, yet that few exhibits some extremely interesting specimens of architectural grandeur. The magnificent sepulchre of HUMPHREY, the *Good Duke of Glocester*, was erected in the time of Abbot Whethamsted, whom Mr. Gough has most appropriately styled, 'the *Wykeham* of his time,' in allusion to his skill in architecture. It consists of an upper and lower division, (separated by a fascia,) filling up the whole space beneath one of the large arches of the presbytery, and having a similar front both to the north and the south. The lower division, or canopy, consists of a large open pointed arch in the centre, with a smaller one on each side; and beyond them a fourth and fifth arch in relief. The open arches are divided by rich pendants, and the mouldings of the arches are charged with tendrils of vine-leaves: the roof of the canopy is richly sculptured into fan-work. The blank arches on the sides, are separated into two compartments, displaying some minute ornaments, and many shields of the arms of Whethamsted in quatrefoils, under a cornice of wheat-ears, in vases on pedestals; which also appear on the canopy. The capitals of the pillars are charged with oak-leaves. In the various spandrils of the arches are ten shields of the Duke's arms, and of France

and

and England in a border: these are seven times repeated on the fascia, of a larger size; and four of them are surmounted by ducal coronets, encircled by vases of wheat-ears; the other three are surmounted by helmets and mantles; but the crests are destroyed. The upper compartment displays a variety of beautiful niches, with canopies, pinnacles, and finials; together with rich open-work, and close arches in relief. In the niches, on the south side, are statues of seventeen Sovereigns, called by Sandford, the Duke's royal ancestors;* but Mr. Gough seems inclined to suppose, from one of them sustaining a Church, and from other circumstances, that they were intended to represent the Kings of Mercia. They are extremely uncouth in form, and as squat as if they had been modelled in clay, and compressed by a heavy weight. The same number of statues originally stood on the north side; but all of them are now lost, with the exception of one, which has been placed in a niche on the south side, to supply the room of one that was stolen a few years ago. This monument is secured on the south by an iron grating, painted blue: the expense of erecting it, amounted to 434l. 6s. 8d. The body of the Duke was accidentally discovered in the vault beneath in the year 1703; and was then lying in pickle, in a leaden coffin inclosed by another of wood. Since that period the skeleton has been rudely handled, bone after bone having been purloined by the curious, till very few remain. On the east end of the vault was painted a crucifix, now partly obliterated, with chalices to receive the blood as it drops from the wounds. At the extremity of the south aisle, near the Duke's monument, is the following inscription to his memory, which, according to Sandford, in his Genealogical History, was written about sixty years before his time, by Dr. Westerman, parson of Sandridge and Bushey.

* Genealogical History, p. 317.

† Sepulchral Monuments, Vol. II. where three engravings are given of this monument.

Piæ Memoriæ V. Opt.
Sacrum
Serotinum
Hic jacet HUMPHREDUS, *Dux ille* GLOCESTRIUS *olim*
HENRICI *Sexti Protector, fraudis ineptæ*
*Detector, dum ficta notat miracula cæci:**
Lumen erat Patriæ, Columen venerabile Regni,
Pacis amans, Musisq. favens melioribus, unde
Gratum opus OXONIO, *quæ nunc Scola sacra† refulget*
Invida sed mulier Regno, Regi, sibi nequam
Abstulit hunc humili, vix hoc dignata sepulchro;
Invidiâ rumpente tamen, post Funera vivat.
Deo Gloria.

The Monument or Chapel of Abbot WHETHAMSTED, which occupies the lower part of one of the great arches of the Choir, is built on a very simple, but elegant, design. The lower part is a canopy, opening by an obtuse pointed arch, with a fretted roof: above is a rich cornice, with the Abbot's arms, three ears of wheat, several times repeated; and the inscription, VALLES HABUNDABUNT, in relief, on each side of the monument. Over this is a range of square compartments, containing quatrefoils, each displaying some ornament, as a rose, a mitre, the Abbey arms, &c. The inner fascia is charged with lilies, dragons' heads, and other objects of excellent sculpture. Beneath the canopy is a blue slab, on which was a brass figure of the Abbot, in *pontificalibus;* but this has long been stolen.‡ On the wall above the monument, on the south side, is this inscription:

JOHANNES

* This alludes to the anecdote of the Duke detecting a cheat who had pretended to have been miraculously restored to sight at St. Alban's shrine.

† The Duke erected the Divinity School at Oxford.

‡ The vault beneath was opened a few years ago by Mr. Gough and others, but not any thing was discovered in it: several circumstances conduced to excite the supposition that it had been previously opened, and that *surreptitiously.*

JOHANNES
De loco frumentario.
Quis jacet hic? Pater ille JOHANNES, *nomina magna*
Cui WHETHAMSTEDIO *parvula villa dedit*
Triticiæ in tumulo signant quoque nomen aristæ
Vitam rei claræ, non Monumenta, notant.

The beautiful Monumental Chapel of Abbot RAMRYGE is immediately opposite to that of Whethamsted. The sculpture is extremely fine, and mostly in good preservation; and very sharp; though many of the ornaments are exceedingly minute. The roof is most elegantly sculptured into rich fan-work, with pendents of quatrefoils, and circles of the same. At each end are three large niches, with rich canopies, the insides of which are adorned similarly to the roof, with quatrefoils; and several smaller niches running up between them, with towers in relief over the canopies. Below the niches, is a cornice of foliage, with human and animal heads at the angles: one of the heads has the stem of a vine tendril issuing from his mouth. Beneath the cornice, at each end, are three shields of arms, with Rams for supporters, in bold relief, and wearing collars, on which are the letters RYGE; thus forming rebusses of the Abbot's name: among the arms are those assumed by Ramryge, three eagles on a bend. On each side of the monument is a double range of cinquefoil-headed, narrow arches; the upper arches finely pierced; and below are various minute ornaments in relief, sculptured on the square extremities of an embattled cornice. One of these ornaments has an old man's head and body united to the tail of a fish, and leaning on a crutch: the letters R. Y. G. E. are also repeated in this part. Over the door, that opens into the monument from the Choir, are several small sculptures, as a lion, a dragon, two rams, a shield with the Abbey arms, &c. and in the spandrils of the arch, is a mutilated representation of the Martyrdom of St. Amphibalus. On other parts, are various shields of arms, with flowers, foliage, vine tendrils, &c. together with a shield of the five wounds, and others displaying the instruments of the Crucifixion. On this south side, also, is a double range of niches, with

canopies richly worked, and terminating pyramidically over the arches between. Round the upper part of the monument, is the inscription SANCTI SPIRITUS ASSIT NOBIS GRATIA; VENI SANCTO SPIRITUS REPTE TUORUM CORDA FIDELIUM ET TUI AMORIS IN EIS IGNEM ACCENDE, AMEN.

In the pavement of the Choir are many slabs in memory of Abbots, and other personages who were interred beneath: some of them display remains of rich *Brasses;* but the greater part have impressions only, the brasses having been either stolen or destroyed. The most perfect Brass now left, is a full length figure, mitred, *in pontificalibus,* of Abbot THOMAS DE LA MARE, under a rich canopy, curiously ornamented; round the verge was the following inscription, great part of which is yet remaining:

Hic jacet Dominus Thomas, quondam Abbas hujus Monasterii.*

Another Brass displays the figure of a *Monk,* holding a heart dropping blood between his hands over his breast. From his mouth proceeds a label, with the verse Cor mundum crea in me Deus: and beneath his feet is this inscription:

Hic jacet frater RADULFUS BEAUPIER, quondm. huj' Monasterij Monachus qui quraginta sex annis continius et ultra ministrabat in divsis officijs maioribus et minoribs covent' monasterij pscripti fidelics. In Officijs Tercij poris Coquarij, Refectorarij, et Infirmarij, Et in officijs subrefectorarij et spcu covent,' pro cui' aia fratres carissimi funde' pces dignemini ad judicem altissimu pijssimu dnm ihm. Christu. Ut concedat sibi suor veniam peccator, amen.

On another slab is the figure of an *Abbot,* mitred, beneath a canopy having the Abbey arms in the centre; and over it, a radiated heart, with the word CREDO. At the corners of the slab were the emblems of the Evangelists; and round the verge, was a text from the book of Job, with an animal or flower between each word. Below the feet of the Abbot is inscribed,

Hic

* An engraving of this fine Brass has been given in Carter's Specimens of Ancient Sculpture and Painting.

Hic quida terra tegitur, Peccati solvens debitu.
Cui nome no imponitur. In libro Vitae s't coscriptu.

Another Brass, with a mutilated inscription, displays the figure of SIR ANTHONY GREY, Knt. son and heir apparent to Edmund Lord Grey of Ruthyn, (created by Edward the Fourth, Earl of Kent,) by Catherine, his wife, daughter of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland. The Knight is represented with cropt hair, and having plated armour, buckled at the waistband. His gauntlets are jointed at the knuckles; and his knee-pieces are very long and pointed: at his elbows is a trefoil ornament; and another between his feet. He has on a sword and dagger; and his head rests on a helmet with an Earl's coronet; the crest appears to be a dragon rising from a tub.* He was slain in the second battle of St. Alban's.

On a slab in the south aisle, was a figure in a monkish garment, with this inscription beneath the feet:

Memoriale dommni THOMAE RATTLDAD quondam supporis hui' monasterij qui ex hac luce migravit xx die mensis Augusti Anno dni Millimo quingentesimo Vicesimo primo cui' aie indulgeat altissim.'

In this aisle also is an altar-tomb, and several inscriptions to the memory of the *Maynards*, a respectable family of St. Alban's, who represented the Borough in four Parliaments during the reigns of Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth. They obtained, by marriage, a moiety of the inheritance of the *Rowlets*, another respectable family of this town, one of whom, as appears from an inscription in the north aisle, was a 'Merchant of the Staple:' he died in 1519.

Among other persons of note reported to have been buried in this Church in ancient times, is the celebrated traveller, and native of St. Alban's, *Sir John Mandeville;* different inscriptions to

* This Brass, as well as several of the others in this Church, has been engraved for Mr. Gough's Sepulchral Monuments. The same elaborate work contains a representation of the monument of Abbot Whethamsted.

whose memory, have been pencilled on the second column from the west, on the north side of the nave, near which he is said to have been buried.* Weever, however, affirms that he had seen his tomb and epitaph, in the Church of the *Guilliammits*, in the city of Liege; according to which, he died in November, 1371. The famous *Alexander Nequam*, another native of St. Alban's; is also recorded to have been buried here; but no memorial now remains to point out the place of his interment.† The only monument deserving notice of modern date, is in the transept, against the wall at the north end: this was erected in memory of CHRISTOPHER RAWLINSON, Esq. of Cark Hall, in Cartmel, Lancashire, who was descended by the maternal line from Edward the Fourth.‡ He was celebrated for his comprehensive knowledge of Saxon and northern literature; and, while yet at College, published a correct edition of the Great Alfred's version of '*Boethius de Consolatione Philosophæ.*' His monument displays a figure of History, sitting on a sarcophagus, in a reclining position, and writing in a book. He died in January, 1732-3, in his fifty-sixth year: he was collaterally related to the celebrated antiquary, Dr. Richard Rawlinson.

Robert de Mowbray, the gallant Earl of Northumberland, temp. William Rufus; Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset; Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland; Thomas Clifford, Lord Clifford; Sir William Clynton, Earl of Huntingdon; Sir Walter Sothington, Knt. Reginald, Bishop of Chichester; and Sir William Blythe, Knt. of York; are recorded, with various other persons

* See Weever's Funeral Monuments, 2nd Edit. p. 332; and Chauncy's Herts. p. 471.

† 'ALEXANDER, *cognomento* NEQUAM, *abbas Circecestrie literarum scientia clarus: obiit ann. dom.* 1217. *lit. dom. c. prid. kal. Feb. et sepultus erat apud fanum S. Albani. Cuius anime propitietur altissimus, Amen.*' Weever edit. 1767, from *Annals de Waverley.* MS. in Bibl. Cott.

‡ His Pedigree is inserted in Sandford's Genealogical History.

persons of distinction, to have been also interred in this fabric; but their places of sepulture are not distinguished by any memorial.* Near the present entrance into the south aisle, is a plain altar-tomb of Purbeck marble; the massive upper slab of which is thought to have been an altar-stone, from the five small crosses (+) that are sculptured on the top: to whose memory this was erected is now unknown.

Camden mentions 'a most beautiful brass *Font*, wherein the children of the Kings of Scotland used to be baptised,' as belonging to this Church; to which it had been given by Sir Richard Lee, of Sopwell; who, as was recorded by a pompous inscription, 'having recovered it from the flames,' had brought it from Edinburgh. This font was embezzled in the Civil Wars; during which period, also, considerable damage was done to the brasses, and other sepulchral memorials: but the particulars of these dilapidations, as well as all the modern history of the Church from the time of the Reformation, is involved in obscurity, through the destruction of all the old vestry and parish books, which were burnt, with the Rectory House, about the year 1743, when Archdeacon Cole was Rector. The lower part of the Choir is neatly pewed, and has a good gallery, erected in 1715, by William Hale, Esq. of King's Walden, who was then a representative for this Borough. Over the pulpit is a crown, apparently of the time of James the First; and high over the western arch of the tower, on the west side, are the Royal arms of the House of Stuart: these circumstances, combined with the date MDCXXIII. over the verses on St. Alban's Martyrdom, under the window in the south aisle, renders it probable, that the alterations made in the Church, to adapt it to the Protestant form of Worship, were effected during the reign of that King. On one of the piers in the Baptistery, the marks of the more ancient pulpit may clearly be seen. In the seat formerly of the Marlborough family, but now of Earl Spencer, is a good carving of the Marlborough arms.

Many

* Beaufort, Percy, and Clifford, were buried in the Chapel of the Virgin; '*In lineali ordine, juxta statum, gradum, et honorem dignitatis.*'

Many of the Monks and Abbots belonging to St. Alban's Abbey, became eminent for their learning, and renowned for their ingenuity and skill in various branches of science and of art. Even so early as the time of Abbot Paul, the Monastery had both a *Library* and a *Scriptorium*, as clearly appears from Matthew Paris; though Mr. Newcome, by a singular misunderstanding of his author, has affirmed, that "among all the rooms and buildings belonging to the Abbey, there was none called the Library;"* though Paris himself records, that Abbot Paul, in return for a gift of tythes to the Abbey, had bestowed his own library on the warrior who had made the donation; and immediately afterwards, 'caused some peculiarly chosen books to be written,' to supply the places of the former.† Even in the brief account of this very Abbey inserted in the Monasticon, an ancient manuscript of the Bodleian is quoted, as actually reciting the Latin verses that were inscribed upon the windows in the *Library-Room*.‡

The *Scriptorium*, or Writing-Room, was of equally distinct appropriation. "A certain Nobleman, (Robert of Hatfield,) says Matthew Paris, "stout in war, and a Norman by birth, in the time, and by the persuasion of, Abbot Paul, conferred upon the Church of St. Alban, two parts of the tithes of his demesne in the manor of Hatfield; and assigned them, at the suggestion of this Abbot Paul, a lover of books, for the formation of volumes necessary to the Church; for that warrior was a literary man, a diligent hearer, and lover too of books. To this *office* were also annexed additionally (by him) some tithes in Redburn; and he appointed a daily provision of meat to be allowed to the writers, lest the writers should be hindered in their work. And the Abbot caused some

* Hist. of St. Alban's Abbey, p. 75.

† *Postquam—præfato militi librarium suum, primò paratum, liberaliter contulerat continuò—libros præ-electos scribi fecit.* Matt. Paris, p. 1003.

‡ *In fenestris in domo librari monasterii prædicti.* Monasticon, Vol. I. p. 183.

some noble volumes, necessary for the Church, to be *there*, in the very *Scriptorium* which he built himself, written by writers selected and fetched from far."* By these writers many books were transcribed, and were afterwards given to the Church by Paul: the collection was further augmented by Abbot Symond; who, himself, gave constant employment to three or four scribes, and ordained that all future Abbots 'should employ one scribe at least.' The increase of books was so considerable, through the above, and other causes, that Leland, but a few years previous to the Dissolution, remained several days in the Abbey, for the purpose of extracting "notes of the Antiquities of Britain, from the *treasures of the celebrated Library which is there.*"† All these treasures, however, were dispersed in the subsequent wreck of religious foundations; yet a few of the Manuscripts, that are known to have belonged to the Abbey, may still be found in our public libraries.

Almost all the monastic buildings appear to have been situated on the south and south-west side of the Church; but of these only the great *Gate-House*, on the west, and a few cottages, said to have been originally parts of the King's stable, are now standing. The ruins of the various edifices have evidently raised the ground which they occupied considerably, and the sites of some of them may yet be traced. The situation of the principal cloisters can be very clearly ascertained, from the ruined arches that still remain attached to the walls of the Church. The nine which run parallel with the nave, each consist of three small pointed arches within a larger one, with double trefoil ornaments in the spandrils; all these rise from slender pillars, now almost hidden to their capitals, by the accumulated rubbish: those arches which adjoin the transept are more

* Whitaker's St. German's, from Matt. Paris, p. 1003.

† *Agebam dies aliquot apud Fanum Albani, monasterium propter muros deserti Verolamii situm, ut aliquid antiquitatis Britannicæ e thesauris bibliothecæ quæ ibidem celebris est, eruerem.* Lel. De Script. Brit. p. 166.

more plain; but that nearest to the south door, has a canopied bracket for a statue.

The *Gate-House*, a large, and heavy, gloomy building, forming the chief entrance into the Abbey precincts, was built in the time of Richard the Second; and the upper part is now used as the Prison of the Liberty, as the lower part formerly was of the Monastery. The large arch of entrance is obtusely pointed, and has a groined and otherwise ornamented roof. The capacious extent of the court-yard of the Abbey, may still be traced, from the scattered fragments of walls that formed the inclosure.

In the fields on this side, but at different distances, are two arched passages, locally termed the *Monks' Holes*. The opening into that which seems to have been the principal, though both have a very general similarity, is at the side of a small ditch, about 350 or 400 yards from the Church. The present entrance is almost choaked up with weeds, fragments of tiles, broken stones, &c. The extent of this passage in a northern direction, is about 248 feet; at that point all further progress has been impeded by the fall of the arch, and consequent descent of the superincumbent earth. It may be seen, however, from a small aperture on the left, that it has a continuation in the same direction. Its height is three feet, nine or ten inches; and its breadth at the bottom, about two feet.

This passage is curiously wrought: the workmanship is good; and, generally speaking, the whole is in an excellent state of preservation. The bottom is formed of large blocks of free-stone, from three to four feet long, and proportionably wide: similar, but smaller blocks form the sides, to the height of from twelve to fourteen inches. Above these, several courses of hewn or dressed flints, are carried up to the spring of the arch, which is semi-circular, and composed entirely of Roman tiles, placed edgewise. The whole passage has a gradual rise to the north. In one part, crossing the bottom, is a vacuity about one foot wide, and eight or nine inches deep. On the surface of the ground immediately above the extremity of the passage, is a hollow of several yards in extent,

extent, that has been formed through the sinking of the arch beneath, and the consequent deposition of the soil.

The second Passage opens into a field about 150 yards nearer to the Church; its interior direction is, however, the same; but the entrance is more choaked up than that of the former. The same general description will suffice for this. The blocks of free-stone at the bottom and sides, the courses of hewn flints above, and the Roman tiles forming the crown of the arch, are similar; but the internal state is more ruinous, and of consequence the passage is more obstructed. Its length to the point, where the fallen rubbish prevents any further progress, is about ninety-four feet.

That these passages were intended for drains, may be presumed from the circumstance of the passage last mentioned having two smaller apertures opening into it; one on each side, but at some distance from each other. The one on the right or east side is stopped up by the upper part of the arch having given way; but that on the west is perfect: it forms a square of about eight inches, and runs off from the larger passage at right angles. Its length appears to be between three and four feet. Its further extremity seems to open into a third large passage; but this cannot be ascertained, unless the ground were opened. The dimensions of this lateral passage render it next to improbable that it could have been intended for any other purpose than a drain; and if this is admitted, it follows, that the larger passages had the same appropriation.

Besides the Abbey Church, St. Alban's contains two others, respectively dedicated to St. Michael and St. Peter. ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH stands at the bottom of the town, on the road to Dunstable, and within the walls of the ancient Verulam. This Church, which, equally with St. Peter's, was founded about the middle of the tenth century, by Abbot Ulsinus, still displays unquestionable specimens of the original Saxon architecture, in its massive piers and plain semi-circular arches. It has, however, been much altered; and the massive tower at the west end is apparently of a later date, though still very ancient: this was originally open to the nave, by a large, plain, pointed arch, but is now excluded from the body of the Church, by a gallery brought from the old Manor-House at

Gorhambury. Some ancient inscriptions, that were here, are recorded by Weever* and Chauncy;† others yet remain, but have no particular interest, with the single exception, perhaps, of that to the memory of the illustrious FRANCIS BACON, Baron of Verulam, and Viscount St. Alban's, who, together with his mother, was buried in this fabric.‡ This renowned philosopher and statesman, is represented by a finely-sculptured alabaster statue in a niche on the north side of the chancel. He is sitting in a contemplative posture,

* Funeral Monuments, p. 344.

† Chauncy's Hertfordshire, p. 474.

‡ The biographers of Lord Bacon relate, that his health had suffered in the severe winter which followed the infectious summer of 1625; but that, on his partial recovery in the succeeding spring, he was proceeding to make a little excursion into the country, in order to try some experiments in natural philosophy, when he was taken ill, and obliged to stop at the Earl of Arundel's, at Highgate, where he died on the ninth of April, 1626. The immediate cause of his death is thus related by Aubrey, in his Manuscripts now preserved in the Ashmolean Museum, at Oxford: Aubrey himself professes to have received his information from Thomas Hobbes, of Malmsbury, who frequently visited his Lordship at his houses at Verulam, and Gorhambury.

"The cause of his Lordship's death, was trying an experiment as he was takeing the aire in the coach with Dr. Witherborne, a Scotch-man, Physitian to the King. Towards High-gate, snow lay on the ground; and it came into my Lord's thoughts, why flesh might not be preserved in snow, as in salt. They were resolved they would try the experiment presently: they alighted out of the coach, and went into a poore woman's house at the bottome of High-gate Hill, and bought a hen, and made the woman exenterate it, and then stuffed the bodie with snow; and my Lord did help to doe it himself. The snow so chilled him, that he immediately fell so ill, that he could not returne to his lodgings, (I suppose then at Gray's-Inn,) but went to the Earle of Arundell's house at High-gate, where they putt him into a good bed, warmed with a panne; but it was a damp bed, that had not been layn in for about a yeare before, which gave him such a cold, that in 2 or 3 dayes, as I remember he told me, he died of suffocation."

posture, in an elbow-chair; and beneath is the following elegant epitaph, written by the accomplished Sir Henry Wotton.

FRANCISC. BACON, BARO DE VERULAM, S.ti ALBANI VIC.mus
Seu, notioribus titulis,
Scientiarum lumen, Fæcundiæ lex,
Sic sedebat.

Qui, postquam omnia naturalis sapientiæ
Et civilis arcana evolvisset,
Naturæ decretum explevit,
Composita Solvantur,
Anº. Dñi M.DC.XXVI.
Ætat. LXVI.

Tanti viri
Mem.
THOMAS MEAUTYS,
Superstitis cultor,
Defuncti Admirator,
H. P.*

Sir

* In the new edition of the Biographia Britannica, this epitaph has been thus translated:

FRANCIS BACON,
BARON OF VERULAM, VISCOUNT ST. ALBAN'S,
or, by more conspicuous Titles,
OF SCIENCE THE LIGHT, OF ELOQUENCE THE LAW,
SAT THUS:

Who, after all natural Wisdom
And Secrets of Civil Life he had unfolded,
Nature's Law fulfilled:
Let Compounds be dissolved!
In the Year of Our Lord, 1626; of his Age, 66.

Of such a Man, that the Memory might remain,
THOMAS MEAUTYS
Living, his Attendant; Dead, his Admirer,
Placed this Monument.

In

Sir Thomas Meautys,* who erected this monument, had been Private Secretary to Lord Verulam, and continued his fidelity to him through all his troubles; and on the death of his master, inherited his possessions, as cousin and next heir. He, himself, was interred in this Church, as appears from an imperfect inscription on a stone on the pavement near the altar rails, and which stone is partly concealed by a pew. What remains of the inscription is as follows: the second line seems to have been chipped away by some invidious person, but is not effectually obliterated.

— — — H THE BODY OF S.R
— — — MEAUTYS K.T

In this Church is also the burial-place of the family of the Lords *Grimston,* of Gorhambury; the memory of those interred is preserved by hatchments, and other memorials.

ST. PETER'S CHURCH stands on elevated ground, at the north-east extremity of the town, on the Luton road. Though originally constructed in the Saxon times, it appears, from the style of its architecture, to have been re-built about the time of Henry the Third. Since that period, however, it has undergone considerable repairs and alterations; the most recent of which have been made at the expense of about 4000l. since the year 1803, when an Act of Parliament was obtained to empower certain trustees, appointed under

In the commendation given in the same work, to Hollar's Etching of the Monument, the Biographers are not equally happy: so far, indeed, is the plate from being *excellent,* as they have characterized it, that it is extremely unlike, both in the features, and the position.

* The unsettled state of our orthography, even so late as the beginning of the seventeenth century, may in some degree be exemplified by the spelling of this name; which is *Meautys* in the epitaph; though, in a letter from Lord Bacon to Sir Hepry Wotton, it is spelt *Mewtus;* and in Sir Henry's reply, *Meawtis:** Sir Henry was related both to Lord Bacon and Sir Thomas.

* See Reliquæ Wottonianæ, p. 297, 8.

under the Act, to levy a rate on the parishioners to the above amount. The tower having become extremely ruinous, and in great danger of falling, had been previously taken down; and a general reparation of the whole structure was deemed necessary.*

* All the expensive repairs and modern alterations of this fabric, have probably originated from an order of Vestry, made the twentieth of April, 1756, in the following words: "That the succeeding Church-Wardens have the old belfry taken down, and the middle floor sunk as low as it can conveniently be, to make another belfry." To explain this, it is necessary to observe, that the original belfry was so low, as to obstruct that perspective view of the chancel which the then rulers of the parish were desirous of obtaining; and therefore, under the order above stated, they had a new belfry erected, the floor of which is said to have been about twenty-two feet higher than the old floor. This answered the purpose of opening the view, but was soon discovered to have done essential injury to the building, from violating the principles on which it had been originally constructed. The old belfry-floor had rested against the four great piers which supported the tower, and were below of solid masonry; yet it now appeared, that the original builders had not carried them up solid so high as the place which the new floor was to rest upon, but had contented themselves with an outside casing, filled only with rubble. Under these circumstances, on the eleventh of May, 1785, the vestry resolved, "That, whereas the two piers (or part thereof) of the Church tower next the south aisle, *is* in a dangerous and ruinous condition," the same be forthwith "repaired." For that purpose, a carpenter in the parish was employed, who introduced one of his own friends in the character of a surveyor: these fit associates, having undermined the piers of the tower, a heavy building, thirty-three feet square, prepared to set them upon *wooden legs*, and accordingly dragged from London (where probably they had been lying upon the mud in the river Thames) thirty-six great blocks of Memel timber, which they set upright, nine in each pier, and then surrounded them with brick-work separately; and afterwards walled round, and covered with plaster, the four piers, so as to make them look like strong massy columns. With similar inconsideration, the Vestry, on the sixth of September, 1786, granted permission to certain persons, who desired it, to add, at their own expense, two new triples to the eight bells already belonging to the Church; all tending to increase the superincumbent weight. The

The Church, as it anciently stood, was in the form of a long cross, with a tower rising from the intersection of the nave, chancel, and transept;

The amount of the expense wasted on this repair, was 2790*l.* and almost as soon as it was finished, the parish seemed to be alarmed with apprehensions of the consequence; for so early as the twenty-second of March, 1790, a Vestry met to inspect the state of the four principal pillars; and the Vicar having moved, that Mr. Richard Norris, of Christ's Hospital, should survey them immediately, he did so on the twenty-fourth of April following, and gave it as his "opinion, that so long as the timbers used in them remained sound, the tower might be safe; but," he adds, "should they decay, I doubt the tower's standing; and am sorry to say, that, from the appearance of some of them, I should fear they are proceeding to that state." In the mean time, the Vicar, and the Archdeacon, did all in their power to prevent mischief, and promote peace, but in vain: vestries were held continually: one forbade the ringing of the bells; the next rescinded the prohibition, and ordered it. More surveyors were called in, of whom some said, that the timbers were "perfectly sound, and would be capable of supporting the tower *for at least seven years* to come;" others declared they were decaying; till at length Mr. James Lewis, of Christ's Hospital, having made a fair and unbiassed report of the state of things, the parish were persuaded to take down the tower; after they had gone on for years, sometimes using the Church, and at other times having it shut up. To close the scene, on the morning of Saturday, the twenty-first of November, 1801, (service being at that time performed every Sunday,) the whole floor of the belfry fell at once into the body of the Church, and crushed several of the pews to pieces; a beam that supported the floor, and rested on the piers, having broke off, being quite rotten. This event obliged the parish to apply to Parliament for an Act to enable them to re-build the tower and chancel upon a reduced scale, and more effectually to repair the Church: this Act passed on the twenty-fourth of March, 1803. The Bishop of Ely, to whom the chancel belonged, agreed to its being made smaller, and with his lessees of the great tithes of the rectory, handsomely contributed towards the expense, on condition that the parish should secure to the appropriator, the site of the old chancel, and maintain the new one for the time to come. The architect appointed to effect the recent alterations, was Mr. Robert Chapman, of Wormwood-Street, London.

transept; but the tower is now built up from the ground: the chancel has been shortened upwards of thirty feet; and both ends of the transept have been taken down to the level of the side walls of the Church. The present tower is of brick, neatly stuccoed, and embattled: its height is sixty-seven feet.

The interior of St. Peter's has a very light and elegant appearance, the nave being separated from the aisles by a double series of high pointed arches, supported on well-proportioned, clustered pillars. The tower is open to the nave by a pointed arch; and the windows of the aisles are large and graceful; those of the nave, which range above the roof of the aisles, have obtuse arches: the east window is an excellent modern imitation of the pointed style. The pews are plain, but regular; and the whole interior has a neat and pleasing effect.

Before the former repair, there were many sepulchral brasses with curious inscriptions in this Church; and in the windows was a great variety of painted glass, some of which still remains.* The most remarkable of the inscriptions was under the figure of a Priest, on a slab in the chancel: it was engraved in a double circle, between the leaves of a rose, as in the

* Salmon, in his Account of Herts, page 90, has noticed this painted glass in the following manner: "A great deal of painted glass in the windows. In the north window, St. Peter with his keys, twice: St. Andrew at the west. In the north window, a man drinking; a label, *Ecce bibi Venenum crede:* two stand by him; one of them holds the bottom of the cup to his mouth; a third is sitting, with two children leaning their heads in his lap. In the next, (window,) one in armour kneeling; two others standing by. In the middle window is a person naked, his hands tied down, an executioner stabbing him in the throat with a long sword; a woman stands behind: this seems designed for Offa's Queen, seeing young Alfred murthered. The third hath a grave man, in a blue gown and cap, with his hands tied to a pillar, a woman sitting by in a mournful posture."

cut beneath, which was executed from a reduced drawing made from an impression taken from the brass itself; so that all the forms of the letters, and variety of the contractions, are represented with perfect accuracy.*

The outer circle, when divested of its contractions, and spelt agreeably to the present system, will run thus:

Lo all that ere I spent, that sometime had I;
All that I gave in good intent, that now have I,
That I neither gave nor lent, that now abie I;
That I kept till I went, that lost I. The

***

* The Drawing was made by Mr. Thomas Fisher, whose talents for correct delineation, have been eminently displayed by his print of the Roman Pavement, lately discovered in Leadenhall-Street; and by his perfect fac-similes of the abstruse inscriptions from ancient Babylon, made by order of the Directors of the East India Company, and engraved at their expense: the Cut was executed by the ingenious Mr. R. T. Austin.

The inner circle expresses the same sentiments in Latin, but more concisely; when read at length it is as follows:

Quod Expendi habui,
Quod Donavi habeo,
Quod Negavi punior,
Quod Servavi perdidi.

The word *Ecce*, in the centre, should be rendered, *Thus it is!*

Another brass, in the chancel, represented a Merchant and his wife: the latter was dressed in a close-bodied mantle, with a cloak descending to the feet, and rising in a square hood above her head: beneath their feet was this inscription:

Hic jacent Johēs Atkyn Glover qui obijt . xii°.
die Decembr. Anno. dñi Millimo CCCC . xlix . Et dña
Johanna ux — —

On a slab in the nave, were brasses of a male and female; the former in the habit of a Merchant; with the following epitaph in four lines:

Willm Victor. and his Wyf Grace.
under this stone ben buried here
In heven good Lord graunt hem a place
As thu them bought with thi blode full dere
Whiche Willm as here it doth appere
The Ix day of Marche. past this present lyfe
M.CCCCC.LXXX and IX yere
Of xpist whos grace be their preservatyfe.

Many of the bodies of those that were slain in the two battles of St. Alban's, were buried in this Church and Church-yard. Among those interred in the Church, was *Sir Bertin Entwysel*, Knt. of Lancashire, who was wounded in the first battle, and died a few days afterwards. Leland says, "he was beryed under the place of the Lectorium in the quyre, whereas a memoriall of him ther yet remeyneth." This 'memoriall' was a brass figure of a Knight in armour, a fragment of which was preserved in the late vestry: the form of the handle of the sword which the Knight is

represented as wearing, is exactly similar to that of a real sword said to have belonged to Entwysel, found in digging up the foundations of the chancel during the last repairs.

Of those who were killed in the same battle, and interred here, were the Ralphs *Babthorpe*, father and son, of Bapthorpe, in Yorkshire. Their epitaph, both in Latin and English, is recorded by Weever and Chauncy: the English part was a translation of the Latin, and ran thus:

Behold where two RAULPH BABTHORPS, both the Sonne and Father lie,
Under a Stone of marble hard, interr'd in this mould drie;
To Henry Sixth, the Father, Squire, the Sone, he Sewer was,
Both true to Prince, and for his sake, they both their Life did passe,
The Year one Thousand, and foure Hundred Fifty-five,
Grimme Death, yet not alone, did them of breath deprive;
The last day of their light was th' twentieth-two of May,
God grant them light in Heav'n, and without end, a Day.

Among the other inscriptions of the fifteenth century, was one in commemoration of *Edmund Westby*, Esq. who died in September, 1475: he was Hundredor and Bailiff of the Liberty of St. Alban; and in his house, Henry the Sixth is said to have remained during the time of the first battle. In the chancel is a handsome monument in memory of LIEUTENANT COLONEL WILLIAM DOBYNS, who was appointed Lieutenant Governor of Berwick upon Tweed by Queen Anne, and, after retiring from the military service, at an advanced age, became Justice of the Peace for Middlesex and Hertfordshire, and for the Liberty of St. Alban. He died in January, 1738-9, at the age of eighty-eight. Another handsome monument in the chancel, with a very florid Latin epitaph, records the memory of ROBERT RUMNEY, D. D. who was Vicar of this Church upwards of twenty-eight years, and of whom some curious circumstances are related in the first article *(Mirza to Selim)* of the second volume of Dr. Cotton's Various Pieces: he died at the age of fifty-eight, in December, 1743. Against the west wall, at the end of the nave, is a tablet to commemorate the virtues of ROBERT CLAVERING, M. B. Scholar of Christ Church, Oxon, who died in June, 1747, aged twenty-nine. Beneath a Latin epitaph,

epitaph, giving him an exalted character, are the following lines, written by Dr. Cotton.

Oh! come who know the childless parent's sigh,
The bleeding bosom, and the streaming eye;
Who feel the wounds a dying friend imparts
When the last pang divides two social hearts:
This weeping marble claims the generous tear:
Here lies the friend, the son, and all that's dear.
He fell full-blossom'd in the pride of youth,
The nobler pride of science, worth, and truth.
Firm and serene he view'd his mouldering clay,
Nor fear'd to go, nor fondly wish'd to stay;
And when the King of Terrors he descry'd,
Kiss'd the stern mandate, bow'd his head, and dy'd.

Another monument, against the west wall, displays the bust of EDWARD STRONG, of New Barns, in this parish, Citizen and Mason of London, who, "equally with its ingenious architect, Sir Christopher Wren, and its truly pious diocesan, Bishop Compton, shared the felicity of seeing both the beginning and the finishing of that stupendous fabric," the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, (to the laying of the last stone,) about which he was employed as Mason: he died at the age of seventy-one, in February, 1723.

The Church-yard is extremely spacious, and contains numerous monuments; and among them, one with this inscription: "Here are deposited the remains of ANNE, HANNAH, and NATHANIEL COTTON:" this is the only memorial for Dr. Cotton, the ingenious author of Visions in Verse, the Fire-side, and other small pieces, all of which are strongly conducive to promote the interests of virtue and religion: they were buried respectively, the fourteenth of April, 1749; nineteenth of May, 1772; and the eighth of August, 1788.

The principal *Charitable Foundation* at St. Alban's is locally named the BUILDINGS, and consists of nine alms-houses, forming three sides of an oblong square, with a palisade in front, near the entrance of the town from Hertford: each house has a detached garden, and contains four apartments. These were built and en-

dowed by Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, for the comfortable support and maintenance of thirty-six poor persons; one half to be poor men, and the other half poor women. The present allowance to the alms-people is 12l. per annum each. The entire management of this establishment is vested in the proprietor of the manor of Sandridge, which having been the property of the late Earl Spencer, his widow, the Dowager Countess Spencer, has now the superintendence.* Not far distant from the above, and near the north-west side of St. Peter's Church, in Bow-gate, is *Pemberton's*

* About the year 1735, Sarah, Duchess Dowager of Marlborough, purchased of the heirs of the family of Robotham, the Manor of Newland Squillers, within the Parish of St. Peter, of which the Manor-House stood at the extremity of the Borough, by the side of the road leading to Hatfield and Hertford. This house having been long abandoned by the family, had been let as a Boy's Boarding-School; and about the years 1715 to 1718, it was a very reputable school among the Dissenters, where the celebrated Dr. Doddridge, Dr. Aikin, and others, ministers, and other persons of that profession, received the rudiments of their education. The Duchess pulled down the house, and erected the present Buildings, or Alms-House, on the site; which Alms-House, and the grounds laid to the same, together with certain estates in Crowhurst, and other places in the counties of Surrey, Sussex, and Kent, late the property of Edward Gibbon, one of the South-Sea Directors, and certain other estates in Marston Jabbett, in the county of Warwick, late the property of Robert Surman, Deputy-Cashier of the South-Sea Company, the Duchess, by deed inrolled in Chancery, dated 2nd of June, 1736, conveyed to Daniel, Earl of Winchelsea and Nottingham, the Right Hon. Sir Thomas Reeve, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and others, in trust, for the maintenance of the almsmen and alms-women, but subject to the sole management of the said Duchess during her life, and after her decease, of the person who shall be in possession of her estate in the adjoining parish of Sandridge, (who is at present her great great grandson, Earl Spencer.) She also directed 20l. per annum to be paid to the Rector of the Abbey Church, or to the Vicar of the Parish Church of St. Peter, for the time being, for overlooking the poor that shall be placed in the said Alms-House.

ton's Alms-House; a range of six buildings, erected for as many poor widows, in pursuance of the Will of Roger Pemberton, Esq. who was Sheriff of this county in 1620, and died in 1627; having directed that the sum of 5l. yearly, issuing from his manor of Shelton, in Bedfordshire, should be paid for the maintenance of each of the said widows for ever. Over the gate of the little court before the Alms-House, is an arrow, or short spear-head, stuck upright in the brick-work; and the tradition of the place is, that the founder shot a widow with an arrow by accident, and built the Alms-House by way of atonement. He was grandfather to Sir Francis Pemberton, Lord Chief Justice of England in the time of Charles the Second. Other *Alms-Houses*, but of inferior importance, are established in different parts of the town.

Several *Schools*, for the instruction of the children of the poor, have been instituted here, and are supported by voluntary contributions, and other patronage. The *Grammar-School* was founded under the Charter of Incorporation granted to the Borough by Edward the Sixth. Queen Elizabeth, by Letters Patent, dated at Gorhambury, on the twenty-fourth of March, in the twelfth of her reign, (1570,) empowered the Mayor and Burgesses, for the better support of the said School, to grant two wine licenses to any persons they should think fit, within the borough, permitting them, "to sell all sorts of wine, by any measures and at any price," to the exclusion of all others; provided that the annual salary of 20l. was paid by the Mayor and Burgesses to the Master of the School. Another wine licence was granted, by James the First, in order to augment the stipend of the Master by the 'sum of four marks;' and at the same time the Mayor and Burgesses were privileged to seize any wine kept for sale contrary to the grant, in any place within the borough, or the distance of two miles. These wine licenses were let by auction for three years from Christmas, 1803, for the benefit of the grammar master, at 16l. per annum each; to the keepers of the White Hart, the Woolpack, and the Pea-Hen inns. Over the door of the School is this inscription:

SCHOLA

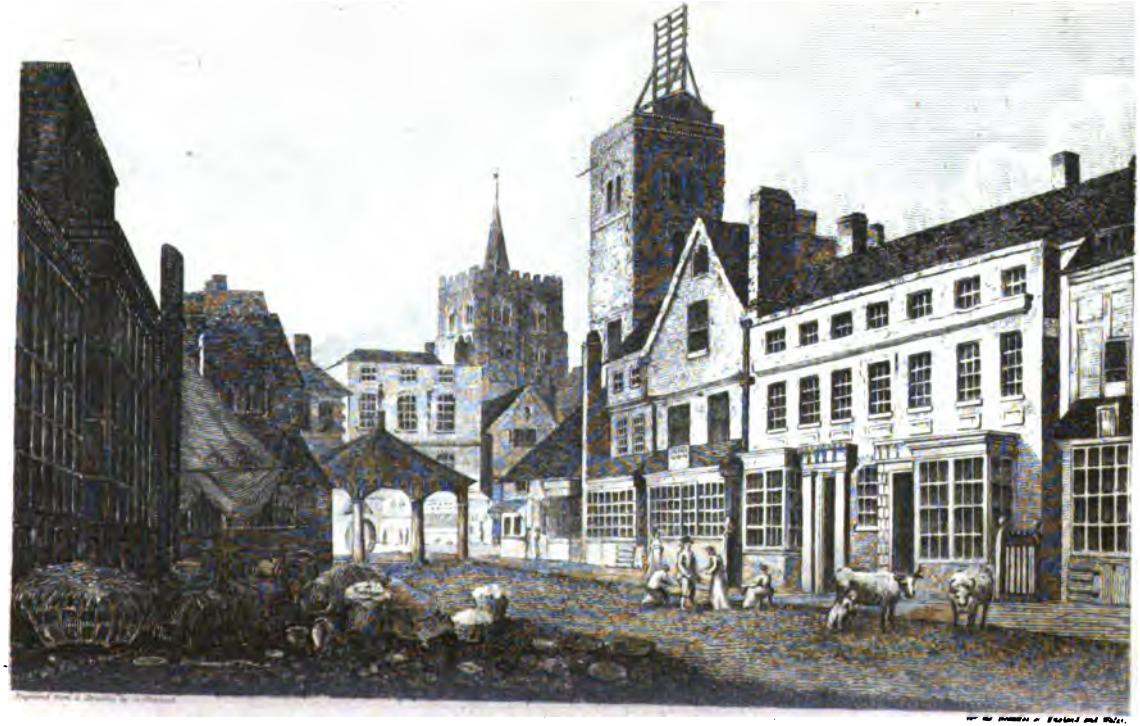
SCHOLA S.ti ALBANI.

Quæ Divæ MARIÆ *jampridem nomine dicta est,*
Literulis celebrem fecit ELISA *domum.*
Quid vetat ingenuas pietati jungier artes?
Hinc, illinc, veræ est religionis honos.

Another *School*, for thirty boys and ten girls, has been established by the Presbyterians of this town, who have a Meeting-House here; as have also the Quakers, the Independants, and the Baptists.

The charter by which this Borough was first incorporated, was granted by Edward the Sixth, in the year 1553: it vests the government of the Borough in a Mayor and ten capital Burgesses, who were empowered to make other Burgesses at their discretion, a Steward, a Chamberlain, and two Sergeants at Mace. The provisions of this charter were somewhat altered both by Charles the First and Charles the Second, and again by James the Second; but the charter of the latter King was afterwards made void, and the Borough is now governed by that granted by his predecessor, on the twenty-seventh of July, 1664. Under this charter, the Corporation officers consist of a Mayor, twelve other Aldermen, twenty-four Assistant Burgesses, a High Steward, a Recorder, a Town Clerk, a Coroner, &c. The Mayor is chosen annually on St. Matthew's day. The first return to Parliament was made in the thirty-fifth of Edward the First; but after the reign of Edward the Third, no Members appear to have been sent by this Borough till the first of Queen Mary, when two representatives were chosen under the new charter that had been granted by Edward the Sixth: since that period the returns have been regular. The right of election is vested in the "Mayor, Aldermen, and Freemen, and in such householders only as pay scot and lot:" the number of voters at the last contested election is said to have been 516.

The *Town-Hall* is an old building in St. Peter's Street: it had previously belonged to the Abbey, and was called the Charnel House; and it was granted by that name to the Mayor and Burgesses when the Borough was first incorporated by charter. All



HIGH STREET.

the public business is now transacted here; as well of the Borough as the Liberty: in the windows of the Hall, or Court of Justice, are some old shields of arms; in the lower part is the prison of the Borough, or Town Gaol. The *Market-House* is a plain structure, supported on wooden pillars. The *Market-Cross*, which is also of wood, is of an octagonal form, and is said to stand on the same spot where Edward the First had previously built one of those beautiful stone crosses which he erected in commemoration of his beloved Eleanor. Near this is an ancient square tower, called the *Clock-House*, principally built of flints, with strong vaulting beneath: the lower part is now inhabited; but the original destination of this fabric is unknown. The markets are well supplied, particularly with corn, butcher's meat, eggs, &c.

Various improvements have been made at St. Alban's within the last twenty years: one of the principal was forming a new road through the south-east part of the town, under an Act of Parliament obtained in 1794, by which some dangerous turnings were avoided. Within the last year, several of the streets have also been paved and lighted, in pursuance of another Act passed in March, 1804; and these improvements are intended to be continued through the whole Borough. Some of the houses, especially in the higher parts of the town, are respectable buildings. The entire number in the three parishes within the Borough, as returned under the Act of 1800, was 527; that of the inhabitants, 3088. The situation of the town on the north-west road, occasions considerable business from the passage of travellers, and many principal and inferior inns have been established here. Additional employment is supplied by two Breweries, a Cotton Manufactory, and a *Silk Mill*: the latter occupies the same situation on the river Ver as what was named the Abbey Mill, and furnishes labour to about fifty girls of different ages. The machinery fills three rooms, and is very ingeniously contrived; some of it is constructed on a new and much-improved principle. This manufacture, though scarcely introduced above three years, promises to become flourishing: and a new Mill is now fitting up near the former one.

At

At the bottom of Holywell Hill, in St. Alban's, on the north-east side of the Meuse River, is HOLYWELL HOUSE, the pleasant residence of the Dowager Countess Spencer, who retired hither after the decease of the late Earl Spencer, in the year 1783, and has since made it her general place of residence. This Mansion was principally erected by Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, into whose family the estate has been conveyed by the marriage of a daughter and co-heiress of Ralph Rowlat, Esq. who was Sheriff of Hertfordshire and Essex, in the thirty-third of Henry the Eighth. In the pediment of the principal front, are various military trophies, in allusion to the victories achieved by the Great Duke of Marlborough: the garden front opens to the lawn by a kind of cloister, which formed part of the old building that stood upon this spot.

Among the few interesting pictures that decorate the apartments, is a very fine three-quarter length of SARAH, Duchess of Marlborough, by Sir Godfrey Kneller; and also a portrait of LADY HOWARD, by the same artist, with the date 1694. Here is likewise a painting of QUEEN ANNE, and the DUKE OF GLOCESTER, when a boy, (given by that Queen to the Duchess of Marlborough;) portraits of the EARL and COUNTESS OF BESBOROUGH; a whole length of the present LORD SPENCER, when a youth, by Sir Joshua Reynolds; and another of his sister, the present DUCHESS OF DEVONSHIRE, by Gainsborough; whose talents for portrait are also displayed by a large picture of WILLIAM POYNTZ, Esq. of Midgham, in Berkshire, brother to the Lady Dowager Spencer: he is represented in a shooting dress, with a gun; and near him is a water spaniel: the landscape part of this picture is extremely fine.

The grounds connected with this mansion, though not extensive, are pleasingly varied: the trees are of almost every description, and most of them have been planted by the Dowager Lady Spencer; who possesses considerable knowledge in botanical science, and has also embellished her little demesne with a great number of curious plants. The *Holy-well,* from which the estate has derived its name, is on the lawn adjacent to the garden front: it is still held in some degree of estimation, for its purity, and salubrious qualities.

Among

Among the most eminent natives of St. Alban's are recorded Alexander Necham, Nequam, or Neckham, Sir John Mandeville, Sir John King, and Sir Francis Pemberton. ALEXANDER NECHAM flourished in the reign of King John, and attained very general celebrity for his knowledge in philosophy, poetry, divinity, and rhetoric. So great was his fame, that he was styled '*miraculum ingenii;* the wonder and miracle of wit and science.' SIR JOHN MANDEVILLE was born about the beginning of the fourteenth century, and became famous as the greatest traveller of his age. He left England in 1332; and having visited most parts of the world, and acquired a knowledge of many languages, returned home after an absence of thirty-four years. His Itinerary has been published in English, French, Latin, Italian, and German; and though it contains many improbable statements, is still interesting. According to Weever, he died at Liege, in 1371, as before stated. SIR JOHN KING, an eminent Lawyer, was born in the year 1639: he was admitted into Queen's College, Cambridge, at the age of sixteen, and became remarkable for his early and great attainments. In 1660, he was removed to the Inner Temple, where he made great progress in the study of the law; and afterwards became King's Counsel, and Solicitor General to the Duke of York, and was knighted by Charles the Second, in 1674. He died about three years afterwards, at the age of thirty-eight, and was buried in the Temple Church. SIR FRANCIS PEMBERTON was descended from an ancient family in Lancashire, and was the son of Ralph Pemberton, Esq. who was Mayor of this Borough in 1627 and 1638. After receiving the rudiments of his education at Emanuel College, Cambridge, he pursued his studies at the Inner Temple, and was called to the Bar in November, 1654. After successive promotions, he was made Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in 1682. He died in 1697, at the age of seventy-two, and was buried at Highgate, where he had built a handsome residence.

The ruins of SOPWELL NUNNERY occupy a considerable space of ground about half a mile south-eastward from St. Alban's; but the dilapidations have been so great, that neither the plan of the buildings, nor their appropriation, can now be traced. This Nunnery

nery was of the Benedictine Order, and was founded about the year 1140, by Geoffrey de Gorham, sixteenth Abbot of St. Alban's, on the site of an humble dwelling that had been constructed with branches of trees, by two pious women, who lived here in seclusion and strict abstinence. The Abbot ordained that the number of Nuns should not exceed thirteen, and that none should be admitted into the sisterhood but maidens: he also granted them some lands; and their possessions were afterwards increased by different grants from Henry de Albini, and others of his family: an estate in the parish of Ridge was likewise given to them by Richard de Tany, or Todenai. At the period of the dissolution of this house, its annual revenues were estimated, according to Speed, at 68l. 8s. 0d.* but Dugdale records them at only 40l. 7s. 10d.

In the year 1541, Henry the Eighth granted the site and buildings of the Nunnery to Sir Richard Lee, who had been bred to arms, and was the person who had previously obtained the grant of the lands lying contiguous to the Abbey Church.† By him the buildings were enlarged and altered for his own residence; and the surrounding grounds were inclosed by a wall, and converted into a park. Sir Richard died in 1575, leaving two daughters; by Anne, the eldest of whom, married to Edwyn Sadleir, second son of Sir Ralph Sadleir, of Standon, in this county, Sopwell passed into that family. About the time of the Restoration, it again fell to an heiress, married to Thomas Saunders, Esq. of Beechwood, and was afterwards sold to Sir Harbottle Grimston, ancestor to the present Lord Viscount Grimston, of Gorhambury, who is now owner of a considerable part of Sopwell-Bury Manor.

The ruins of Sopwell are mostly huge fragments of wall, composed of flint and brick: the windows in what appear to have been

* Tanner supposes that Speed mistook a figure, and that the revenue was only 58l. 8s. 0d.

† Newcome asserts, (Hist. of St. Alban's, p. 469,) that Sopwell was given to Sir Richard through the solicitations of his handsome wife, "whose maiden name was Margaret Greenfield, and who was in no small favor with the King."

been the chief apartments, are square, and large, with stone frames; some of them have been neatly ornamented. The gardens, which lie contiguous, are now orchards: in the wall, over the door leading into the principal one, is a square tablet of stone, sculptured with the figure of a dexter hand and arm, elevated, and holding a broken sword*; above was an inscribed label, now mutilated. In an angle in this garden is a strongly-arched brick building, with various small recesses and niches, constructed within the walls. This Nunnery is said to have obtained the name of Sopwell from the circumstance of the two women who first established themselves here, steeping their crusts in the water of a neighbouring well. One of the out-buildings is yet standing at a little distance, and is now used as a barn. Many of those who assumed the veil at Sopwell, were ladies of distinguished rank, family, and learning. An unauthorized tradition represents Henry the Eighth as having been married to Anne Boleyn in the Chapel here.

ST. STEPHEN'S CHURCH, nearly one mile south-westward from St. Alban's, was founded in the tenth century, by Abbot Ulsinus, and still displays vestiges of its original architecture, though it has been much altered in subsequent ages. In the chancel stands a curious ancient brazen *Eagle*, which is said to have been found buried in the earth, on opening the vault of the Mountgomery family, about the year 1748, or 1750. Near the top is engraved a mitre, and crosier passing through it, and a coat of arms of a lion rampant, both twice repeated: lower down is a circular inscription in the old German character; and at the end of the circle, the arms again repeated; the inscription is as follows: GEORGIUS CREICHTONIUS EPISCOPUS DUNKELDENSIS.† On the pavement is an inscribed slab in memory

* The crest granted to Sir Richard Lee in 1544, was an arm with a gauntlet, holding the hilt of a broken sword.

† In Beatson's List of the Scottish Bishops, two Bishops of Dunkeld of those names occur under the sixteenth century: the first was Lord Privy Seal of Scotland; the other *his* nephew: how the eagle came into this Church from Scotland is unknown; though it seems probable, that it might have been brought hither by Sir Richard Lee, with the font which he presented to St. Alban's.

mory of OLIVE MOUNTGOMERY, wife of Lewis Mountgomery, Gent. of this parish, who died in March, 1696: over it hangs a singular little hatchment, only twenty-seven inches in diameter, the border of which is ornamented with bones, spades, hour-glasses, and other emblems of human mortality. Here also is an inscription for JOHN PITT, Esq. of Ashford, in Somersetshire, who "entered early into the army, was engaged in all King William's and Queen Anne's wars; at length became Aide-de-Camp, and Master of the Horse, to John, Duke of Marlborough; and in 1727 was made Governor of the Bermuda Islands:" he died in June, 1750, aged eighty-nine. Against the south wall is an inscribed tablet in memory of JOHN ROLFE, Esq. "Official of the Archdeaconry of St. Alban, Commissary of the Archdeaconry of Huntingdon, and one of the Masters of Chancery:" he died at the age of sixty-five, in October, 1630. The epitaph is thus given by Chauncy:

JAMES, art thou here? and must this Church of Stephen
Inshrine thy body, now thy soul's in Heav'n?
Had not thy monument been better fixt
Nearer to that of ABBOT JOHN the Sixth,
By ALBAN'S shrine? where thy religious care
Redeem'd those sacred relicks from despair.
No! thou wast wise, and sure thou thought it better,
To make each Proto-martyr's Church thy debtor;
That glories kept by thee from ruin's rust,
And *this* may glory that it keeps thy dust.

Various other sepulchral memorials are in this edifice; and in the Church-yard is a table monument in memory of the Right Hon. LADY ANNE PADDEY, daughter of Charles, Duke of Cleveland and Southampton, who died in February, 1769, aged sixty-six; and her husband, John Paddey, Esq. who had been her father's butler: he died at the age of eighty-three, in March, 1780. Part of St. Stephen's Parish belongs to the Earl of Essex, and is included in what is called Park Manor.

At

Engraved by S. Grey from a drawing by J. Lloyd.

Published as the Act directs by Boydell & Nicholl.

GORHAMBURY,

[Seat of Lord Viscount Grimston.]

At a short distance from the north-west side of ancient Verulam, was a HOSPITAL for Female Lepers, called *St. Mary de Pré*, or *de Pratis*, from its situation. This was founded by Guarine, twentieth Abbot of St. Alban's, about the time of Richard the First, and was enlarged as its inmates became more numerous. They were at first supported on allowances from the Abbey; but afterwards obtained some possessions, though of inconsiderable value. In 1528, Cardinal Wolsey, who then held the Abbey of St. Alban *in commendam*, obtained a Bull from Pope Clement the Eighth for suppressing this Hospital, and annexing its lands to those of the Abbey; but he afterwards procured a grant of them for his own use.* After his attainder, Henry the Eighth granted the site to Ralph Rowlat, Esq. of whose female descendants it was purchased by Sir Harbottle Grimston, Bart. and is now the property of Lord Viscount Grimston. Not any of the buildings remain; but the memory of the Hospital is preserved in the name of *St. Mary de Pré* Wood, which occupies a considerable plot of ground adjoining to Gorhambury, and of *Pré* Mill, upon the river Ver.

GORHAMBURY, the delightful seat of Lord Viscount Grimston, has derived an adventitious, though brilliant lustre, from its having been the property and residence of the great Lord Bacon, and others of his family. It obtained its present appellation from ——— de Gorham, a relation of Geoffrey and Robert de Gorham, Abbots of St. Alban's, from whom he had received a grant and confirmation of certain lands, lying contiguous to Westwic, about the middle of the twelfth century. On this estate, which had previously formed part of the Abbey possessions, he erected a mansion, which being called *Gorham-Bury*, conferred its own name on the whole estate. His descendants continued to enjoy it during several generations, as appears from the circumstance of John de Gorham, and Lawrence de Broke, being required to supply one man towards the Scottish wars in the time of Edward the First, for the fee they held in Westwic and Shephall. At length, towards the end of the fourteenth century, Gorhambury

* Tanner's Notitia.

was re-annexed to the Abbey by Abbot de la Mare, who purchased it for 800 marks; and it continued attached till the period of the Dissolution. In the year 1541, Henry the Eighth granted it, together with other large estates, to Ralph Rowlat, Esq. who was afterwards knighted, and made Sheriff of the County in the first of Edward the Sixth, and again in the first of Elizabeth. By Mary, his eldest daughter and co-heiress, married to John Maynard, Esq. Gorhambury became the property of that gentleman; and he, about the year 1550, sold it to Nicholas Bacon, Esq. who was afterwards knighted, and made Lord Keeper of the Great Seal by Queen Elizabeth.

Sir Nicholas erected a new mansion, at a short distance westward from that which now forms the residence of Lord Grimston; and here he was frequently visited by the Queen, who dated many of her state papers from Gorhambury. This House appears to have formed a quadrangle; but the chief parts that are now standing, are the ruins of the Hall, which constituted the inner side of the court; and a high octagonal tower, commanding some good views over the surrounding country, though now too ruinous to be ascended.* The entrance porch is a square projection of stone, rising to the top of the building, and fancifully ornamented. Under the pediment, are the Royal arms of Elizabeth; and below it, in niches on each side a square window, are statues of Roman soldiers: beneath the window is this inscription:

Hæc cum perfecit Nicholaus Tecta Baconus,
Elizabeth Regni Lustra Fvere Dvo;
Factus eques, magni custos erat ille sigilli.
Gloria sit soli tota tributa Deo.

The walls are about three feet thick, and composed of flints and brick: the window-frames are of Tottenhoe stone. The inside, which is now quite open, appears, from the Aubrey Manuscripts, to

* These remains form the principal objects in the annexed view; but several alterations in the smaller parts, have taken place since the drawing was executed.

to have been highly ornamented in the splendid style of the age. In the Hall, says Aubrey, "is a large storie, very well painted, of the Feast of the Gods, where Mars is caught in a net by Vulcan. On the wall over the chimney is painted an Oake, with [illegible]nes falling from it, with the words *Nisi quid potius;* and on the wall over the table, is painted Ceres teaching the soweing of corne, the words *Monita Meliora.*" The tower is of brick, plastered. About thirty yards from it, in a niche in a broken wall, is a full length statue of Henry the Eighth, in gilt armour, but greatly defaced, and otherwise mutilated. This wall formed part of a noble piazza, or porticus, which, according to the manuscripts before quoted, was built by the Lord Chancellor Bacon,* and is described by Pennant as having a range of pillars of the Tuscan order

* This was not the only essay in building made by Lord Bacon: he also erected a mansion "within the walls" of ancient Verulam, which, according to Aubrey, "he had a great mind to have made a citie again; and he had designed it to be built with great uniformity."—Verulam-house, continues this writer, "was the most ingeniously contrived house or pile that ever I saw. No question but his Lordship was the greatest architect; but he had for his assistant, a favorite of his, a St. Albans man, Mr. Dobson, (father of Dobson the celebrated portrait-painter,) who was his Lordship's right hand."—

This house did cost 9 or 10 thousand the building, and was sold about 1665 or 6 by Sir Harbottle Grimston, Bart. (now Master of the Rolls,) to two Carpenters for fower hundred poundes, of which they made 8 hundred poundes: there were good chimney-pieces; the roomes very lofty, and very well wainscotted; there were two Bathing-roomes, or stuffes, whither his Lordship retyred afternoons as he saw cause: all the tunnels of the chimnies were carried into the middle of the howse, and round about them were seats. From the leads was a lovely prospect to the ponds, which were opposite to the east side of the house, and were on the other side of the stately walke of trees that leads to Gorhambury House, and also over that long walke of trees, whose toppes afford a most pleasant variegated verdure, resembling the works in Irish stiches. In the middle of this howse was a delicate stair-case of wood, which was curiously carved; and on the posts of every interstice, was some pretty figure, as of a grave Divine with his book and spectacles, a mendicant

in front.* "Opposite to every arch of this portico," continues Aubrey, "and as big as the arch, are drawen by an excellent hand, (but the mischief of it is, in water colours,) curious pictures, all emblematicall, with mottoes under each: for example, one I remember is a ship tossed in a storm, the motto *Alter eritum Typhys*. Over this portico is a stately Gallerie, whose glasse windowes are all painted; and every pane with severall figures of beast, bird, or flower: perhaps his Lordship might use them as topiques for locall use. The windowes looke into the garden: the side opposite

dicant Friar, &c. not one thing twice: on the dores of the upper storie, on the outside, which were painted dark umbre, were figures of the Gods of the Gentiles; viz. on the south dore 2d. storie, was Apollo: on another, Jupiter, with his thunderbolt, bigger than the life, and donne by an excellent hand; the leightnings were of hatchings of gold, which, when the sun shone on them, made a most glorious show.—This was his Lordship's Summer howse; for he said one should have seates for summer and winter, as well as cloaths. The Kitchen, Larders, Cellars, &c. are under ground.—

"From hence to Gorhambury is about 2 little miles, the way ascending hardly so acclive as a desk: three paralell walkes leade to Gorhambury in a straight line; in the middlemost, three coaches may pass abreast; in the wing walkes, two: they consist of severall stately trees of the like growth and height, elme, chesnut, beach, horn-beam, Spanish-ash, Cervice-tree, &c. whose tops, as aforesaid, doe afford from the walke on the howse, the finest shew that I have seen.—The figures of the ponds were thus; they were pitched at the bottomes with pebbles of severall colours, which where workt into severall figures, as of fishes, &c. which in his Lordship's time were plainly to be seen through the clere water, (though) now overgrown with flagges and rushes. If a poor bodie had brought his Lordship halfe a dozen pebbles of a curious colour, he would give them a shilling, so curious was he in perfecting his fish-ponds, whiche I guess doe containe four acres. In the middle of the middlemost pond in the island is a curious Banquetting House of Roman architecture, paved with black and white marble, covered with Cornish slate, and neatly wainscotted."

* Journey from Chester to London.

posite to them has no windows, but is hung all with pictures at length, as of King James, his Lordship, and several illustrious persons of his time. At the end you enter is no window; but there is a very large picture thus: in the middle, on a rock in the Sea, stands King James in armour, with his regall ornaments; on his right hand stands (but whether or no on a rock, I have forgot) Henry 4th of France, in armour; and on his left hand, the King of Spaine in like armour. These figures are, at least, as big as the life; they are done only with umbre and shell gold; all the heightening and illuminated part being burnisht gold, and the shadowed umbre. The roofe of this Gallerie is semi-cylindrique, and painted by the same hand, and same manner, with heads and busts of Greek and Roman Emperors and Heroes." This mansion of the Bacons was reduced to its present ruinous state, when the present house of the Lords Grimston was built between the years 1778 and 1785.*

Sir Nicholas Bacon was twice married: by his first wife, Jane, daughter of William Fernley, Esq. of West Creting, in Suffolk, he had issue three sons and three daughters: by his second wife, Anne, one of the learned daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke, of Giddy Hall, Essex, he had two sons, Anthony and Francis. Anthony was an accomplished scholar; and, at the age of twenty-one, he began to travel for further improvement, previously to which Sir Nicholas conveyed to him the manor of Gorhambury, and this estate continued in his possession till his death, when it descended to his brother Francis, afterwards Lord Verulam. The fate of the Earl of Essex, with whom Anthony had been intimately associated, is supposed to have affected him very deeply, as

* In an orchard connected with the old mansion was a small Banqueting or Summer House, the walls of which were curiously painted *al fresco*, with representations of the Liberal Arts, having appropriate mottoes under them; and above them, the heads of the most illustrious of those who had excelled in each art, whether ancient or modern. The mottoes are preserved in Weever, p. 584; and also in the Biographia Britannica, Vol. I. p. 446, last Edit. where they are given with translations

his own decease occurred within less than a year.* All his time, after his return from the Continent, was appropriated to his studies, except what was employed in the service of his patron. It was owing to this reserved life of his, observe his biographers, "that his father's fine seat fell to decay; and that the water, which had been laid to it from springs at a considerable distance, was cut off in such a manner, that it could not afterwards be recovered, but at so great an expense, that the Lord Viscount St. Alban's chose rather to build a little neat house near the great pond, saying merrily, that "*Since the water could not be brought to his house, he would bring his house to the water.*"† That he did not entirely neglect Gorhambury, is, however, evident, from the extracts already given from Aubrey's Manuscripts.

The splendid talents of the Lord Chancellor were insufficient to secure him from the charge of corruption in the distribution of justice; and in the spring of the year 1621, he was accused by the House of Commons "of many exorbitant offences of bribery," &c. The charges being referred by the Lords to a select committee, and established to a certain extent, both by the examination of witnesses, and by his own confession of 'neglect,' it was adjudged "that he shall undergo fine and ransom of forty thousand pounds; that he shall be imprisoned in the Tower during the King's pleasure; and that he shall for ever be incapable of any office or employment in the State or Commonwealth; and that he shall never sit in Parliament, or come within the verge of the Court." After this disgrace and fall, he applied himself, with increased ardour, to his pursuits in natural philosophy, and history; to the former of which sciences he may be said to have fallen a victim.‡ On his decease, in 1626, Gorhambury became the property of Sir Thomas Meautys, Knt. who was related to him, and had been his private Secretary: he was also Clerk of the Privy Council in the

* Biographia Britannica, Vol. I. p. 505.

† Ibid. This anecdote refers to Verulam-House, already described in a previous note.

‡ See the anecdote from Aubrey, p. 94. Note.

the reigns of James the First, and Charles the First. His cousin, Sir Thomas Meautys, succeeded to this estate; and he having married Anne, daughter of Sir Nathaniel Bacon, of Culford Hall, Suffolk, half brother to the Lord Chancellor, conveyed it to her for life, with remainder to his heirs. After his decease, his widow married Sir Harbottle Grimston, Bart. second son and successor to Sir Harbottle Grimston, of Bradfield, in Essex, who purchased the reversion of the manors of Gorhambury and Kingsbury, of Hercules Meautys, nephew and heir-at-law to Sir Thomas Meautys.

The Grimstons are descended from Sylvester, afterwards surnamed de Grimston, a valiant Norman, who accompanied the Conqueror to England, and bore his standard at the battle of Hastings. In the following year, William appointed him his Chamberlain; and he did homage for Grimston, Hoxton, Tonsted, and other lands, which he held of the Lord Roos, as of the Honour of Roos, in Holdernesse, Yorkshire:* from him the Grimstons of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Herts, are all descended. It does not appear that this family was much engaged in state affairs till the time of Henry the Seventh: in the reign of Edward the Sixth, Edward Grimston, Esq. was made Comptroller of Calais; and he was afterwards continued in that office by Queen Mary. On the taking of Calais by the Duke of Guise, in the year 1558, he was made prisoner, and confined in the Bastile, where the ministry of that day suffered him to languish, lest he should return to England, and make public the repeated remonstrances which he had addressed to them, on the ill-conditioned state of the garrison to withstand a siege. At length, after two years confinement, he escaped by stratagem to his native country, and was honorably acquitted of any misconduct connected with the loss of Calais. He was afterwards knighted by Queen Elizabeth, and represented the borough of Ipswich in several Parliaments. He lived to the great age of ninety-eight, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Edward, whose grandson, the second Sir Harbottle Grimston, was the person who purchased Gorhambury of the heir of Sir Thomas Meautys.

* Lodge's Peerage of Ireland, Vol. V. p. 188.

This Sir Harbottle was created a Baronet in the tenth of James the First; he had been educated in the Inns of Court, and was famed for his knowledge of the common law, and of the customs and usages of Parliament. He was twice married: his first wife was Mary, a daughter of Sir George Croke, Knt. who was made a Justice of the Common Pleas in 1623, 4; and afterwards became so celebrated for his decision in the famous case of Ship-money. Sir Harbottle was himself one of the first to contest the presumed legality of that measure; and his father, with equal patriotism, suffered a long imprisonment, because he would not submit to the payment of the loan attempted to be enforced by the minions of the ill-fated Charles. "In the beginning of the Long Parliament," says Burnet,* 'he was a great assertor of the laws, and inveighed severely against all that had been concerned in the former illegal oppression. His principle was, that allegiance and protection were mutual obligations, and that the one went for the other: he thought that the law was the measure of both; and that when a legal protection was denied to one that paid a legal allegiance, the subject had a right to defend himself.' He was afterwards one of the Commissioners appointed to treat with the King in the Isle of Wight, and pressed the acceptance of the King's concessions so strongly, that he was soon afterwards excluded the House by force, with other members, by Cromwell; against whom he had previously brought a charge of saying, that 'he was sure of the army; but there was another body that had more need of purging, namely, the House of Commons, and he thought the army only could do that.'† Cromwell denied the charge with the most vehement protestations, and even tears; yet the lapse of a few days proved that Sir Harbottle had advanced nothing but the truth.

The unconstitutional measures pursued by those in power, afterwards occasioned him to withdraw from public affairs. His personal liberty had, indeed, suffered; and, to obtain his release, he was obliged to engage, "not to act, or do any thing, to the disservice

* Hist. of his Own Time, Vol. I. p. 385. † Ibid. p. 45.

service of the Parliament or army." The death of Cromwell, and the imbecility of his successor, Richard, again left him at liberty to aid in the distracted councils of his country. The plans then pursuing by Monk to effect the restoration of Monarchy, appear to have received his concurrence; and after the re-admission of the excluded Members into the House of Commons, he was chosen Speaker.* In the November following (1660) he was made a Privy Counseller by Charles the Second, and appointed Master of the Rolls, which office he retained till his death, in January, 1683, 4. Chauncy observes, that "he had a nimble fancy, a quick apprehension, a rare memory, an eloquent tongue, and a sound judgment;" —and that "he was a person of free access, sociable in company, sincere to his friend, hospitable in his house, charitable to the poor,

* Sir Harbottle had been representative for Colchester in Essex; and when the expelled members were on the eve of being restored, the following letter was sent to him by the Corporation of that town: "Honorable Sir; As we cannot but with thankfulness acknowledge the mercy of God to the nation in general, so more particularly to this town, that, after the many changes and alterations we have been tossed in, that now there is (as we have been credibly informed, and do believe) a free admission of the Members of the late Parliament, so long interrupted by force: we cannot but with much earnestness, in the behalf of ourselves, and the free burgesses of the town, make our humble request, that you will be pleased to return to that trust, to which you were so freely and unanimously elected in the year 1640; which we do the rather request out of the former experience, that not only this town, but the nation in general, hath had of your faithfulness and ability, and the many miseries and calamities we have groaned under since your absence: and as we formerly had the honour of sending so eminent and worthy a member, so we shall hope, by the blessing of God upon your endeavours, that not only ourselves, but the whole nation, shall have cause to bless God for your return, and in due time reap the benefit of your councils and labour in that great affliction. Sir we shall not further trouble you at present, than to assure you, we are, as by many former favors bound to be, your faithful and humble servants,

"Thomas Peeke, Mayor.

"John Shaw, Recorder," &c.

poor, and an excellent master to his servants." Clarendon and Burnet, the latter of whom lived under his protection, as preacher at the Rolls Chapel, for ten years, give him a similar exalted character. He died in his eighty-second year; and was succeeded in his estates and title by Samuel, his only surviving son by his first marriage.

Sir Samuel Grimston represented the Borough of St. Alban in six Parliaments during the reigns of Charles the Second and William the Third: he was a zealous promoter of the Revolution of 1688; and his conduct proved so obnoxious to James the Second, that he was excepted from the act of grace, or amnesty, prepared by that degraded Sovereign, when he had formed the design of landing in England in 1692. This gentleman made Gorhambury his principal residence; and, like his father, was twice married; first, to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Heneage Finch, Earl of Nottingham; and secondly, to Anne, sixth and youngest daughter to John Tufton, second Earl of Thanet. By these ladies he had three children, who all dying before him, he bequeathed his estates, under certain limitations, to William Luckyn, Esq. grandson to Mary, his eldest sister, who had married Sir Capel Luckyn, Bart. of Messing Hall, Essex. On acceding to the property of his great uncle, this William assumed the name of Grimston; and having represented the Borough of St. Alban in four successive Parliaments, he was created a Peer of Ireland in April 1719; and in the July following, he took his seat in Parliament. He died at the age of seventy-three, in October, 1756, and was succeeded by James, his second son, who dying in December, 1773, was buried with his father in St. Michael's Church. James Bucknall Grimston, eldest son and heir to the late Viscount, who succeeded to the family estates and titles, and is the present possessor of Gorhambury, received the honor of a British Peerage in the year 1790.

GORHAMBURY House is a spacious stone edifice of the Corinthian Order, connected with two wings, built of brick, and stuccoed. It was erected between the years 1778 and 1785, by the present Lord Viscount Grimston, from the designs, and under the direction, of Sir Robert Taylor. The grand entrance is by a flight of steps leading beneath

beneath a handsome pediment, supported on well-proportioned columns: the summit of the central part is finished by a balustrade and cornice. The Hall, with the Library, and the other principal apartments, are large, and are decorated with a rich collection of portraits, chiefly of the age of Elizabeth, and her immediate successors. The following may be selected from the most eminent; beginning with those in the *Library*.

LORD CHANCELLOR BACON, whole length; Vansomer. This great man is represented in his robes, standing at a table. Whatever opinion may be entertained of his conduct as a Judge, his temporary disgrace has been eclipsed by the immortal renown deservedly bestowed on his labors in natural science and philosophy. Those labors opened the way to all modern improvement: by unfolding the utility of experiment, he withdrew the veil from Nature; and posterity, enlightened by his address, and deriving incalculable advantages from the truths he has developed, will have cause to revere his memory to the latest ages. Aubrey has recorded many curious particulars of his private life, and eloquence, in the manuscripts already quoted. "At every meal," he remarks, "according to the season of the year, (his Lordship) had his table strewed with sweet herbes and flowers, which he sayd did refresh his spirits and memorie—His servants had liveries with his crest, a boare; and when he was at his country-house at Gorhambury, St. Alban's seemed as if the court had beene there, so nobly did he live. His language, where he could spare or passe by a jest, was nobly censorious: no man ever spake more neatly, more presly, more weightily, or suffered lesse emptinese, lesse idelness, in what he uttered. His hearers could not cough, or looke aside from him without losse. He commanded where he spoke, and had his judges angry and pleased at his devotion: no man had their affections more in his power. The feare of every man that hearde him was, lest he should make an end." Another very fine portrait of the Chancellor is preserved in a different apartment.

ABBOT, Archbishop of Canterbury; in his episcopal habit, by Vandyck: three quarters.

EARL OF CLARENDON, three quarters; Sir Peter Lely.

QUEEN ELIZABETH, ditto; Hilliard. This is supposed to have been given to Lord Bacon by the Queen herself.

LODOWICK STEWART, first Duke of Richmond; three quarters. This Nobleman, who was also Duke of Lenox, and Earl of Newcastle, was a deserved favorite of his Sovereign and relation, James the First; by whom his memory was so much respected, that, on receiving news of his sudden death, in 1623, he delayed the meeting of Parliament for some days. Wilson records that he was found dead in his bed, after going to rest in the fullest health: he is dressed in his robes, with a bonnet and white feather.

JAMES, second Duke of Richmond, three quarters; Geldorp: represented with long flaxen hair, wearing his star, and accompanied by a greyhound.

GEORGE CALVERT, Lord Baltimore; Vandyck: pourtrayed in black, with short hair. This gentleman was bred to the law, and being early noticed for his political abilities, was patronized by the Cecils, and became one of the Secretaries of State under James the First, by whom he was created Lord Baltimore of the Kingdom of Ireland: he had also some large tracts of land granted to him in that country. Afterwards he obtained a grant of part of Newfoundland; and, on the accession of Charles the First, visited and formed a settlement in that Island, but was at length obliged to relinquish possession by the French. The King, to remunerate his losses, granted him a vast extent of country on the north side of Chesapeak Bay, in America; "to hold in common socage as of the Manor of Windsor, delivering annually to the Crown, in acknowledgment, two Indian arrows, on Easter Tuesday, at Windsor Castle, with a fifth of the gold and silver ore." He died in April, 1632, before the patent was completed; but this was afterwards delivered to his son Cæcilius, who laid the foundation of the flourishing colony, which the King himself named Maryland, in compliment to his Royal consort, and which now forms one of the most considerable of the United States.

ROBERT DEVEREUX, Earl of Essex,* the imprudent and unhappy favorite of Queen Elizabeth; Hilliard.

RICHARD

* See particulars of this Nobleman, Vol. VI. p. 587.

RICHARD WESTON, Earl of Portland, and Lord High Treasurer during the ministry of the Duke of Buckingham, in the reign of Charles the Second; Vandyck. The Earl is painted in black, with a ruff, blue ribband, and white rod; his hair grey. The honors obtained by this Nobleman, overpowered his judgment; and though, in the early part of his career in state employments, he was greatly distinguished for his address and prudence, he afterwards became overbearing and rapacious, particularly on his promotion to the office of Lord Treasurer. This conduct, connected with the baseness of prying into the sentiments of others, by mean arts, procured him general dis-esteem; and Clarendon records, that, after the death of the Duke of Buckingham, he "became his successor in the public hatred, without succeeding him in his credit at Court." He died in March, 1634; and his family were extinct early in the next reign. The poet Jonson, with the license of his class, made him the theme of an undeserved panegyric on his being made Earl of Portland in February, 1632. This piece, which Jonson addressed '*To the Envious,*' was as follows:

Look up, thou seed of Envy, and still bring
Thy faint and narrow eyes to read the King
In his great actions: view whom his large hand
Hath rais'd to be the *Port* unto his *Land!*
Weston! that waking man, that eye of state!
Who seldom sleeps, whom bad men only hate!
Why do I irritate or stir up thee,
Thou sluggish spawn, that canst, but wilt not see?
Feed on thyself for spite, and show thy kind:
To virtue and true worth be ever blind.
Dream thou couldst hurt it, but, before thou wake
T'effect it, feel thou'st made thine own heart ach.

In this apartment are also *Busts* of Sir Nicholas Bacon, and his second Lady, and of their second son, Lord Bacon, when a boy. The following portraits are in the Dining Room.

LORD BACON, three-quarter length, very fine.

THOMAS WRIOTHESLEY, Earl of Southampton; Vandyck.

EDWARD

EDWARD SOMERSET, Earl of Worcester, Master of the Horse in the times of Queen Elizabeth and James the First: represented in the decline of life, in a white jacket, and ruff, with a bald head and a white beard. Sir Robert Naunton, in his Fragmenta Regalia, has the following passages, among other particulars, relating to this Nobleman. "In his youth, part whereof he spent before he came to reside at Court, he was a very fine gentleman, and the best horseman and tilter of the times, (qualities that recommended him to Elizabeth,) which were then the man-like and noble recreations of the Court, and such as took up the applause of men, as well as the praise and commendation of ladies. And when years had abated these exercises of honour, he grew then to be a faithful and profound counsellor; and as I have placed him last, so was he the last liver of all the servants of her favor; and had the honour to see his renowned mistress, and all of them, laid in the places of their rests." He died in March, 1627, 8, and was buried at Windsor.

PHILIP HERBERT, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery; Vandyck. This Nobleman had precedence of the infamous Carr in the favor of James the First; and, by his servile acquiescence in the advancement of that abandoned minion, still continued to enjoy the scond place in the King's esteem. His mother, the celebrated sister to Sir Philip Sidney, is recorded to have torn her hair with indignation, on hearing of his despicable want of spirit when insulted by Ramsay, afterwards Earl of Holdernesse, a Scotsman, at a horse-race at Croydon. He married the Lady Susan Vere, on St. John's Day, 1603: the bride was given away by the King himself; and the wedding dinner kept in the Great Chamber at Whitehall, where a splendid Masque was afterwards exhibited, with other revels in honour of the nuptials.* His principal qualifications for James's favor, were comeliness of person, uncommon knowledge of dogs and horses, and intrepidity and skill in hunting. Charles the First made him Lord Chamberlain; and while in

* A very curious account of the wedding may be seen in Winwood's Memoirs, Vol. II. In the latter part of his life his conduct became so dissolute that his Lady was obliged to be separated from him.

in this office, according to Osborne, with his white rod he broke many wiser heads than his own. He died in January, 1649, 50.

GEORGE VILLIERS, Duke of Buckingham, full length; Mytens: represented in white, with a hat and feather on a table near him.*

SIR NATHANIEL BACON, Knight of the Bath, half brother to Lord Bacon, seated at a table with books, and dressed in a green jacket, laced, with yellow stockings; and near him, a dog. This picture was executed by Sir Nathaniel himself, whom Peacham, in his Treatise on Limning, has recorded as an admirable painter, and whom Horace Walpole, in his Anecdotes, admits to have really attained the perfection of a master. Besides this specimen of his talents, there is another painting in this apartment, which does him great honour for its truth and brilliancy of coloring; it is a large piece, representing a Cook-Maid, with dead Game, and an old Game-Keeper in the back-ground. This is considered as a real portrait of Dame Jane Bacon, Sir Nathaniel's mother.

GEORGE MONK, Duke of Albemarle, copied by Sir Godfrey Kneller, from Sir Peter Lely.

THOMAS WENTWORTH, Earl of Cleveland, full length; Vandyck. This very fine picture was executed in 1636, when the Earl was in his forty-fourth year. He was a distinguished loyalist, and Captain of the Guard to Charles the First, and Charles the Second. His dress is black, with a red ribbon, turnover, and yellow hair.

SIR THOMAS MEAUTYS, Secretary to Lord Bacon, and his successor in the possession of Gorhambury. He is pourtrayed in an elegant but singular habit: in one hand is a spear, the other rests on his side: he has on a sash, brown boots, a laced turnover, and a hat with a white feather.

In the *Drawing* Room are the following portraits. SIR HARBOTTLE GRIMSTON; three quarters; Sir Peter Lely. Sir Harbottle is represented in his robes as Master of the Rolls. This was

* See Anecdotes of this Duke, in Vol. VI. p. 318.

was the gentleman who became possessed of Gorhambury by his marriage with the daughter of Sir Nathaniel Bacon.

St. John Preaching in the Wilderness; Tintoretto.

A curious old Portrait on pannel, being a small half length of one of the *Grimstons*, painted in a green jacket with loose sleeves, and a large bonnet with a long silken appendage. On the back is this inscription, DETRUS XDI ☿ ME FECIT A 1496.*

CHARLES HOWARD, Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral in the reign of Elizabeth; Sir Peter Lely. In the back-ground is a view of a Fleet in a Storm, in allusion to the Spanish Armada, against which the Earl acted as Commander in Chief.

LADY GRIMSTON, first wife of Sir Harbottle, and daughter to Sir George Croke.

Adoration of the Shepherds; Luca Giordano.

ALGERNON, Earl of Northumberland, with his Lady and Child; a long picture, by Vandyck. The Earl is represented in black; his Lady in blue, and sitting. This Nobleman held the post of Lord High Admiral, at the beginning of the troubles, in the time of Charles the First, but was displaced by the popular party. He opposed the trial of the King, and, after his death, retired to Petworth, without associating with the prevailing powers. He died in 1668.

Ascension of the Virgin; Ann. Caracci.

LADY ELIZABETH GRIMSTON, first wife to Sir Samuel, and daughter to Heneage Finch, Earl of Nottingham; Sir Peter Lely.

LADY ANN GRIMSTON, second wife to Sir Samuel, and daughter to Tufton, Earl of Thanet.

SIR EDWARD GRIMSTON, Comptroller of Calais, at the age of fifty; painted by Holbein in 1548.

DAME JANE BACON, first wife to Sir Nicholas; small half length, painted by Sir Nathaniel Bacon.

Our Saviour curing the Sick Man at the Pool of Bethesda; Bassano. In

* Pennant has given the date and inscription on the back of this picture erroneously; and, from a faint resemblance between the likeness and a print in Montfaucon, called it Philip Le Bon, Duke of Burgundy.

In the Hall is a full length of JAMES THE FIRST, in black and gold armour, by Holbein.

JAMES THE SECOND; Sir Godfrey Kneller.

CHARLES THE FIRST; Henry Stone.

CATHERINE, Queen of Charles the Second, in the character of St. Catherine; Huysman. This, or a duplicate picture of the same subject, is mentioned by Walpole, as being that to which the artist was most partial: it has been engraved in mezzotinto, and is finely painted.

EDWARD CAREW, Earl of Totness, represented in a white flowered jacket, with a white beard, and short hair; his hand on his sword.

SIR EDWARD SACKVILLE, fourth Earl of Dorset; the witty and accomplished nobleman who fought the sanguinary duel under the walls of Antwerp with the Scottish Lord Bruce, who fell dead upon the spot.* The Earl died in July, 1652.

HENRY RICH, first Earl of Holland, in a striped dress, very rich, with a blue ribbon across his breast, and a hat with a red feather in his hand. The Earl was beheaded in March, 1648,9.

CATHERINE HOWARD, Countess of Suffolk, eldest daughter to Sir Henry Knevit, Knt. of Charlton, Wilts; whole length, in white, with a great ruff; her bosom partly uncovered. This lady was eminently distinguished for her venality in respect to public affairs, during the four years in which the Earl of Suffolk enjoyed the Treasurership in the time of James the First. The peace, so beneficial to Spain, negociated in the same reign, is attributed by Weldon to the influence of the Countess; and, "in truth," he observes, "Audley-End, that famous and great structure, had its foundation in Spanish gold."

THOMAS HOWARD, third Duke of Norfolk, in his sixty-sixth year; full length: Holbein.

SIR NICHOLAS BACON. This portrait is mentioned by Granger. In Mallet's Life of the Lord Chancellor Bacon, the manner of the death of Sir Nicholas is thus related. "He was under the

* See a full relation of this fight, written by Sir Edward himself, in the Guardian, No. CXXXIII.

hands of his barber, and the weather being sultry, had ordered a window before him to be thrown open. As he was become very corpulent, he presently fell asleep, in the current of fresh air that was blowing in upon him, and awaked after some time distempered all over. 'Why (said he to the servant) did you suffer me to sleep thus exposed?' The fellow replied, that 'he durst not presume to disturb him.' 'Then, (said the Lord Keeper,) by your civility, I lose my life;' and so removed into his bed-chamber, where he died a few days after."

The Park and grounds at Gorhambury include about 600 acres, and are well stocked with fine timber; particularly beech, oak, and elm. The surface is agreeably diversified; and the scenery composes some good landscapes; to which the contiguity of Prè Wood gives additional interest. The Park contains a considerable quantity of fine deer.

HEMEL-HEMSTED,

Or Hemel-Hempstead, as it is more commonly, though incorrectly, denominated, is a respectable market-town, pleasantly situated on rising ground, at a short distance from the river Gade. The manor was an ancient demesne of the Mercian Sovereigns; and six mansions herein, were granted, by King Offa, to the Church of St. Alban: the remainder was, after the Conquest, given to the Earl of Mortaigne; and it is singular that, in the descriptions of these respective possessions, recorded in the Domesday Book, they are described as distinct manors, and as lying in different hundreds. The part held by the Abbots of St. Alban, continued in their possession till the Dissolution: that held by the Earl, descended in the same manner as Berkhamsted,* to Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, who granted it to his foundation for *Bon-Hommes*, at Ashridge, in Bucks, on the borders of this county. John Waterhouse, Esq. who was Auditor to Henry the Eighth, and whose family had been long seated at Hemsted-Bury, appears to have been afterwards possessed of this manor; and by his interest with the

* See p. 185.

the King, a charter of incorporation, and a weekly market, were granted to the inhabitants. In Salmon's time, the owner of this manor was Henshaw Halsey, Esq.* whose descendant, the late Thomas Halsey, Esq. of Gaddesden Place, represented this county in three Parliaments: he died in October, 1788, leaving two children, Thomas and Sarah; the former of whom died an infant, when the latter became sole heir, and has lately married.

The *Church*, which stands in a spacious Church-yard adjoining to the town on the west side, appears to have been erected in the Norman times, but has been much altered, and enlarged, at subsequent periods. It is built in the form of a cross, and consists of a nave, chancel, transept, and side aisles, with an embattled tower, surmounted by a high, octagonal spire, rising from the intersection. The western entrance is now disused, but displays a finely ornamented recessed arch, with two columns, and a half column on each side, supporting various mouldings, charged with diamonds, lozenges, roses, and trefoils: the capitals are all varied; one of them has a curious figure. The nave is separated from the aisles by a range of five massive columns on each side, and two half columns, with square capitals, variously sculptured, and supporting round arches, having plain, zig-zag, and billetted mouldings. The arches supporting the tower, are semi-circular, with clustered columns, consisting of two large and one smaller on each side: the capitals are square, but dissimilarly ornamented; and on one of these is a curious head. The arch, which opens into the chancel, has the billet and zig-zag mouldings: the roof of the chancel is strongly groined; that of the nave is plain. The windows have been all opened in the pointed form, with the exception of those of the tower, the upper story of which has two semi-circular windows on each side; below these are others of the lancet form. The south porch, which opens into the Church by a pointed arch, has a pointed window on each side, and is sustained by strong buttresses.

* Hist. of Herts, p. 116.

In this Church, almost hidden among the pews, is an ancient tomb in good preservation, with brass figures of a Knight and his Lady on the top; and beneath their feet this inscription:

> Robert Albyn gist icy Et Margrete sa femme oubliе luy
> Dieu de les almes eyt mercy. Amen.

The Knight is in plate armour, with a gorget of mail, and represented as standing on a lion: the head of the Lady rests upon a cushion; at her feet is a dog: she has on a square head-dress, and a long cloak, fastened across the shoulders with broaches, from which a knotted cord and tassel descends to the feet.

The *Market-House* is a plain edifice of wood: the *Shambles*, near it, form a neat range of brick building. The charitable donations are not numerous; the principal one was made by Mr. Thomas Warren, who by will, dated December 2, 1796, gave 1200l. stock, in the three per cent. consolidated bank annuities, in trust; the dividends to be applied to support fifty poor widows, by distributing 7l. 10s. year to each, on the third of January; and to the establishment of two Free Schools, one for thirteen boys, and the other for fifteen girls. Great quantities of corn are annually sold in this town; and its contiguity to the Grand Junction Canal, has already had a beneficial effect on its trade. The population of Hemel-Hemsted, as ascertained under the late act, amounted to 2722; the number of houses to 497.

HEMSTED-BURY,* or the *Bury House*, at the bottom of the town, is a neat modern building, now the property of ——— Hilton, Esq. a descendant from the ancient and noble family of Hilton, of Hilton Castle, in the Bishopric of Durham. The grounds are not extensive; and though somewhat formally laid out, are pleasant. A small part of the old Bury-sted, or mansion, in which Henry the Eighth was entertained by John Waterhouse, Esq. is yet standing on one side of the garden. This estate was the property

* Many of the Manor Houses in this county are distinguished by the name of *Bury*, connected with that of the town or manor to which they are adjacent.

perty of the late Earl of Marchmont; and has had many possessors during the two last centuries. It includes the whole of the town of Hemel-Hemsted; though its extent is not more than thirty-four acres and a half.

BERKHAMSTED, BERKHAMSTED ST. PETER's,

Or Berkhampstead, as it is generally, though corruptly, spelt, is most probably of Saxon origin, as the name implies; though some writers have referred it to a still more distant era. "The Saxons in old time," says Norden, "called this town *Berghamstedt*, because it was seated among the hills; for *Berg* signified a hill; *Ham*, a town; and *Stedt*, a seat; all which was very proper for the situation hereof." Chauncy, on the authority of Spelman, has affirmed, that a great Council of all the prelates and military men, was held here by Withred, King of Kent, in the year 697; yet this appears to be a mistake, that council having really assembled at Bursted, near Maidstone.* The King of Mercia had a *Palace* or *Castle* here; and the town, which seems to have grown up under its protection, had attained sufficient importance at the time of the Conquest, to be appointed as the place of meeting between the Norman Sovereign and the chiefs of the confederacy formed against his power, and headed by Abbot Fretheric, of St. Alban's.† Soon afterwards, the King, in direct violation of the oaths which he had then taken, seized the possessions of the English, and divided them among his own followers. Berkhamsted was given to Robert, Earl of Mortaigne, his half-brother, and is stated in the Domesday Book, to be rated for thirteen hides.

"In the Borough of this Vill," continues that invaluable record, "are two-and-fifty burgesses, who pay four pounds a year for toll, and they have half a hide, and two shillings rent by the year: there are two arpends of vineyard; meadow, eight carucates, common of pasture for the cattle of the vill: wood to feed a thousand hogs; and five shillings rent by the year. Its whole value is six-

* Gough's Camden, Vol. I. p. 349. † See before, p. 38

teen pounds. When he (the Earl) received it, its value was twenty pounds; and in the time of King Edward, twenty-four pounds. Edmar, a thane of Earl Harold, held this manor."

The Castle erected by the Saxons was enlarged, and strengthened, and fortified with additional outworks, by the Earl of Mortaigne; but in the time of his son and successor, William, who had rebelled against Henry the First, it was seized, with all his other possessions in England, and, according to the authority of most of those who have written on the subject, 'razed to the ground" by the King's orders. It is extremely probable, however, that the demolition was only a partial one, and that the Castle was again fitted up as a Royal residence, either in the time of Stephen, or very early in the reign of Henry the Second; as the latter kept his court at Berkhamsted, when he granted the Church of Havering, in Essex, to the monks of St. Bernard de Monte Jovis, to find firing for the poor.* This Monarch also granted many valuable and independent privileges to the "Men and Merchants of the Honour of Wallingford, and Berkhamsted St. Peter's;" and, among others, that they should have peace through all his land of England and Normandy; with liberty to trade and sell their merchandize through all parts of those kingdoms, and Aquitain, and Anjou, without paying either custom, or exaction; that they should be quit of all servile works; be exempt from all tolls; and enjoy the same liberties, laws, and customs, as in the time of Edward the Confessor; and that no market should be held within seven miles of the town."†

The Castle and Honour of Berkhamsted continued in the Crown till the seventh of King John, who granted them to Jeoffrey Fitz-Piers, Earl of Essex, "with the knight's fee thereunto belonging," in fee-farm for 100l. per annum. On his death, in 1213, they seem to have reverted to the Crown; or were, perhaps, seized by the King in the confusion of the Barons' wars. About three years afterwards, anno 1216, 17, the Castle was besieged by Lewis, the Dauphin

* Dug. Mon. Angl. Vol. II. p. 420.

† Chauncy's Hertfordshire, p. 572.

Dauphin of France, in conjunction with those of the English Nobility, whom the tyranny of John had induced to have recourse to foreign assistance. During this investment, the garrison, taking advantage of the negligence of the besiegers, made two successful sallies on the same day, returning to the Castle with divers chariots, arms, and provisions, and the banner of William de Magnaville; but after a siege of some continuance, they at length surrendered, on receiving the King's commands for that purpose.

Henry the Third, in the eleventh of his reign, granted the Earldom of Cornwall, together with the Honour and Castle of Berkhamsted, to Richard, his younger brother, afterwards King of the Romans, in reward for his services at the siege of the Castle of Riole, in France; but disagreeing with him soon afterwards, he again seized the Castle into his own hands. The interposition of the Earls of Pembroke and Chester, occasioned its restoration to the Earl of Cornwall; who afterwards married Isabel, dowager of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Glocester, and sister to the Earl of Pembroke: this lady died in childbed, at Berkhamsted Castle, in 1239.* In the year 1244, the Earl again married to Senchia, sister to the Queen, and daughter to Raymond, Earl of Provence, whom he endowed at the church door (at Westminster) with a third part of all the lands which he then possessed, or should afterwards acquire. In the ensuing year, the King granted him an annual fair, of eight days continuance, for his manor of Berkhamsted; and here, after a long illness, as appears from Matthew Paris, he died, on the fourth of the nones of April, 1272. Edmund, his only surviving son, by Senchia, his third wife, succeeded to his estates and titles; and in his time it was found by inquisition, taken at Berkhamsted, in the twenty-eighth of Edward the First, that there were four knights' fees held of this Honour; and also that there were then twelve burgesses within the borough of Berkhamsted, together with fifty-two free tenants, and twenty-two tenants by serjeancy. This Earl founded the College of Bon-Hommes, at Ashridge, or *Asherugg*, in Buckinghamshire, where he died without issue, in the calends of October, 1300.

* Dug. Bar. Vol. I. p. 211.

The Honour and Castle of Berkhamsted, with the Earldom of Cornwall, having thus reverted to the Crown, were, in the first of Edward the First, granted to Piers Gaveston, on his marriage with Margaret, daughter of Joan of Acres, the King's sister, which appears to have been solemnized at the Castle. The haughty conduct, and upstart insolence, of this Nobleman, having led to his death by violence, his titles and possessions again devolved to the Crown; and in the second of Edward the Third, John of Eltham, next brother to the King, was advanced to the Earldom of Cornwall: two years afterwards he had a grant of the Honour, Castle, and Town of Berkhamsted, with other manors, to the value of 2000 marks per annum: but dying without issue, in 1336, his estates were granted, by the King, to Edward the Black Prince, together with the Dukedom of Cornwall, to "be held by him and his heirs, and the eldest sons of the heirs of the Kings of England."

Richard the Second, son of the Black Prince, occasionally resided at Berkhamsted Castle; and afterwards gave permission to Robert de Vere, Marquis of Dublin, to live in it; giving him liberty, also, to supply himself with wood and fuel out of the woods and park. In 1450, Henry of Monmouth, afterwards Henry the Fifth, was possessed of the Castle, Honour, and Town of Berkhamsted; and from him they regularly passed to Henry of Windsor, afterwards Henry the Sixth; and to his son, Henry of Westminster. On the accession of the House of York, the Stewardship of this Castle and Lordship was given, by Edward the Fourth, to John, Lord Wenlock; and the Castle became the residence of Cicely, daughter of Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmoreland, and Duchess of York, the King's mother; who died here in the eleventh of Henry the Seventh, anno 1496. Since that period, the Castle and Honour of Berkhamsted have descended from the Crown, to the successive Princes of Wales, as heirs apparent to the Throne, and possessors of the Dukedom of Cornwall under the grant of Edward the Third.

In the second of Queen Elizabeth, the site, circuit, and precinct, of the Castle, were demised for a term of years, by that Sovereign, to

to Sir Edward Carey, under the annual payment of a red rose: she also constituted him High-Steward of this Honour and Manor, by Letters Patent; and by other Letters Patent conveyed to him, and to the Lady Paget, his wife, and their heirs, the Mansion-House, (which Sir Edward appears to have built out of the ruins of the Castle,) with the Lodge and Park, to hold in free soccage, by an annual rent of 8l. 6s. 8d. In the following century, the interest of the Careys, in this estate, was sold to John Sayer, Esq. but about the commencement of the last, it was purchased by the family of Roper; and John Roper, Esq. the proprietor of Berkhamsted Place, is the present lessee of the Castle estate under the Prince of Wales.

BERKHAMSTED CASTLE was situated on the east side of the town; and though the buildings are now reduced to a few massive fragments of wall, the remains are still sufficient to evince the ancient strength and importance of this fortress. The ramparts are very bold, and the ditches still wide and deep, particularly on the north and east sides, though partly filled up by the lapse of centuries. The works are of a circular form, approaching to the figure of an ellipsis, and include about eleven acres. They appear to have consisted of three parts; a keep, an inner court, or ballium, and an outer ballium; the boundary of the latter of which included the two former, and was a high and strong rampart of earth, surrounded by a ditch. The inner ballium, which was also environed by a deep fosse, included the buildings, of which only the foundations of one small apartment, and a few shapeless masses of wall, now remain: the general thickness of the walls seems to have been from eighteen to twenty feet. The keep was a circular tower, occupying the summit of a high and steep artificial mount, and this also was moated round: the diameter of the area inclosed by the outer wall, could not exceed twenty yards: in the centre is a hollow space, probably the site of a well, or dungeon. Large trees are growing on the sides of the mount, as well as on many parts of the outward rampart and declivities of the ditches: other parts are covered with underwood, in many places so thick as to be impassable. The inner court is now an orchard; the

the outer court is cultivated as a farm; and a small cottage, with a few out-buildings, now occupies a portion of the ground once inhabited by Princes and Sovereigns. Strongly as this Castle was fortified, it could not be tenable after the invention of cannon; its site, though elevated, being commanded by yet higher eminences on the north and north-east sides. Near the rampart, on the west side, flows the little river Bulbourne.

The CHURCH at Berkhamsted is dedicated to St. Peter, and built in the form of a cross, with a tower rising from the intersection towards the west end, and having a projecting stair-case at the south-east angle, terminated by a turret at the summit. The tower is supported on strong pointed arches, and was originally open; but is now closed from the Church by the belfry floor. On the outside of the tower, next the street, is a sculpture of an angel supporting a shield, impaled with the arms of England and France quarterly, and gules, a saltire, Or; with this imperfect inscription, — — ohn Phelp and Alys his wyfe: the same arms are painted on glass in the window of a small Chapel within the Church. The nave is divided from the aisles by five columns and two half columns on each side, sustaining plain pointed arches, over each of which is a pointed arched window: three of the columns on each side are circular; the others are clustered in a quartrefoil form. The western window is large and ramified; all the others are also in the pointed style, but vary in size and description. Various small Chapels and Chantries were founded here in the Catholic times, and are still partially divided from the body of the Church.

The Sepulchral memorials in this edifice are numerous, and some of them are interesting and curious. Between two columns of the nave, and wholly surrounded by pews, is an ancient tomb of rich workmanship, having on the top, full-length effigies of a Knight, and his Lady, both recumbent; and at the sides, various canopied niches, with small ornamental pointed arches in relief, interspersed with shields of arms. The Knight is represented in armour, with his hands raised in the attitude of prayer across his breast; his head rests on a helmet, having a human head, with a long

long beard, at the upper end; his feet are supported on a lion: he has on a hood and gorget of mail; and on the sash which crosses his body and shoulder is a rose: opposite to this, on his breast-plate, is a dove. The figure of the Lady is greatly mutilated; her hands and head are broken off; the former are lost; the latter rests on a cushion, and is covered with net-work: she is arrayed in a close dress, and has a rose on each shoulder. Some of the shields of arms that surround this tomb, are completely defaced; others display a rose on a bend; in the honor point, a dove.* On another shield, at the east end, is St. George's cross, having in the dexter chief, a saltire engrailed; and in the sinister chief, a cross doubly crossed. Not any inscription is remaining on this tomb, to designate the persons to whose memory it was erected; but the same arms are displayed on shields of brass, inlaid on a slab in the middle of the nave, over two good *Brass* figures of a male and female, holding each other's hand, under elegant canopies, now partly mutilated. Round the verge of the slab was the following inscription, of which only the latter part from the word *obijt* now remains.

Hic jacent Richardus Torynton et Margareta uxor ejus, qui quidem Richardus obijt quarto die mensis Martij Anno Domini Millio CCC L Sexto, et Margareta obijt die mensis Maij Anno Domini Millio CCC.mo XL nono.

"This Torynton," says Weever, "as I have by relation, was the founder of this Church; a man in speciall favour with Edmond Plantagenet, Duke of Cornwall."† The *Torringtons* appear to have intermarried with the *Incents* of this town, as the same arms appear on the memorials of the latter family.

Among the ancient tombs of which the inscriptions are now lost, is one that was raised to commemorate SIR JOHN CORNWALLIS,

* These arms, though now greatly obscured by white-wash, appear also on the corbels which sustain the supporters of the frame-work of the roof of the nave, and in other places.

† Fun. Mon. p. 586. Edit. 1631.

WALLIS, Knt. who was a Member of the Council to Prince Edward, afterwards Edward the Sixth, and was buried here on the first of May, 1543. A still more ancient tomb is partly included beneath a recess in the wall of the north transept, but to whose memory it was erected is unknown. Various brasses, and vestiges of brasses, remain in the different chancels, and small inclosures, about the Church, the inscriptions of which have been given by Weever, Chauncy, and Salmon; though not always with accuracy: several others have been lost within the last forty or fifty years.

In Sayer's Chancel, or burial-place, which connects with the south aisle, is an altar-tomb of alabaster and black marble, in memory of JOHN SAYER, Esq. who was chief cook to Charles the Second when in exile, and founder of the Alms-house for poor widows in this town: he died at the age of sixty-three, in 1682. Against the east wall of the south transept, is a very neat monument in memory of JOHN DORRIEN, Esq. who died in December, 1784, aged seventy; and another in commemoration of ANN, his relict, who died in February, 1802, at the age of seventy-three. The latter was executed by J. Bacon, Jun. and displays a personification of Faith, with a burning lamp. Among the other monuments deserving notice, are those to the memory of THOMAS BALDWIN, Esq. a proprietor of the water-works near Hyde Park, who died at the age of seventy-four, in June, 1641; MRS. ELIZABETH CRADOCK, who died in October, 1704; and JOSEPH and JAMES MURRAY, sons of Mrs. Murray, nurse to Charles the First, and, according to Salmon, builder of the west window of this Church. In St. Catharine's Chapel are several memorials to the family of Waterhouse; and in that of St. John Baptist, to the family of Incent; of whom *Robert Incent*, Gent. was servant to Cicely, Duchess of York, and died of the sweating sickness, in the first of Henry the Seventh; and Dr. *John Incent* was Dean of St. Paul's in the reign of Henry the Eighth. Several *Piscinas* remain in different parts of the Church.

At the bottom of the Church-yard, is a large and strong building of brick, erected as a *Free School* in the reign of Henry the Eighth, and endowed with the lands of the guild or brotherhood of

of St. John Baptist, an ancient foundation in this town. In the establishment of this school, Dean Incent had a very principal concern; and it was chiefly by his prudence in procuring a licence from the King to make a nominal purchase of the possessions of the brotherhood, that those possessions were not confiscated in the general wreck of religious houses. In the next reign, the School was made a Royal foundation, and incorporated by the style of "the Master, Chaplain, and Usher, of the Free School and Chantry of Dean Incent, of Berkhamsted." The Master is appointed by the Crown, and has apartments at one end of the Free School; the School-room occupies the centre; and the other end is inhabited by the Chaplain and Usher. In this town is also a *Charity School*, supported by voluntary contributions, &c. Numerous donations for charitable purposes have been made to this parish; the principal of which was a bequest of 1000l. made by John Sayer, Esq. in July 1681, for the building and endowment of an *Alms-House:* this was erected after his decease by his relict, who placed in it six poor widows, and increased the original endowment by the gift of 300l. Each widow has a small allowance weekly, and a cloth gown worth 20s. once in two years.

In the parliament held at Westminster in the fourteenth of Edward the Third, were two representatives from this Borough; this was the only return ever made, excepting to the Great Council held in the same place in the eleventh of the same King. Berkhamsted has been equally unfortunate with respect to its Charter of Incorporation, which was granted by James the First, in his sixteenth year, but scarcely survived the perilous reign of his son. An attempt was made to revive the charter about a year or two after the Restoration, but it did not succeed. The grant of arms to the Corporation was issued by the learned Camden, as *Clarencieux* King at Arms. The Honour of Berkhamsted included upwards of fifty-five lordships and manors, in the three counties of Herts, Buckingham, and Northampton.

Berkhamsted consists of one principal street, about half a mile in length, extending along the sides of the high road; and another smaller one, branching out from the Church towards the site of the

the Castle. The buildings are mostly of brick, and irregular; but are interspersed with various handsome houses, inhabited by respectable families. The number of houses in this parish, as returned under the Population Act, was 338; that of inhabitants, 1690.

BERKHAMSTED PLACE, the seat of John Roper, Esq. stands on a pleasant eminence adjoining the town. The Mansion is an irregular building; great part of the structure erected by the Careys having been burnt down in the time of the Lord Treasurer Weston, who then resided in it: the remainder, which constituted the back part, was afterwards repaired, and with some additions, forms the present dwelling: this Manor-house was the nursery of King James's children.

PENDLEY HOUSE, the ancient seat of the Andersons, and previously of the *Verncys*, of whom Sir John Verney, Knt. was Sheriff of Hertfordshire and Essex, in the fourteenth of Henry the Seventh, and Edmond Verney, Esq. Sheriff of Herts in the nineteenth of Elizabeth, has been pulled down by Richard Bard Harcourt, Esq. the present owner of the manor, whose predecessors acquired it by marriage with the heiress of the Andersons.

TRING,

CALLED *Treung* in the Domesday Book, is a small and irregular town, situated on the north-western side of the county, on the high road to Ailesbury, and within a short distance of the *Icknield Way*. William the Conqueror granted the manor to Robert, Earl of Ewe, or *Comes Eustachius*, in whose time it was valued at 22l. in *Albis Denariis*, or white money; supposed by Salmon to mean silver with a coarse alloy. Soon afterwards it reverted to the Crown; and, in the year 1148, was given by King Stephen, with all its appurtenances, to the Abbey of Feversham, in Kent, which he had then founded. His grant was confirmed to the monks by succeeding Sovereigns; and Edward the Second gave them a charter for a weekly market, and two annual fairs. After the Dissolution, Henry the Eighth granted the manor to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who conveyed it to Sir Edward North, Knt.

Treasurer and Chancellor of the Court of Augmentations. By him it was transferred to Sir Richard Lee, who exchanged it for lands in the vicinity of St. Alban's, with Edward the Sixth. It was again granted from the Crown, by Philip and Mary, in their second year, to Henry Peckham, Esq. and Elizabeth, his wife, in reward for the exertions of the former in the service of the Queen. This gentleman was most probably a zealous Catholic, as he was attainted of treason, in the time of Elizabeth, and divested of the rewards bestowed on him by her predecessor. James the First vested it in trustees for the use of the Prince of Wales: and it finally passed from the Crown to Henry Guy, Esq. who was Clerk of the Treasury in the reigns of Charles the Second, James the Second, and William and Mary. He sold it, about the year 1688, to Sir William Gore, Knt. some time Lord Mayor of London, whose descendant, Thomas Gore, Esq. disposed of it a few years ago; and it is now the property of Sir Drummond Smith, Bart. who has recently married the widow of the late Sir Francis Sykes, of Basildon, in Berkshire.

Tring *Church* is a large and well-proportioned regular building, dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, and consisting of a nave, side aisles, and chancel, with a massive tower at the west end: the walls are supported by strong buttresses, and the whole is embattled. The tower has originally opened into the Church, by a sharp pointed arch, with plain mouldings, and two small pillars on each side: the lower part is now used as a vestry. The nave is separated from the aisles by six pointed arches, rising from high clustered columns. The roof is of timber frame-work, with strong beams going across; the supporters on each side are terminated by a carved figure, each of which has a well sculptured figure for a corbel base. These figures are curious: one of them is a monkey, with a book and purse; another is a fox, with a goose; another, a muzzled bear; a sucking pig; dogs in various attitudes, and of different species; Nebuchadnezzar, in his degraded state, having a human face, with a long beard, and a lion's body; &c. Most of the windows have obtuse pointed arches, and are divided into

into three compartments by mullions: the east window of each aisle is larger than the others, and more ornamented by ramifications.

This edifice was neatly repaired about the year 1715, at the expense of William Gore, Esq. successor to Sir William Gore, on his marriage with a daughter of the Earl of Northampton. At the same period it was new-pewed with oak, and the columns of the nave were painted in resemblance of variegated marble; as well as the wainscotting of the chancel, which had been previously put up at the expense of Sir Richard Anderson, Bart. of Pendley, and is embellished with Corinthian pilasters. The Altar-piece represents Moses and Aaron, with tables of the Decalogue, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed. In the pavement within the rails are various slabs in memory of the *Andersons* of Pendley, (who have also other memorials here;) and another in commemoration of MRS. ELIZABETH GUY, wife to Henry Guy, Esq. of whom the manor was purchased by the Gores. Against the south wall is a very handsome mural monument, inclosing a tablet, with a medallion of JOHN GORE, Esq. of Bush Hill, Middlesex, who died in August, 1765, at the age of seventy-four; and, together with his wife, HANNAH, daughter of Sir Jeremy Vanacka Sambrooke, Bart. who died in March, 1763, aged seventy-one; and their only son, John Gore, Esq. was interred beneath. Against the north wall is a costly monument in memory of SIR WILLIAM GORE, Knt. and his lady, ELIZABETH, constructed of alabaster and black marble: the deceased are represented by figures in reclining positions on each side an urn; the Knight is dressed in his gown and chain; his Lady in the habit of her time, adorned with lace. Above is the Mace, with the Sword and Cap of Maintenance, in saltire; over which is a pediment, surmounted by the arms of the Gores, and otherwise ornamented. Sir William died on the twentieth of January, 1707, at the age of sixty-four; his Lady died at the age of fifty-two, in 1705: their virtues are recorded by long inscriptions on the lower part of the monument.

The *Market-House* is a mean edifice on wooden pillars, having a pillory and a cage beneath. The market is principally held for the sale of corn, meat, and straw-plat. Various small donations,

that have been given for the use of the poor, are enumerated on a table in the Church; and a *Sunday School*, for about eighty boys and girls, has been established by subscription. A small old building, called the *Pest-House*, is now inhabited by poor people. Tring contains four Meeting-houses, for the respective sects of General Baptists, Particular Baptists, Anabaptists, and Quakers. The number of houses in this township, as ascertained under the Act of 1800, was 328; that of inhabitants, 1621. The manufacture of straw-plat constitutes the employment of most of the females in this part of the country. A curious paper concerning a learned Taylor named ROBERT HILL, who was born in this town, was inserted in the Gentleman's Magazine, for September, 1754.

TRING PARK, the beautiful seat of Sir Drummond Smith, Bart. so created in May, 1804, consists of between 300 and 400 acres, ranging on the south-east side of the town, and pleasantly varied by bold swells and commanding eminences. Some of the timber is very fine; and the beech is particularly luxuriant and flourishing. The House is a large and convenient building: the principal apartments are spacious, and very neatly fitted up: the southern windows command some extremely fine and extensive prospects over the adjacent grounds, and into the contiguous vales of Buckinghamshire. The *Hall* is ornamented with Corinthian pillars: at the upper end is a very excellent Game Piece, by Snyders; and on each side, near the top, are six whole-length figures, in pannels, of Queen Elizabeth, Mary, Queen of Scots, General Lambert, General Ireton, and others. In the *Billiard Room* is a fine picture of the Maries with the Body of Christ, by Paul Veronese; a Girl with Fruit; and several portraits. In a small *Drawing Room*, opening from the Hall, is a curious full-length of QUEEN ELIZABETH, probably copied from a painting of the same Princess by Zucchero, mentioned by Walpole as being preserved in the gallery at Kensington Palace. The dress is fancifull imagined, and richly wrought with birds and flowers. Her right hand is placed on the head of a stag, who is crowned with flowers. Behind is a tree, on the branches of which swallows are perched; and on the trunk the following sentences are inscribed.

Injusta Justa Querela.
Mea Sic Mihi.
Dolor est Medicina
Dolori.

On a scroll in the corner below the tree are these lines:

The restles swallow fits my restles mind,
In still renewing still reviving wrongs;
Her just complaints of cruelty unkind,
Is all the musick that my life prolongs.

With pensive thoughts my weeping Stag I crown,
Whose melancholy tears my cares express;
His tears in silence and my griefs unknown,
Are all the phisick that my harms redress.

My only hope was in this goodly tree,
Which I did plant in love, bring up in care;
But all in vain, for now too late I see
The shells be mine, the kernels others' are:—
My musick may be plaints, my phisick tears,
If this be all the fruits my love-tree bears.

On the floor above the Hall, and running across the house, is a handsome Gallery, or Ball Room, having a circular dome in the centre. Most of the other apartments on this floor are Dressing and Bed Rooms: in one of the latter is a fine painting of Diana and Endymion. This house was erected about the time of Charles the Second, by Henry Guy, Esq. who, according to Salmon, 'adorned it with gardens of unusual form and beauty.' The Park was laid out by the Gores, and is now abundantly stocked with fine deer.

TRING GROVE, a short distance north-east from Tring, is the pleasant residence of —— Broadwood, Esq. brother to Lady Dashwood,

Dashwood, of Halton. This gentleman rents it of —— Barker, Esq. to whom it was bequeathed by the widow of the late Mr. Sayer.

ALDBURY was given by the Conqueror to Robert, Earl of Mortaigne; but, on the rebellion of his son, it was again seized by the Crown. The next owner on record was Bertram, or Bartholomew de Crioll, who was Sheriff of this county, and Essex, in the thirty-third of Henry the Third. From this family it came to the *Hydes*, of whom Nicholas Hyde, Esq. was created a Baronet by Letters Patent of the nineteenth of James the First. On the death of Thomas, his successor, who was Sheriff of Herts in the third of Charles the First, Aldbury became the property of the Dukes of Leeds, through the marriage of Bridget, only daughter and heiress of the deceased, with Peregrine Osborn, heir-apparent to the then Duke. In the *Church*, which is dedicated to St. John Baptist, are several ancient monuments in commemoration of the *Verneys* and *Andersons* of Pendley; and of the *Hydes*, the former Lords of this Manor: one of the *Dukes of Leeds* was also buried here; but neither inscription, nor any other memorial, has been consecrated to his memory.

LITTLE GADDESDEN, or *Gaddesden Parva*, called *Gadesdene* in the Domesday Book, from its situation on the river Gade, descended in the same manner as Berkhamsted to Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, who granted it to his foundation for *Bon-Hommes* at Ashridge, to which it was attached at the time of the Dissolution. Queen Elizabeth, in her thirty-second year, granted it to Jane, Lady Cheney, and her heirs, from whom it passed by sale; and in the second of James the First, was conveyed, by an indenture tripartite, to Thomas, Lord Ellesmere, and Sir John Egerton, his son, afterwards Earl of Bridgewater, in whose posterity it yet remains.

The *Church* is a small fabric, with a tower at the west end. The chancel is the burial-place of the *Egertons*, Lords of the Manor, of whom SIR JOHN EGERTON, Knight of the Bath, and first Earl of Bridgewater, died at the age of seventy, in December, 1649; and JOHN, Viscount Brackley, his third son, who succeeded him

in the earldom, died in October, 1686, in his sixty-fourth year. Most of the Egerton monuments have long inscriptions, which are inserted at length in Chauncy.* In this parish was born the eminent Physician JOHN DE GADDESDEN, who was educated at Merton College, and flourished at the beginning of the fourteenth century. He wrote many learned Treatises on professional subjects; and is mentioned by Chaucer, in his preface to the Canterbury Tales.

GREAT GADDESDEN anciently belonged to the Earls of Salisbury, and afterwards passed to the *Zouches*, and from them, by an heir female, to the Hollands, afterwards Earls of Huntingdon. On the death of the last Earl, who was wounded fighting on the side of the Earl of Warwick, at the battle of Barnet, it was seized by the Crown; and was granted, by Henry the Seventh, to Thomas, Lord Stanley, Earl of Derby. In the forty-third of Elizabeth, the daughters and co-heiresses of Ferdinando, Earl of Derby, conveyed it to Sir Robert Cecil, who granted it to Sir Adolphus Carey, of Berkhamsted, in the following year; and by his heiress, it was sold to the Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, from whom it has descended in the same manner as Gaddesden Parva. In the *Church* are various monuments of the *Halseys*, of GADDESDEN PLACE, whose Mansion, an elegant building, was erected about the year 1773, by the late Thomas Halsey, Esq.

BEECHWOOD, or BEECHWOOD PARK, the seat of Sir John Sebright, Bart. in the parish of Flamsted, was anciently called *Woodchurch*, or *St. Giles in the Wood*, from a *Benedictine* NUNNERY founded here for a Prioress and ten Nuns, by Roger de Toni, in the time of King Stephen. The possessions were increased by other benefactions; and on the suppression of the smaller religious houses, in the twenty-sixth of Henry the Eighth, the annual revenues of this foundation were returned, according to Dugdale, at 30l. 19s. 8d. but according to Speed, at 46l. 16s. 1d. The Manor was then granted to Sir Richard Page, Knt. whose daughter married Sir —— Skipwith; and afterwards they conveyed this estate

* Chauncy's Herts, p. 555, 6.

estate to Thomas Saunders, Esq. of Puttenham, from whose family it passed in marriage to Sir Edward Sebright, Bart. of Worcestershire, from whom the present owner is descended. The Mansion of the Sebrights is a handsome fabric, standing in a delightful and well-wooded Park, particularly abounding in fine beech. All the original papers relating to the Nunnery, as well as the manuscript collections of the learned Humphrey Lluyd and others, are in the possession of Sir John Sebright: this gentleman directs a considerable portion of his attention to the improvement of agriculture, and has a farm here of about 700 acres.

KENSWORTH was given, by Edward the Confessor, to the Church of St. Paul, in London, and it still forms parcel of the possessions of the Dean and Chapter. The *Church* is a small Norman edifice of one pace, with a tower at the west end, opening into the nave by a recessed semi-circular arched *Door-way*, curiously ornamented. The south *Door-way*, which opens into the Church from the porch, has a similar arch; but is somewhat more elaborately wrought. The stones which form the inner circle of this arch, are rudely sculptured in demi-relief, with a kind of diamond check-work; yet the evident dissimilarity of the carvings on many of these stones, renders it probable that some device might have been intended, though not any figure can now be distinctly made out, but that of a cross, which occupies the centre of the arch. The mouldings are supported by pillars, the capital of the westernmost of which exhibits on one of its faces, the well-known fable from Esop, of the Wolf and the Crane; the Crane is represented as standing on the back of the Wolf, and extracting the bone from his throat. The other face seems to be designed to represent the fable of the Eagle and the Hare. The Door-way within the tower has capitals of birds and small human heads: its other ornaments are in the same style with those already described: both Door-ways are built of Caen stone.

FLAMSTED, or FLAMSTEAD, anciently called *Verlamstedt*, according to Chauncy, from its situation on the river Ver, was parcel of the possessions of the Abbots of St. Alban. Leofstan, the twelfth Abbot, gave it to Thurnoth, a valiant Knight, and his

fellow-soldiers, Waldeof and Thurman, on condition that they should secure the roads from robbers, and strenuously defend the Church of St. Alban. After the Conquest, it was seized by the King, and granted to the family of Toni, or De Todeni, from whose descendants it finally passed by an heiress, in the time of Edward the Second, named Alice, who married Guy de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, whose descendant, the Great Earl of Warwick, being killed near Barnet, fighting against Edward the Fourth, his possessions were seized by that Sovereign, and being afterwards legally alienated in favor of Henry the Seventh, the manor of Flamsted continued in the Crown till the twenty-seventh of Henry the Eighth. It was then granted to George Ferrars, and his heirs; and has since passed through various families, by purchase and otherwise.

Flamsted *Church* is dedicated to St. Leonard, and consists of a body, chancel, and side aisles, with a tower at the west end. Of the "three wondrous ancient monuments" mentioned by Weever, only one remains, the others are lost: this stands between the nave and the north aisle. It is a plain altar-tomb, about four feet high; having the figures of a male and female in demi-relief, under an angular canopy of quatrefoil arches, ornamented with foliage, and smaller arches. At their feet are two dogs; that on the left has a label proceeding from its mouth, which curls round, and terminates on the back of the other, but the inscription is defaced. On a slab in the chancel, is a *Brass* of a Priest under a pointed canopy, containing traces of a representation of the Trinity. This, as appears from the inscription preserved by Salmon, marks the place of interment of JOHANNES OUDEBY, who was a Rector of this Church, and died on the seventh of May, 1414. Several monuments and memorials of the Saunders and Sebright families, of Beechwood, are also preserved here: and in the wall near the altar, is an inscription in memory of SIR BARTHOLOMEW FOUKE, who was Master of the Houshold to Queen Elizabeth and James the First, and died in July, 1604, at the age of sixty-nine. The capitals of the pillars of the nave are richly carved with foliage: and the nave is separated from the chancel by a lofty Screen, elegantly

gantly carved in the pointed style, over which is the ancient Rood-loft. On the south side of the chancel are two ancient *Stalls*, with a *Piscina* adjoining: all these have pointed arches, though differently shaped and ornamented.

REDBURNE is a pretty considerable village, extending about half a mile on the road to Dunstable, and chiefly supported by the passage of travellers. The Manor was granted to the Abbots of St. Alban in the time of Edward the Confessor, and his Queen Editha, who gave their joint consent to its former owners, Egelwine the Black, and Wincelfled, his wife, for that purpose. It now belongs to Lord Viscount Grimston, having passed to that Nobleman from the *Rowlats*, in the same manner as Gorhambury. The *Church* was re-built by Abbot Whethamsted, in the time of Henry the Sixth. It stands at some distance from the village on the west. On *Redburn Green*, the relics of St. Amphibalus, the pious instructor of St. Alban, are recorded by Matthew Paris to have been dug up, with the bones of many of his fellow-sufferers, in the year 1178, and to have been translated with much solemnity to St. Alban's, where a sumptuous shrine was prepared for their reception, and many miraculous cures are said to have been performed by their influence. A small PRIORY, or CELL of Benedictines, subordinate to St. Alban's Abbey, was founded here previously to the year 1195, and dedicated to St. Amphibalus, and his martyred companions. The number of houses in this parish, were returned under the Population Act, at 239; that of inhabitants, at 1153.

HARPENDEN, or, as it is more familiarly termed, HARDEN, was originally included in Whethamsted, to which parish, according to Chauncy and Salmon, the Church here is a Chapel of Ease. In the time of Edward the First, this Manor was possessed by the ancient family *De Hoo*,* of whom Robert de Hoo obtained liberty of free-warren for this Lordship, in the twentieth of the above Sovereign. From the co-heirs of this family, Harpenden was sold to Matthew Cressy, in the time of Edward the Fourth; and it continued in his descendants till the reign of Henry the Eighth, when

* See under Offley, p. 161.

it was conveyed, by the marriage of an heiress, to Edmond Bardolfe, Esq. whose great grandson sold it to Sir John Witherong, who was created a Baronet in the fourteenth of Charles the Second, and gave it to James, his second son, whose son John was owner in the time of Salmon.

Harden *Church* is dedicated to St. Nicholas, and, as appears from the style of the architecture, was erected in the Norman times. It is built in the form of a cross, with a tower at the west end: the arches at the intersection of the nave and transept, are plain and semi-circular; but are sustained on clustered columns, with varied capitals. On each side the nave are four arches, also semi-circular, rising from square massive pillars: two circular pilasters extend to the space under the tower. In the chancel is a neat cenotaph in memory of GODMAN JENKYN, Esq. of this parish, who was buried at St. Stephen's. Several of the *Cressies*, formerly Lords of the Manor, lie buried here, for whom some inscriptions yet remain; the oldest of which records the memory of MATTHEW CRESSEY, and JOAN, his wife, the daughter of Edmond Periont, Esq. of Digswell: the latter died in November, 1478. Another inscription is inserted in a slab in the east wall of the north cross, under the *Brass* figures of a male and female kneeling before desks, with the scriptures lying open on each desk, and above them, in the centre, their arms quartered, with a singular crest, of a hairy man rising from a basket on a helmet, and in the act of throwing the javelin; his left arm extended with a shield. The inscription has been very erroneously given, both by Chauncy and Salmon, but is as follows:

> Here under lyeth buryed ye body of Willm Cressye Esquyer wch Deceassed ye 24 Daye of Octobre in ye fyrst yere of Quene Elizabeth. Grace Johnso' his wyfe dyed ye 14 Daye of fabruary, 1571, and was one of the Dowghters of Robt Darkenall of Pensharste in ye countie of Kente.

The houses in Harden are irregularly yet pleasantly scattered over a considerable plot of ground: their number, as returned under the late Act, was 230; that of the inhabitants, was 1112.

WHETHAMSTED,

WHETHAMSTED, or WHETHAMPSTEAD, as it is frequently, though improperly, denominated, is recorded in the Domesday Book by the appellation *Watamestede*, a circumstance that decisively controverts the opinion of its having received its name from the goodness and plenty of the *wheat* grown in the neighbourhood. Edward the Confessor granted it to the Abbey at Westminster; and it is still possessed by the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral.

The *Church* is a curious fabric, dedicated to St. Helen, and built in the form of a cross, with a tower, surmounted by a well-proportioned octagonal spire, rising from the intersection of the nave and transept. In the north cross is a handsome monument of alabaster, in memory of DAME ELIZABETH GARRARD, wife of Sir John Garrard, Knt. and Bart. of this county, and eldest daughter of Sir Edward Barkham, Knt. some time Lord Mayor of London: she died in 1632, and is represented by a recumbent effigies, together with that of the Knight, her husband. In the south cross is an ancient altar-tomb, with free-stone figures of a *Knight* in armour, and his Lady, lying on the top, and round the verge an imperfect inscription: the effigies are greatly mutilated. Several of the *Brockets*, of Brocket Hall, lie buried here; and also of the *Leventhorpes*, and other respectable families.

The Barons who confederated against Edward the Second, and his favorite, Gaveston, assembled their forces at Whethamsted. And here, about the beginning of the fifteenth century, was born the munificent Abbot JOHN BOSTOCK, surnamed DE WHETHAMSTED, who received his education at Glocester College, Oxford, which at that period was a kind of Preceptory for Benedictines. The chief particulars of his history have been already related in the account of St. Alban's. The inhabitants of this parish were returned under the late Act, at 1043; the houses at 205.

LAMER, a manor in Whethamsted parish, derived its name from an ancient family who were Lords here in the time of Henry the Third. It afterwards passed through several families to the *Garrards*, Baronets; the first of whom, Sir John, was so created in 1622. His descendant, Sir Bennet Garrard, dying without issue in 1767, this estate devolved on the descendants of Jane, daughter

daughter of an uncle of Sir J. Garrard, Bart. which lady married Montagu Drake, Esq. of Shardelows, in Buckinghamshire, and was grandmother to William Drake, Esq. L. L. D. Member of Parliament for Amersham. His younger son, Charles Drake Garrard, Esq. brother to T. D. T. Drake, Esq. of Amersham, is now owner. The Mansion is a handsome structure, pleasantly situated on an eminence.

AYOT ST. LAWRENCE was ancient demesne of the Saxon Kings, and in the time of Edward the Confessor was held by Earl Harold; but after the Conquest, it was granted to Robert de Gernon. It afterwards belonged to a family surnamed de Ayot, who held it under the Earls of Hereford, and the Abbots of St. Alban. The mistake of Chauncy, who has erroneously asserted that this manor was granted to Radhere, to whom it never belonged, the founder of St. Bartholomew's Priory, in Smithfield, appears to have arisen from the circumstance of Canons in Shenley, which anciently formed part of the possessions of St. Bartholomew's, having been granted out along with this manor, by Henry the Eighth, to Nicholas Bristowe, and others. The family of Bristowe continued in possession of Ayot till the beginning of the eighteenth century, when it was purchased by Thomas Lewis, Esq. after whose death it was sold to Cornelius Lyde, Esq. The latter left two daughters, co-heiresses, one of whom married her cousin-german, Sir Lionel Lyde, an eminent tobacco merchant, who was created a Baronet in the year 1772. He purchased the other share of this manor from his wife's sister; and dying without issue, in 1793, the whole estate devolved to his brother, Samuel Lyde, Esq. the present possessor. The mansion of the Lydes is a neat brick building, situated in a small though pleasant park.

Ayot St. Lawrence contains two *Churches;* one of which was erected by the late Sir Lionel Lyde; the other is an ancient and venerable ruin: the plans on which they were built, are singularly dissimilar. The *New* Church was erected after the ancient Grecian model, by the celebrated Nicholas Revet. The west front consists of a colonnade, connected with a kind of open pavillion at each extremity, having a dome above; and of a portico, forming the principal

principal entrance, in the centre, with this inscription on the pediment:

Hanc Ædem D. O. M. LIONEL LYDE, Baronetus.
Manerii Dom. et Ecclesiæ patron. extruxit
A. C. MDCC. LXXVIII.

In the centre of each pavillion is a pedestal of white marble; that to the south is inscribed to the memory of SIR LIONEL LYDE, who died in June, 1793, in his sixty-eighth year, and it has also the following inscription on the back, in commemoration of the architect.

NICOLAUS REVETT *Suffolciensis*
Qui plurimos annos
Romæ Athenis et Smyrnæ commoratus
HANC ECCLESIAM
Ed antiquæ Architecturæ Exemplaria
Quæ in Græciæ atque Asia Minori
adhuc visuntur
designavit extruxit, decoravit.
HOC MONUMENTUM *posuit*
Sumptibus LYONELLI LYDE, *Baronetti.*
A. D. MDCC. LXXXVIII.

The ground-plan of the *Old* Church is equally uncommon. It assumes the form of an oblong square, nearly a double cube, separated into two parts by pointed arches; and the eastern part again divided into two chancels, communicating by an open arch. At the north-west angle of the western part is the tower, which occupies about one eighth of the whole fabric, and opens to the nave by pointed arches. The capitals of the pillars supporting the arch which divides the nave from the north chancel, are curiously ornamented with foliage and birds; and the mouldings were elaborately wrought, the outermost being terminated with sculptures of human figures. Against the north wall of this chancel was an ancient altar-tomb, neatly ornamented at the sides, by ranges of handsome pointed arches in relief, with trefoil heads; and having on the top, incumbent effigies of SIR JOHN BARRE, and his

his LADY. These figures are most shamefully mutilated: the former is represented in armour, with a close helmet, having an oval aperture for the face; his feet are resting on a lion, and his head on a helmet and mantle. This tomb has been removed to the tower. On a tomb against the south wall of this chancel, were *Brasses* of NICHOLAS BRISTOWE, Esq. and EMMA, his wife, the first possessors of this manor of that name, with the figures of their children, and an inscription; all which are now gone. Above this tomb is a *Piscina*.

In the north wall of the south chancel, which was that appropriated for the celebration of divine service, was a very curious free-stone miniature figure of a *Knight Templar*, or *Crusader*, lying in a recess, probably coeval with the building, under an obtuse pointed arch, quite plain. This figure scarcely exceeds twenty-four inches in length; a peculiarity, perhaps, that cannot be paralleled in more than two or three instances:* the hands, which are now broken off, formerly held a heart. In the wall that separates the chancels, on the south side, is an ancient stone *Coffin:* this was considered as a seat, till the falling of a beam broke off an upper corner of the lid, and discovered a skull lying in a cavity purposely formed to receive it. On opening the coffin, in August, 1801, all the remaining bones of a skeleton were found arranged nearly in their proper order. The lid is sculptured with an ornamented cross, and shaped similarly to that of the coffin of King William Rufus at Winchester, with a ridge in the middle, and sloping towards the edges. Several curious corbel heads support the outer mouldings of the arches in different parts. The east window of the north chancel was elegantly ornamented in the pointed style, having three trefoil-headed lights, separated by mullions; and in the space above them two Catherine wheels, with various crockets: beneath the inner mouldings on each side, was a canopied niche of rich workmanship. In this window was some fine painted glass, with the arms of the Bristowes,

* Grose, in the Addenda to his Preface, observes, that Children born in the Holy Land were represented on their monuments with their legs crossed.

Bristowes, formerly Lords of the Manor; and above, the Royal Arms of England, within a bordure charged with the cognizances of the houses of York and Lancaster: these arms are now preserved in the window of a house near the Church. The *Font* is of an octagonal form, ornamented with various mouldings, and having three trefoil-headed blank arches on the upper parts of each of its different faces.

The New Church was erected at the expense of Sir Lionel Lyde, under the expectation that he should be permitted to add the site of the ancient one to his park; but when the roof of the latter had been destroyed, and all the timbers carried away, and the building otherwise greatly dilapidated, an injunction was issued by the Bishop, to prevent its being further spoiled, on the principle that ground once consecrated, ought not to be converted to secular purposes, without evident necessity.

At the HOO, which derives its name from the very ancient family of Hoo, near Kimpton, is the pleasant residence of the Honorable Thomas Brand, Esq. son and heir of the late Thomas Brand, Esq. by Gertrude, now Baroness Dacre, and grandson of Thomas Brand, Esq. the purchaser of this estate, by Lady Caroline, daughter of Eveline, first Duke of Kingston. The Brands were more anciently seated at Great Ormead, in this county, which still continues in the family. The Hoo manor was formerly the property of the *Keates*, Baronets, of this place, whose burial-place is in the neighbouring *Church* of KIMPTON.

KNEBWORTH was anciently the inheritance of the family of Hoo, of whom Robert de Hoo obtained a Charter of a weekly market for this manor, in the twentieth of Edward the First; and also liberty of free-warren in all his demesne lands of Knebworth and Harpenden, in this county. It was afterwards possessed by the *Hotofts*, who seem to have obtained it by purchase from the family of Perrers. Idonea, daughter and heiress of John Hotoft, married Sir John Barre, Knt. who was possessed of it in the reign of Edward the Fourth; and left a daughter, named Isabel; first married to Sir Humphrey Stafford, Earl of Devonshire; and afterwards to Sir Thomas Bouchier, Knt. According to Chauncy, Sir

Thomas Bouchier sold this estate to Robert Lytton, Esq. who was Keeper of the Wardrobe to Henry the Seventh, and one of his Privy Council. In his family it continued till the death of Sir William Lytton, Knt. without issue, in the year 1705, when Judith, his eldest sister, and co-heiress, the wife of Sir Nicholas Strode, conveyed it into his family, in which it continued till the death of Lytton Strode, Esq. grandson of Sir Nicholas and Judith, who having no issue, bequeathed it from the blood of the Lyttons, to William Robinson, Esq. his cousin-german, the son of his mother's brother, who took the surname of Lytton, and was succeeded by his son. He dying in 1762, without surviving issue, the estate descended to the present possessor, Richard Warburton Lytton, Esq. who is the son of Barbara, the daughter of the above-named William Robinson, Esq.

The ancient seat of the Lyttons is called KNEBWORTH PLACE: the Manor-house is a spacious quadrangular range of brick building, surrounding a court, and having a square castellated pile in the centre of the principal front, of an earlier period than the other parts of the structure. At a little distance is the *Church*, a small fabric, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and consisting only of a body and chancel, with a tower at the west end, and a Chapel, or burial-place, of the Lyttons, on the north side of the chancel. On a slab in the chancel, is a very fine *Brass* in memory of SIMON BACHE, Canon of St. Paul's, and Treasurer of the Household to Henry the Fifth: he died on the nineteenth of May, 1414; his figure is represented in a very rich robe, elegantly engraved. Between the chancel and the Chapel of the Lyttons, is an altar-tomb for JOHN HOTOFT, and his Lady, with a defaced inscription round the verge, from which it appears, that he was Treasurer of the Household to Henry the Sixth: from his arms being represented in the chancel window, and also on the outside of the tower, Salmon supposes him to have built the present Church. The Chapel contains several handsome monuments, and other memorials, in commemoration of various individuals of the Lytton family.

PAUL'S

PAUL'S WALDEN, or ABBOT'S WALDEN, was given by King Offa, or Egfrid, his son, to the Monastery of St. Alban, to which it continued attached till the Dissolution; after which Henry the Eighth granted it to the Church of St. Paul, London; and to this foundation it yet belongs. On this manor is an ancient Mansion, held under that Church, and which was some time possessed by the family of Gilbert, from whom it passed, by an heiress, to the family of Bowes, of Gibside, Durham; and from them to the *Strathmores*, by the marriage of Mary Elianor, daughter and heiress of George Bowes, Esq. to the Earl of Strathmore. This House was some time since occupied by the Earl of Burford, now Duke of St. Alban's.

STAGENHOO, or STAGENHOE, in the parish of Paul's Walden, was anciently parcel of the possessions of the *Verduns*, of whom John de Verdun levied a fine on this manor in the time of Edward the Third. From them it passed to the *Pilkingtons*, of Pilkington, in Lancashire, who held it till the time of Henry the Seventh, when Sir Thomas Pilkington, Knt. espousing the cause of Lambert Simnel, was slain in battle at Stoke, near Newark, in 1487, when his great estate was seized by the Crown. Shortly afterwards the King granted it to George, Lord Strange, son of the Earl of Derby, from whom it passed, by purchase, to the *Godfreys*, who sold it to Richard Hale, Esq. of King's Walden, whose son, William, gave it to John, his seventh son, who received the honor of knighthood in 1660, and was Sheriff of this county in 1663. Rose, his daughter and heiress, conveyed it by marriage to Sir John Austin, of Bexley, in Kent, Bart. Their son, Sir Robert Austin, sold it to Robert Heysham, Esq. who dying without issue in 1734, bequeathed it to his kinsman, Giles Thornton, of St. Botolph's, London, who assumed the name of Heysham, and whose grandson, Robert Thornton Heysham, Esq. is the present possessor. The House is a handsome building, standing in a small Park: it was built by Sir John Hale, Knt. about the year 1650.

The manor of KING'S WALDEN was held of Earl Harold in the time of Edward the Confessor; but after the Conquest, it continued in the Crown till it was granted, by Henry the First, to

Peter de Valoines; from whom it passed to the Nevilles. It was afterwards possessed by various families; and in the time of Queen Elizabeth, was purchased by Richard Hale, Citizen and Grocer, of London, whose descendant, George William Hale, Esq. grandson of Sir Bernard Hale, Knt. a Baron of the Exchequer in the time of George the Second, is now possessor; and is married to a sister of the present Lord Viscount Grimston. The Manor-house stands in a small *Park*, well wooded with good oak timber.

At DINSLEY, or TEMPLE DINSLEY, a hamlet in the parish of Hitchin, was a PRECEPTORY of Knights Templars, founded in the time of the Baliols, Lords of Hitchin, who granted various lands to that Order. These possessions afterwards became the property of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, who retained them till the Dissolution; when Henry the Eighth granted the manors of Temple Dinsley, and Temple Chelsin, with all their appurtenances, to Sir Ralph Sadlier, Knt. one of his principal Secretaries of State, in consideration of the sum of 843l. 2s. 6d. On the death of Sir Ralph, in the twenty-ninth of Elizabeth, this manor devolved, by settlement, on his second son, Edward Sadlier, Esq. in whose posterity it continued till the reign of Queen Anne, when it was sold by Sir E. Sadlier, Bart. to Benedict Ithell, Esq. His last surviving daughter, and, at length, sole heiress, bequeathed it to her Steward, Thomas Harwood, who, in the year 1786, left it to his nephew, Joseph Darton, whose son was possessor in 1800. The mansion of the Sadliers, a handsome building, was pulled down a few years ago. From a *Quo Warranto* roll of the sixth of Edward the First, quoted by Chauncy, it appears that the Prior of Wymondley held the site of the *Castle* at Dineslie by the yearly rent of ten shillings.

OFFLEY, GREAT OFFLEY, or *Offley St. Leger's*, is recorded to have received its former appellation from the Mercian King Offa, who had a *Palace* here, in which he died. The manor continued in the Crown till the time of Earl Harold, on whose defeat and death at Hastings, it fell to the Conqueror, who retained it till after the time of the Domesday Survey. It was afterwards granted to the family of St. Leger, or Leiger, who possessed it during several

veral descents, and from whom it at length passed, by an heir general, into the family of Hoo, in the reign of Edward the Third. Thomas de Hoo was a Knight of the Garter, and was also created Baron Hoo, of Hoo in the county of Bedford; and Baron Hastings, of Hastings, in the county of Sussex, in the twenty-sixth year of Henry the Sixth. He left four daughters, his coheiresses; Anne, the eldest of whom, married Sir Geoffrey Boleyne, Knt. a wealthy citizen of London, and by that match conveyed this manor into the Boleyne family. Sir Thomas Boleyne, Knight of the Bath, grandson to Sir Geoffrey and Anne, was created Viscount Rochford, in the seventeenth of Henry the Eighth: he was afterwards chosen a Knight of the Garter; and in the twenty-first of the same King, was created Earl of Wilts, and Ormond. He died in the thirtieth of Henry the Eighth: his only son, George, Viscount Rochford, was beheaded about two years before his own death; as was also Ann, one of his daughters, the ill-fated partner of Henry's bed and throne.

Long before the death of the Earl, this manor had been sold to Richard Farmer, Esq. from whose family it was purchased, in the reign of Philip and Mary, by Sir John Spencer, of Althorpe, in Northamptonshire; whose eldest son, Sir John, was progenitor of the Dukes of Marlborough, the Earls Spencer, and other noble families. Sir John, the purchaser of the manor, gave it to Sir Richard Spencer, his fourth son, whose son, Sir John, was created a Baronet in the first of Charles the First; but he dying without issue male in 1633, the title expired with him; and this estate passed by settlement, to his brother, Sir Brocket Spencer, who was created a Baronet in 1642. This title, after being enjoyed by his son Sir Richard, and his grandson, Sir John, terminated with his, Sir Brocket's, second son, also named John, in the year 1712. Elizabeth, eldest sister, and co-heiress of the last Sir John Spencer, married Sir Humphrey Gore, of Gilston, in this county, by whom she had a daughter, Elizabeth, who married Sir Henry Penrice, Knt. LL. D. By him she had two children; a son, named Spencer, who died without issue; and a daughter, called Anna Maria, who married Sir John Salusbury, LL. D. Judge of the High Court of Admiralty. This lady had no children; and she having

in default of issue, given the estate to the absolute disposal of her husband, he continued to enjoy it from the period of her death, in 1759, till the year 1773, when he bequeathed it to Sarah, his second wife, for her life, with remainder to Robert Salusbury, Esq. of Llanwerne, in Monmouthshire, who was afterwards created a Baronet, and on the death of Lady Salusbury, in June, 1804, became possessed of this estate.*

The situation of Offley is very high and commanding. The manor-house, called OFFLEY PLACE, is a large and interesting building of the time of Elizabeth, it having been built by Sir Richard Spencer, about the year 1600, as appears from an inscription in the *Church*. The latter fabric is dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, and consists of a nave, chancel, and side aisles; with a tower at the west end: the chancel was rebuilt by Sir Thomas Salusbury. Many of the Spencers have been interred here; and at the entrance of the chancel, on tablets of black marble, is the following inscription relating to them.

"In memory of that branch of the SPENCER family settled at Offley. Sir John Spencer, from whom the present Earl of Sunderland is descended, settled his eldest son at Althorpe in Northamptonshire; his second son, Sir Thomas Spencer, at Clarendon, in Warwickshire; his third son, Sir William Spencer, at Yarnton, in Oxfordshire; and Anno Dom. 1554, purchased the Manors of Offley St. Leger's and Cockern Hoo, which he settled upon his fourth son, Sir Richard Spencer, in 1577, who married Hellen, the fourth daughter and co-heir of Sir John Brocket, of Brocket Hall, by Hellen, his first wife, daughter and co-heir of Sir Robert Litton, of Knebworth. He built Offley Place about the year 1600, and died in November, 1624; and was succeeded by his son, Sir John Spencer, who married Mary, daughter of Sir Henry Anderson, of Pendley." &c.

Against

* By this disposal of the property, the heirs of Sir Henry Penrice (who was a purchaser from the other co-heiresses of the Spencers) were deprived of their inheritance, so that Mrs. Thrale (see Boswell's Life of Johnson) had no real occasion to feel hurt that her uncle, Sir Thomas Salusbury, gave the estate to a more distant relation.

Against the north wall of the chancel is a costly monument of various coloured marbles, in memory of SIR HENRY PENRICE, LL. D. and ELIZABETH, his lady: the former died in August, 1752, at the age of seventy-five. On a pedestal is a sarcophagus of black marble, above which is a figure of Truth, of statuary marble, sitting on a rock, with a torch in her right hand, and a laurel wreath in her left; and round her different symbols, in allusion to the functions of Sir Henry, who, besides being Judge of the Admiralty Court, was Chancellor of the Diocese of Glocester: on a medallion above, are busts of the deceased, with their arms.

On the south side of the chancel is a very fine monument, by Nollekins, in memory of SIR THOMAS SALUSBURY, LL. D. who died in October, 1773, at the age of sixty-six. His figure is represented standing on an inscribed pedestal of white marble, and receiving a chaplet of laurel from the hands of his surviving Lady. The benignity of his countenance, and the modest diffidence of hers, are extremely well expressed; and the figures are gracefully arrayed, and well finished. Behind them is a sarcophagus of black marble, with the trunk of a blasted oak rising above, on the extended arms of which is thrown a mantle that falls down to the ends of the sarcophagus.

In the north aisle is an elaborate monument of white marble, in commemoration of SIR JOHN SPENCER, Bart. who died a bachelor at Tunbridge, in August, 1699. The deceased is represented by a recumbent figure of a youth in a Roman dress, resting his right elbow on a cushion, and his left hand on his breast: he is looking up to an aged matron (his mother) who is kneeling at his feet, and pointing to two angels in the clouds, one of whom has a palm branch, and the other a celestial crown. At the top are the arms of Spencer; and at the bottom, a long inscription. Several other neat monuments, of different families, are contained in this edifice.

PODERICH, PUTTERIDGE, or PUTTERIDGE BURY, in the township of Offley, was previously to the Norman Conquest, held by a Saxon named Alestane de Boscombe. The Conqueror granted it, with many other manors, to William, Earl of Ewe,

whose posterity retained it till the reign of Henry the Third, when it was forfeited to the Crown by an heiress. In the time of Henry the Sixth, it belonged to the Darrels; and in the thirtieth of that King, it was certified that Elizabeth Darrel held *Poderich-bury* by the yearly rent of a pound of pepper, and a pound of cummin. In the reign of Henry the Eighth, it was purchased from the Darrels by John Docwra, who was nephew to Sir Thomas Docwra, Lord Prior of St. John of Jerusalem; and it continued in his family till Martha, daughter and heiress of Thomas Docwra, conveyed it in marriage to Sir Peter Warburton, Bart. whose son, Sir George, sold it, in the year 1729, to Lord Charles Cavendish. This nobleman again disposed of it, in 1738, to Sir Benjamin Rawling, whose coheirs sold it, in 1788, to John Sowerby, Esq. the present possessor, who resides at LILLEY, an adjacent parish, on an estate that was also purchased from the descendants of the Docwra family; several of whom lie buried in the *Church* at Lilley.

RAVENSBURY CASTLE, or *Ravensborough*, in the parish of Hexton, is an ancient *Camp*, approaching to the figure of an ellipsis, and occupying the summit of a very high and steep hill on the immediate confines of this county and Bedfordshire: it is surrounded with a single trench and rampart, and includes about sixteen acres. Dr. Stukely imagines that the present name of this Camp is a contraction from *Romans-borough*; but a more obvious derivation arises in supposing it to have been a Danish fortress, whence the term *Ravens*-bury, from the celebrated Danish Standard, becomes peculiarly apposite. A contiguous piece of ground is still called *Dane-furlong*; and the Danes are known to have sustained a considerable defeat in the reign of Edward the Elder, *in finibus Luitchiæ, et provinciæ Hertfordensis*. The remarkable *Long Barrows*, which are between this place and Lea-grave, in Bedfordshire, have, with some probability, been supposed to have been raised over the bodies of the chieftains slain in that battle. The *Icknield Way* passes Ravensbury at a little distance to the south.

HEXTON, called *Hegestanestone* in the Domesday Book, was given to the Abbey of St. Albans, about the year 1030, by a noble Dane, named Sexi, and it continued attached to that foundation

tion till the period of the Dissolution; when Henry the Eighth granted it to Sir Richard Lee. Anne, one of his daughters and co-heiresses, conveyed it in marriage to Edward Sadlier, Esq. who alienated it to his brother Henry, who, in 1593, sold it to Peter Taverner, Esq. whose family was seated at North-Elmham, in Norfolk, as early as the commencement of the reign of Edward the First. His great grandson sold it to John Cross, Esq. But it now belongs to William Young, Esq. who has a seat here, which was formerly Admiral Pasley's. The hills in this neighbourhood are very considerable, and give issue to many springs. The *Church* at Hexton is dedicated to St. Faith, a statue of whom was anciently standing over a fountain near the Church-yard, called St. Faith's Well. On the north of the chancel is a Chapel dedicated to St. Nicholas, and appropriated to the interment of the Lords of the Manor.

At PIRTON, called *Peritone* in the Domesday Book, the mound on which stood the Keep of the *Castle* of the *Limesies* yet remains, surrounded by a ditch. Ralph de Limesy, an eminent Norman soldier, to whom this township, with many other possessions, was given after the Conquest, founded a Church here: he was founder, also, of the Priory of Hertford, to which Priory a manor in Pirton, of his donation, belonged; but his principal manor continued in his posterity in the names of Limesy, Odingsels, and Clinton, for many generations. A younger branch of the Odingsels had likewise a manor in this township, which at length became the property of Roger Lupton, Provost of Eton, who gave it to that College in the reign of Henry the Eighth; but it has been recently sold for the purpose of redeeming the land tax on other estates belonging to that foundation.

ICKLEFORD is a small village, supposed to derive its name from its situation on the Icknield Way, near a ford of the river Ivel. In the *Church* was interred, under a stone of white marble, HENRY BOSWELL, King of the Gypsies, who died in 1780, aged ninety years: his wife, and grand-daughter, were also buried here. Tradition represents Ickleford as having been anciently a market town.

HITCHIN

Is a large and ancient town, situated in a fertile valley, and surrounded by considerable eminences. It appears to have had its origin in the Saxon times, and was given by Edward the Confessor to Earl Harold, by the appellation *Hitche*. In the Domesday Book, it is called *Hiz*, a name that, according to Chauncy, it received from the little river Hiz, which flows through it. At the period of making that Survey, it belonged to the King, and was rated at five hides; two of which are described as lying *in Monasterio hujus pille*. William Rufus granted the manor to Bernard de Baliol, whom he had previously made Baron of Biwell, in Northumberland, and in whose descendants it continued till the deposing of John de Baliol, King of Scotland, and the seizure of his possessions by Edward the First. Edward the Second granted it to Robert de Kendale, Clerk, and the heirs male of his body; but it reverted to the Crown on the death of Thomas de Kendale, in the next reign, without issue. Richard the Second granted it, by the name of *Hychen*, to his brother Edmund de Langley, from whom it descended to Edward, Duke of York, afterwards Edward the Fourth, since which it has continued in the Crown, and has occasionally been the jointure of the Queens of England. The Bogdani family held this manor as lessees; and from them it passed to a Mr. Rhudde, of Uttoxeter, who is or was lately the lessee. The well-known antiquary, the late Maurice Johnson, Esq. of Spalding, in Lincolnshire, was for many years Steward of the manor courts; the jurisdiction of which extends into several neighbouring parishes.*

Hitchin

* What is called the Rectory Manor in Hitchin, anciently belonged to the nuns of Helenstow, or Elnestow, near Bedford, to whom it was given by Henry the First; though Dugdale has mistakenly recorded it, as of the donation of Henry the Second. After the Dissolution, it was granted, by Henry the Eighth, to Trinity College, Cambridge, and is still the property of that foundation. It was lately held by the Duke of Bedford, under a lease from the College.

Hitchin *Church* is a handsome structure of stone, occupying the site of a more ancient fabric near the middle of the town, and apparently of the age of Henry the Sixth, or Edward the Fourth. It is built in the pointed style, and is dedicated to St. Andrew. The name of St. Mary, given to it by Chauncy, as the modern appellation, belonged more properly to a Guild, or Fraternity, in the Church, as appears from the inscription on the monument of Thomas Abbot in the south chancel. The interior is spacious, and consists of a nave, chancels, and side aisles: its length is upwards of 150 feet; and its breadth, sixty-seven. At the west end is a massive tower, (which has originally opened into the Church by a pointed arch,) twenty-one feet in diameter, terminated, like many other churches in this county, by a small octagonal spire. The whole fabric is embattled; and the principal chancel is additionally ornamented by pinnacles. The north and south porches are well wrought; the latter has a groined roof, with canopied niches, and other ornaments in front.

The Sepulchral monuments in this Church are very numerous. An inscription for *Sir Robert de Kendale,* Knt. and three effigies greatly mutilated, which are now placed under windows of the north aisle, are of more ancient date than the present fabric. The first or most westward of these effigies represents a *Knight,* crosss-legged, in chain armour; the chain-work fitted close to his head, with an oval opening for the face: his head rests on a square cushion; and at his left side is a large plain shield; his right hand is on his breast. It is probable that this figure is a representation of one of the *Baliols,* who were Lords of this manor, as above stated, from the time of William Rufus to that of Edward the First. The two remaining effigies, though now separated, appear to have been originally conjoined, and on one tomb; as the sides, which seem to have been outward, are more particularly finished than the others. These represent SIR EDWARD DE KENDALE, Knt. Lord of Hitchin, who died in the forty-seventh of Edward the Third, and his Lady, whose decease occurred two years afterwards. The former is in armour, with his head resting on a helmet, having a cap of rich foliage for a crest, and his feet on a lion:

his hands are closed as in prayer; and on his breast, deeply carved, are the arms of Kendale, a bend surmounted by a label of three points in chief, gules. His Lady is in the habit of the time, with her hood thrown back, and her head resting on a cushion: the hands are broken off, but appear to have been closed as the former.*

Some very fine *Brasses*, both of the fifteenth and the following century, occur in different parts of the Church. The monument of THOMAS ABBOT, already mentioned, had the following inscription, now almost obliterated:

> Hic jacent Thomas Abbot, de Hitchin, Mercerus, et Johanna, uxor ejus qui quidem Johanna obiit ultimo die Januarii Anno Dom. Millio CCCCLXXXJ qui multa contulit huic Ecclesiae et Fraternitati Nativitatis Beatae Mariae Virginis ejusdem Ecclesiae.

Among the other monuments, are several for the *Radcliffes* of Hitchin Priory; and some inscriptions record the families of the *Skynners* and *Bydes*, who became allied by the marriage of the heiress of the former, with Sir Thomas Byde, Knt. of Ware. The *Font* has been ornamented with figures of the twelve Apostles, under niches; but these are now almost defaced.

At a short distance south-east from the Church was the PRIORY OF BIGGIN, founded for Nuns of the Gilbertine Order; but at what period is uncertain: at the time of the Dissolution, its annual revenues were, according to Dugdale, estimated at 13l. 16s. but, according to Speed, at 15l. 1s. 11d. Henry the Eighth granted the Priory, with the estate appendant, to John Cokke, and his heirs; in process of time, it became the property of Mr. John

* These figures are described from information communicated by an invaluable literary friend, who has made considerable manuscript collections towards a History of this County, and about five years ago, took the pains to clear the above effigies from all the whitewash that had been periodically plastered over them at the times of white-washing the interior of the Church. Since that period, the arms have been again obscured; and the fine parts of the sculpture filled up as before.

John Kempe, M.A. and school-master in Hitchin, who, on his decease, in 1684, vested this estate in trustees for charitable uses in this parish.

HITCHIN PRIORY was founded for White Carmelites, in the time of Edward the Second, and dedicated to Our Saviour, and the Virgin Mary. Its annual revenues were valued at only 4l. 9s. 4d. when it was surrendered to Henry the Eighth by John Butler, the Prior, and four of his brethren. Alexander, a fifth brother, had begun to sign his name to the deed of surrender, but repenting before he had finished, struck it through with his pen. The Priory was afterwards granted by the King to Edward Watson, and Henry Herdson, who soon conveyed it to Ralph Radcliffe, Esq. in whose descendants it continued till the death of John Radcliffe, Esq. who represented the Borough of St. Alban in three Parliaments. He died in December, 1783, having married Frances, daughter of Henry Howard, Earl of Carlisle, who still survives, but had no issue. It then devolved to Penelope, his eldest sister, who was twice married; but she also dying without issue, it became the property of her niece, married to Emilius Henry Delmè, Esq. who has assumed the name of Radcliffe, and is now possessor. The present Mrs. Delmè Radcliffe was sister to the late unfortunate C. J. Clarke, Esq. who died at Paris in December, 1801, in consequence of the injuries he had received by the fall of a temporary scaffold, on which he was seated to view some fire-works while attending the celebration of the rejoicings made after signing the preliminary treaty of the Peace of Amiens. Very few traces of the Priory remain: the immediate site is occupied by a Mansion, which is now fitting up as a residence for the family.

The *Charitable Donations* in this parish are numerous; some of the principal were bestowed in the year 1668, by John Skynner, Gent. who gave 300l. to build Alms-houses; 300l. to purchase lands to endow the same; 100l. to apprentice poor children; 100l. towards the further endowment of the *Free School* in Hitchin: and the produce of his orchard, next the Church-yard, to keep the Alms-houses in repair. The respective estates are now vested in trustees, and produced lately, about 21l. for the alms-people;

5l. for repairs; and 5l. for the School, annually. In 1697, Ralph Skynner, Gent. (probably son of the above,) bequeathed 200l. to buy lands to augment the revenue of the vicarage; 800l. for building and endowing eight Alms-houses; and 60l. for apprenticing ten poor children.

The market at Hitchin has existed from an early period; and very large quantities of corn and grain are annually sold in it; probably in some degree from being free of toll, by prescriptive right. Formerly, the wool trade was very flourishing here; this town having become the residence of many merchants, on the removal of the staple from Calais by Edward the Third. The town is locally divided into three wards, and is governed by two Constables, two Headboroughs for each ward, two Leather-sellers, two Ale-tasters, a Bellman, &c.* these officers are elected in the Manor courts. The town consists of several streets and lanes; and, according to the returns under the Population Act, contains 674 houses, mostly irregular buildings; and 3161 inhabitants; of whom 1508 were males, and 1653, females

GREAT WIMONDLEY, called *Wimundslai* in the Domesday Book, is recorded in that record to have been forcibly taken from the Nuns of Chatteris, by Earl Harold; but at the time of the Survey, it was in possession of the Conqueror, who is stated to have given it to a noble Norman, named Fitz-teck, to hold by the service of grand sergeantry. Ellen, daughter and heiress of Guy Fitz-tecon, married John de Argenton, or Argentine, whose family held this manor during several generations, by the service of offering to the King the first cup of drink which he tasted at his dinner on the day of his coronation; the cup containing the drink becoming the property of the Lord of Wimondley by the said service. Sir John de Argentine, the last of this family, left three daughters his co-heiresses; Joan, married to Bartholomew Nanton; Alice, married to Baldwin St. George; and Maud, married to Ivo Fitz-warrine: but having likewise an illegitimate son, Sir William Argentine, Knt. he gave to him this estate; and he, in respect to the

* Chauncy's Herts, p. 390.

the tenure, claimed the office of Cup-bearer at the coronation of Henry the Fourth, and had the same allowed, notwithstanding a counter-claim made by Ivo Fitz-warrine in right of his wife.

Sir John Argentine, Knt. grandson and heir to William the Bastard, left two sisters co-heiresses: Elizabeth, the eldest, married Sir William Allington in the time of Henry the Sixth, who, in her right, became possessed of this manor. From this marriage descended William Allington, created Baron Allington of Killard, in Ireland, in the seventeenth of Charles the First: William, his son and heir, was created Baron Allington of Wimondley, in the thirty-fifth of Charles the Second, and was succeeded by Giles, third Lord Allington, who dying a minor in 1691, this manor was sold, under a decree of the Court of Chancery, for raising portions for the daughters of William, second Lord Allington, and other purposes. The purchaser was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Culpepper, some time Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Master of the Rolls, and widow of James Hamilton, Esq. eldest son and heir-apparent of Sir George Hamilton, Bart. of Nova-Scotia, fourth son of James Hamilton, first Earl of Abercorn in Scotland. The said James was Groom of the Bed Chamber to Charles the Second, and a Colonel in the army, and was with his regiment on board the navy with the Duke of York, in one of the sea expeditions against the Dutch, when his leg was taken off by a cannon-ball, of which wound he died on the sixth of June, 1673: his body was afterwards brought to England, and buried in Westminster Abbey, where a monument was erected to his memory. They had issue, James Hamilton, who became sixth Earl of Abercorn, &c. but he did not succeed to this estate, which, as it had been purchased by his mother, was again sold by her, to Hildebrand, Lord Allington, of Killard, the uncle of Giles, Lord Allington, and younger brother of William, the second Lord. He dying without issue, Wimondley descended to the daughters of the above William: Diana, the youngest, married Sir George Warburton, of Arcley, in Cheshire, Bart. and by him had a daughter, also named Diana, who conveyed this manor, in marriage, to Sir Richard Grosvenor, of Eaton, in Cheshire, Bart. From the Grosvenors it

was

was purchased by Lieut. Col. Mordaunt Cracherode, who sailed round the world with Lord Anson, and performed the office of Cup-bearer at the coronation of his present Majesty. His only son and successor, the Rev. Clayton Mordaunt Cracherode, was a celebrated collector of literature, and on his death, in 1799, bequeathed a very valuable collection to the British Museum. Wimondley then became the property of his only sister and heiress, Mrs. Ann Cracherode, a maiden lady, who died in 1802, in her eighty-fifth year. The site of the ancient *Castle* may be traced from the unevenness of the ground at a little distance from the Church.

At LITTLE WIMONDLEY was a PRIORY for Austin Canons, founded by Richard de Argentine in the time of Henry the Third, and dedicated to St. Lawrence.* Chauncy tells us, that this was a *Cell* of Canons Regular of the Order of St. Benedick, which Henry the First confirmed to the Abbey of St. Alban; but he is certainly mistaken, as the grant of Henry the First relates to Wimondham, in Norfolk. The Priory of Wimondley appears to have possessed property at Temple Dinsley and Tewing in this county; at Shefford, in Bedfordshire; and at Beeston, in Nottinghamshire; and its entire revenues at the time of the Dissolution, were, according to Dugdale, estimated at the yearly value of 29l. 19s. 8½d. but according to Speed, at 37l. 10s. 6½d. Henry the Eighth leased the site and demesnes of the Priory to James Needham, Gent. Clerk and Surveyor of the King's Works, of the ancient family of the Needhams of Derbyshire; and the fee of the property was afterwards conveyed, by the Crown, to John Needham, his son and heir, in whose descendants this estate continued till the death of George Needham, Esq. in 1726. His daughters and co-heiresses sold it to Samuel Vanderplank, Esq. and it was lately the property of Christopher Clitherow, Esq. in right of his lady, grand-daughter to Mr. Vanderplank; but was advertised for sale in November last. The manor is co-extensive with the Priory demesnes, and comprehends about 300 acres. The site of the Priory is in a very retired situation between the villages of Great and Little Wimondley. WIMONDLEY BURY, in Little Wimondley,

* Tanner, from M. S. Corp. Christ. Coll. Oxon, p. 154.

moondley, has descended in the same manner as Great Wimondley, from the period of the Conquest. Here is standing a *Chesnut Tree* of very considerable antiquity and magnitude.

WIMONDLEY HOUSE, formerly the residence of a private gentleman, is now the principal academy for the education of Presbyterian ministers; and has been enlarged, for the accommodation of two tutors and twenty-four students. This institution originated at Northampton in 1729, and owes its endowment, which consists of funded property to a considerable amount, to William Coward, Esq. an opulent West India Merchant, who lived at Walthamstow.* The celebrated Dr. Philip Doddridge was the first tutor, and continued to officiate as such during twenty-two years; in which time 200 persons, chiefly ministers, had studied under his direction. In 1752, the academy was removed to Daventry, under the care of Dr. Caleb Ashworth; and thence back to Northampton; and finally to this place in 1799; when the Rev. Messrs. Parry and Ward were appointed its resident tutors, by the trustees acting under the directions of Mr. Coward's Will. The library contains a valuable assemblage of upwards of 10,000 volumes of the best authors in divinity, criticism, classics, mathematics, topographical antiquities, &c. together with a cabinet of medals, a collection of natural history, and other curiosities.

BALDOCK.

THE manor and parish of Baldock are co-extensive, and contain about 120 acres of land, the far greatest part of which is occupied by the streets, houses, and malt-houses, of the town. The manor was originally parcel of the great manor and parish of Weston, but was detached, and given to the Knights Templars, by Gilbert, Earl of Clare and Pembroke, together with the Church of Weston, about

* This gentleman founded a similar seminary at Hoxton, near London, which was dissolved about the middle of the last century. Drs. Savage, Kippis, Rees, and Jennings, were its tutors. The library and endowment has reverted to the establishment at Wimondley.

about the fourth or fifth year of King Stephen. The Templars, who probably regarded it as convenient for Inns, from its situation at the intersection of the great north road from London to York, with the Icknield Way, built a town here before the time of Henry the Third, as appears from the confirmation charter made of this estate to the Knights Templars by William le Mareschal, Earl of Pembroke, great grandson of Gilbert Strongbow. By the same charter he confirmed to them divers privileges, among which was the power of trial by battle, and by ordeal.* King John and Henry the Third granted them additional liberties, among which were those of holding a five days annual fair, and a weekly market. The grant of the fair (made with that of the market, by Henry the Third, in his first year) has the words *"fratribus Leprosis apud Baldoc;"* from which it seems that the Templars had some place of retirement here, on account of the salubrity of the air, for such of their brethren as were afflicted with the leprosy; a disease which in those days was very common in England, probably, in consequence of the frequent communication with the countries in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, conjoined with the unskilfulness of our professors in surgery and medicine.

On the dissolution of the Knights Templars, and the subsequent union of their order with the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, this manor became vested in the latter; and in the seventh of Henry the Seventh, that Sovereign, by Letters Patent, granted to John Kendal, Lord Prior of St. John of Jerusalem, gave him, his fraternity, and successors, liberty to hold a weekly market, and two fairs annually, in this town. After the Dissolution, Henry the Eighth granted this manor to Thomas Rivett,† of London, Mercer, who was owner in the eighth of Elizabeth; and, on surrendering a former patent, obtained a new grant of a Saturday

* For the various formula observed in these different modes of trial, see Chauncy's Herts, p. 377—381; and Dugdale's Warwickshire, and Origines Juridiciales.

† The arms of the Rivetts, were three *Trivetts* in chief, sable, in allusion to the name of T. Rivett.

Saturday market, and three fairs annually. He dying in the twenty-fifth of the same Queen, left three daughters, his co-heireses. The manor afterwards passed to the *Hursts* by purchase, but was sold from this family to the *Clevers*, about the beginning of the last century, by John, son of William Hurst, Esq. and Elizabeth, his wife, youngest daughter of Sir Henry Chauncy, the historian of this county.

The *Church* is a spacious and handsome building, said by Chauncy to have been erected by the Knights Templars in the reign of King Stephen; but this assertion is evidently erroneous, the style of the architecture proving it not to be so old by at least two centuries; though it is probable from the stone coffins in the walls, and other sepulchral memorials, that it was built on the site of a former church. On a slab in the pavement of the nave, is engraven a large cross, ornamented at the points with leaves, and having the remains of an imperfect inscription round the verge, in Saxon characters, beginning with the words Reynavd: de: Argentheine. Weever has given the inscription at length, with a translation, as follows:

Reignavld de Argentein ci gist
Que cest Chappell feire fist
Fu't chevalier saincte Mairie
Chescini pardon pour l'alme prie.

Regnald de Argentyne here is laid
That caused this Chapell to be made
He was a Knight of St. Mary the Virgin
Therefore pray pardon for his sin.

In the north wall, under an arch, is an ancient stone coffin; and in the south wall, in similar recesses, are two others: in these, according to a tradition of the inhabitants, recorded by Chauncy, three Knights Templars were buried; and the two on the south side being opened in 1691, there was found in each, says the same writer, "the fair skeleton of a man."

Baldock is a great thoroughfare; and, besides the trade occasioned by this circumstance, many of its inhabitants have enriched themselves

selves by the malting business, and by dealing in corn. The principal street is wide, and many of the buildings are respectable. The population of the town, as returned in 1801, amounted to 1283; the number of houses, to 231.

On WILBURY HILL, nearly three miles west from Baldock, are traces of an ancient *Camp*, or *Fortification*, which Salmon supposes to have been an amphitheatre; and mentions a silver coin, of the Empress Faustina, that was found here.* The area included about seven acres, and is crossed by the Icknield Way: the rampart, on the east and north sides, is levelled; on the west it yet remains, about four or five feet high, bounded by a ditch: on the south are some straight banks, but such as are in many places made by the plough on declining ground;† this side is the most steep.

In the year 1720, or 1724, between *Caldecot* and *Henxworth*, various ROMAN ANTIQUITIES were found by some workmen, employed in digging gravel; among them were large urns, full of burnt bones and ashes; some pateræ of fine red earth, with names impressed on the bottoms; glass lachrymatories, rings, beads, and fibulæ. Several human skeletons were also discovered, at the same time, within about a foot of the surface, with their heads pointing towards the south-east; and near them urns of different sizes.‡ Some of these Antiquities appear to have been exhibited at the Society of Antiquaries, in 1724, by Mr. Le Neve, and Mr. Degge, who shewed them, "three pateræ, two patellæ of red earth, an ampulla, a small urn of different colours, a glass lachrymatory, the handle and neck of a glass simpulum, a stone handle of a sword, brass fibulæ, sundry small green glass beads, and a Danish or Dutch brass coin, found in Henxworth parish."§

ASHWELL, called *Escewelle* in the Domesday Book, is supposed, by Camden, to be of Roman origin; and Salmon admits the probability of the conjecture, though he has taken some pains to

* Hist. of Herts, p. 160. † Gough's Camden, Vol. I. p. 342.

‡ Salmon's Herts, p. 339.

§ Gough's Camden, Vol. I. p. 342, from Minute Book of the Society of Antiquaries.

to invalidate the principal argument on which it was founded, and which Camden deduces from the frequent discovery of Roman coins in an adjacent earth-work, or *Fortification*, called *Arbury Banks*. The village is situated near the source of the river Rhee, or, to use the words of Camden, "in a low situation on the northern edge of the county, where a famous spring breaks out from a rocky bank, overhung with lofty ashes, whence flows such a continued quantity of water, as presently being collected in one channel, turns a mill, and soon after becomes a river: from this spring, and these ash-trees, it is certain that the Saxons gave it this new name of *Ash-Well*: and I once imagined that the Ancient Britons, who, according to Gildas, paid divine worship to mountains, rivers, springs, and groves, from the same circumstances, and with the same meaning, gave it the name of *Magioninium*, and that it was the place so called by Antoninus; but time has better informed me; nor am I so fond of my mistake as to be ashamed to alter my opinion on this head."*

Ashwell was ancient demesne of the Saxon Kings; but before the time of Edward the Confessor, it was granted to the Abbots of St. Peter's, at Westminster, who appear to have had a market here previously to the Conquest. In the Domesday Book it is expressly called a Borough; the toll and other rents of which, amounted to forty-nine shillings and four-pence. It continued to belong to the Abbey of Westminster till the Dissolution, when the Abbey being erected into a Deanery, and that into a Bishopric, it followed the fate of those foundations; and when the Bishopric was dissolved in the reign of Edward the Sixth, it was granted, with other manors, to the See of London by that Sovereign. Queen Mary vacated the grant from a religious principle; but, on procuring the Pope's license, confirmed it anew to Bishop Bonner, since which this manor has continued in the possession of the Bishops of London, his successors.

The *Church*, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, consists of a nave, aisles, and chancel, with a tower at the west end, surmounted by

 a spire.

* Gough's Camden, Vol. I. p. 335.

a spire. In the chancel are several slabs, formerly inlaid with *Brasses*, all which are now gone; but most of the inscriptions are preserved in Weever and Chauncy. Among those recorded by the former, was one with the words *Orate pro — — Walter Sommoner*. "I reade," continues Weever, referring to the Exchequer Rolls for his authority, "that one Walter Sumner (whether this here interred or no, I know not) held the Mannor of Ashwell of the King by pettie sergeantie, viz. to finde the King spits to rost his meate upon the day of his coronation: and John Sumner, his sonne, held the same Mannor by service, to turne a spit in the King's kitchen upon the day of his coronation. Ann. 6 Ed. 2. & Ann. 35. Ed. tertij."* If these services had actually any connection with Ashwell, they must have been rendered for some subordinate manor; as the principal manor, as already stated, was in the possession of the Abbots of Westminster. ARBURY BANKS consists of an area of about twelve acres, surrounded by a single rampart.

ROYSTON

Is situated in a bottom, among the Chalk Downs, on the extreme borders of this county and of Cambridgeshire, and is crossed in the lower part by the Icknield Way. Its history has been much disputed, particularly by Dr. Stukeley, and the Rev. Charles Parkyn;† both of whom, however, concur, though on slight grounds, in supposing it to have been occupied by the Romans. Dr. Salmon appears to think it of Saxon origin; but as deriving its name from the Danish mode of sepulture, called *Royser*, or *At Royse*, according to Olaus Wormius; and which consisted in burning the body, and depositing the ashes under a large tumulus, or barrow: in support of this conjecture, he refers to the number of barrows scattered over the adjacent Downs. Camden says that it first rose in the Norman times, and derived its name from the Lady Roisia, who erected a Cross by the road side: and Weever and Chauncy concur

* Funerall Mon. Edit. 1630.

† Formerly Rector of Oxburgh in Norfolk.

concur in this statement. The origin of the town, as given by the latter, is as follows.

Royston "has been a town of some remark, though small antiquity; for, since the time of the Conquest, one Dame *Roise*, a woman of great name, and high esteem, in that age, whom some think to have been the daughter of Aubrey de Vere, Chief Justice of England under King Henry the First, and wife to Geoffrey Mandeville, the first Earl of Essex, or, as others say, the wife of Richard de Clare, and others, the Countess of Norfolk,* erected there a cross in the highway, (which was held in those days a pious work, to put passengers in mind of Christ's Passion;) whereupon this place was called *Roise's Cross;* until Eustace de Merc, Knt. Lord of Nucells, Ralph de Rovecester, with some other persons, purchased a place adjoyning to the Cross, where Eustace built a MONASTERY for Austin Canons, in honor of St. Thomas of Canterbury; giving a hundred acres of wood, and thirty acres of land, with common of pasture to the same: when, therefore, he, and several others, had endowed it with a competent revenue for the maintenance of these Canons, houses and inns were erected there, which, in process of time, did multiply to a town; so that then, instead of Roise's Cross, it was called *Roise's Town;* and afterwards, by contraction of the words into one, *Royston.*"†

That the real origin of this town was as thus represented, seems extremely probable, when it is considered, that, at the time of the Domesday Survey, and for upwards of four centuries afterwards,

* The two last of these assertions, according to Stukeley, are erroneous, when referred, as they are in the text, to the Lady Roisia de Vere, who erected the Cross at Royston. The wife of Richard Fitz-Gilbert de Clare, who was named Roisia, was grandmother to Geoffrey de Magnaville, the Lady Roisia's first husband: and Richard de Clare, the second of that name, Earl of Glocester and Hertford, had a daughter married to Roger, third Baron Mowbray, of the family of the Dukes of Norfolk: hence, he observes, the occasion of the mistakes.

Vide Palæographia Britannica, No. I. p. 23, 24.

† Hist. of Herts, p. 90.

even till the thirty-second of Henry the Eighth, the town was situated in five parishes: three of them, Basingbourne, Kneesworth, and Melbourn, being in Cambridgeshire; and Therfield and Barkway, the other two, in this county. At the time above stated, it was first made a distinct parish: and the Church of the dissolved Priory, which had been founded by Eustace de Merc, and his nephew, Ralph de Rovecester, was made parochial; and, agreeably to the letter of the statute, denominated 'the Parish Church of St. John Baptist in Roiston." The inhabitants are recorded to have purchased it for this purpose.

The estates granted to the Priory by the founders, seem to have included all, or nearly all, of the land on which the town now stands: and in the first of Richard the First, (anno 1190,) the Canons obtained the liberty of holding a weekly market, and of a fair, annually, during the whole of Whitsun week, with other privileges, as enjoyed by the Canons of Dunstable. Henry the Third invested them with many additional privileges; and under these grants, the trade and population of the town rapidly increased. In the reign of Henry the Fourth, most of the houses were destroyed by fire: but the convenient situation of the place as a market for corn, contributed to its speedy restoration: and in the time of Henry the Sixth, according to Hollinshed, wheat was so plentiful here, that it was sold for 12d. the quarter. Camden records it as being famous for the great resort of maltsters, and other dealers in grain; and adds, that it is incredible what a vast number of horses, loaded with corn, are to be seen every market-day on the roads round about. It is still extremely celebrated for its corn trade, notwithstanding the great alteration in the modes of traffic that has taken place since the days of this writer.

At the period of the Dissolution, the revenues of the Priory were, according to Dugdale, estimated at the annual sum of 89l. 16s. 0d. but Speed records them at 106l. 3s. 1d. Henry the Eighth, by charter, dated on the twenty-ninth of December, in the thirty-first of his reign, granted the site of the Priory, with its appurtenances and liberties, and three fairs annually, to Robert Chester, Esq. one of the Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, in consideration

deration of the sum of 17611. 5s. 0d. This Robert was afterwards knighted by the King; and in the seventh of Elizabeth, he was constituted Sheriff of the counties of Hertford and Essex. Robert, his grandson, was Sheriff of Hertfordshire in the forty-first of Elizabeth; and had the honor of entertaining James the First in his house, during the progress of that Sovereign from Scotland to London. His posterity continued to possess the site of the Priory during several generations; but it is now the property of the Honorable Thomas Brand. Only a few remains of the Priory buildings are now standing, with the exception of the Church.

Besides the Priory, there were two other religious foundations in this town. One of them, an *Hospital*, dedicated to St. Nicholas, was founded as early as the time of King John;* but no particulars concerning it are known. The other, which was also an HOSPITAL, or *Free Chapel*, was dedicated to St. John and St. James, and existed as early as the twelfth of Henry the Third, when Walter de Gray, Archbishop of York, granted thirteen days indulgence to such as should contribute to the support of its weak and sick brethren.† This was most probably founded by some of the family of Argentine, as Richard de Argentein was patron in the year 1388. It had a Master, or Warden, and several Brethren; and at the time of its dissolution, in the twenty-sixth of Henry the Eighth, its entire annual revenues were valued at 6l. 13s. 2d. or 5l. 6s. 10d. clear. Some remains of this Hospital are now to be seen in a dwelling-house. James the First had a PALACE, or *Hunting-Box*, in this town, which he frequently visited, and wherein he signed the perfidious order for the apprehension of his favorite, Carr. It is now, or was lately, inhabited by a Carpenter, who purchased it for very little money.

At the bottom of the principal street in Royston, and immediately beneath the Market-place, is the CAVE, a kind of subterraneous *Crypt*, or *Oratory*, which has been dug out of the solid chalk, and had originally a perpendicular aperture rising to the street, and communicating with the upper part of the cavity. This

* Tanner's Notitia. † Ibid.

was of a circular form, about two feet in diameter, and had been closed by a mill-stone, which was accidentally discovered in August, 1742, by driving a post into the ground, as the foundation of a bench for the market-women. The aperture, or descent, had holes for the feet cut into the chalk on each side; but as the lower part of the crypt was found to be filled with loose earth and rubbish, this passage was quickly enlarged, that the interior might be cleared with more celerity, the curiosity of the towns-people being strongly excited by the hopes of discovering some hidden treasure. About two hundred loads of earth were drawn out before the cavity was entirely cleared; but the zeal of the labourers was repaid only by the finding of a skull, and other human bones, for the most part very much decayed.

The interior of this very curious, and probably unique, subterraneous apartment, is completely circular, finishing in a kind of dome above, broken only by the original entrance. Round the lower part of the sides is a series of rude carvings of the Crucifixion, St. Christopher, St. Catherine, St. Lawrence, and various other subjects in sacred and prophane history. These are supposed, by Dr. Stukeley, to have been cut by the Lady *Roisia*, whom he imagines to have had this place made as an Oratory and Burial-Chapel for herself; and that the skull, and other bones, found here, were really her remains. These opinions, which the Doctor supported in a quarto pamphlet, were controverted with some success by the Rev. C. Parkyn, who maintained, with Dugdale and Leland, that the Lady Roisia was buried in the Chapter-house at Chicksand, in Bedfordshire; a Priory of her own foundation, and to which she retired in the latter part of her life; and that this cell, or crypt, was a Hermitage long before Roisia was born, and that it continued so long after her death. This occasioned an elaborate reply from Dr. Stukeley, in which he detailed many curious particulars of the family of the Lady Roisia, and supported his former conjectures by a more full description of the events which he imagined to have been recorded by her in the carvings round the sides of the cell. His antagonist rejoined; and though the dispute was carried on with much acrimony, the respective

spective pamphlets are worthy of perusal, from the variety of curious and interesting matter which they contain.

The bottom of the crypt is surrounded by a raised seat about one foot high, and between two and three wide, but divided on the east side by a hollow place, called the Grave. The present entrance is by a regular descent, or passage, formed in the chalk from an adjacent house, and nearly one hundred yards in length. The diameter of the crypt is about twenty-five feet; its height between thirty and forty.

Royston *Church* consists of a nave, chancel, and aisles, with a low tower, embrasured, as are the other parts of this fabric. Before the altar is a slab, inlaid with a *Brass*, representing a cross, with the five wounds. In the north aisle, by the west door, was a *Brass* of a Priest, on a slab, with this inscription:

Hic Jacet Robtus White quondam Prior isti' loci qui obijt primo die Mensis Aprilis Anno dni Millesimo Quingentesimo vicesimo. quarto.

Several other slabs, formerly inlaid, are in this Church, but the Brasses are mostly gone. Here is also an ancient figure of a Knight, with his head resting on a cushion, and his hands closed as in prayer. This is said to have been brought from the Priory, and to represent one of the *Lords Scales:* but Salmon supposes it to be intended rather for Eustace de Merc, or his nephew, Ralph de Rovecester. The number of houses in this parish, according to the late returns, was 206; that of inhabitants, 975: the houses are principally of brick, and the streets are narrow. The *Royston Crow* is described by Pennant as a bird of passage, coming into England about the beginning of winter, and leaving it with the woodcocks. These crows are very plentiful on the Chalk Downs in this neighbourhood; and also in other similar open situations in different parts of the kingdom: they breed in Sweden, in the south parts of Germany, and on the Danube. The head, the under part of the neck, and the wings, are black, glossed over with a fine blue; the breast, belly, and back, are of a pale ash color: the bottoms of the

toes are broad and flat, the better to enable them to walk on marshy grounds.*

NEWCELLS, or NEWSELLS, called *Neusela* in the Domesday Book, a manor in the Parish of Barkway, was, at the time of the Conqueror's Survey, held by Eudo Dapifer, from whom it passed in the same manner as Barkway, through the Lords Scales, and other noble families, to the *Chesters*, who sold it to William Newland, Esq. It was afterwards purchased by Sir John Jennings, Knt. whose son and heir, George Jennings, Esq. dying about fifteen years ago, it was conveyed by the marriage of Esther, his only daughter and heiress, to the Hon. John Peachey, son and heir-apparent to James, Lord Selsea, who is the present possessor.

In a chalk-pit in ROCKLEY WOOD, was found, in the year 1743, a brass figure of Mars, with a brass handle, and seven thin plates, having a figure of Vulcan engraven on two of them, and on each of the others, a Mars: on two of the latter were also the following inscriptions:

MARTI
IOVIALI
TI CLAVDIVS. PRIMVS
ATTII LIBER
V. S. L. M.

D. MARTI. ALATOR.
DVM. CENSORINVS
GEMELLI FIL.
V. S. L. M.

The word *Alatorum* was referred by Mr. Ward, who communicated an account of the discovery to the Royal Society, to the *Castra Alata*, of Ptolemy, or Edinburgh; and he supposed the plates to have been ornaments on a shrine of Mars about the time of Diocletian.†

COCKEN-

* Zoology, Vol. I, p. 169, 8vo. Vol. I. p. 191, 4to.

† Gough, from Phil. Trans. No. 343.

COCKEN-HATCH, a manor adjoining to Newcells, is thought to have derived its name from a Saxon, named Cockenach, who possessed it before the Conquest. Eustace de Merc gave it to the Priory of Royston; and it passed with that foundation to Robert Chester, Esq. in the time of Henry the Eighth, and became the principal seat of his family. It was afterwards the seat of Sir William Chapman, Bart. and on the death of his widow, the late Lady Chapman, was bequeathed by her to the Lady of Sir Francis Wills, who now possesses it. The Mansion is rather a singular structure, but not unhandsome; it stands in a pleasant Park.

The Manor of BARKWAY formed part of the estate of Eustace de Merc, and afterwards of Robert de Rovecester, from whose family it passed by an heiress, named Alice, who married Robert D'Escalers, or Scales, about the time of King John. Their son, Robert, obtained a grant of a weekly market, and a six days' annual fair, for this manor, in the reign of Henry the Third. Robert D'Escalers, his son and successor, was a renowned warrior in the time of Edward the First, who granted him lands to the yearly value of 300 marks, for his services in Scotland, and summoned him as a Baron to Parliament. His family continued to flourish, and had frequent summonses to Parliament, till the time of Henry the Sixth, when Elizabeth, married to Henry Bouchier, second son of Henry, Earl of Essex, was left heiress. Her second husband was Anthony Widville, son of Earl Rivers, who was constituted Lord Scales on his marriage, and succeeded his father in the Earldom in the ninth of Edward the Fourth. On his tragical death, Richard the Third granted this manor to the Duke of Norfolk, who fell in the battle of Bosworth Field; and his estates were seized by Henry the Seventh. Barkway, with some other possessions of the Earls Rivers, were restored to the Countess Elizabeth; but on failure of issue, reverted to the heirs of the Lords Scales, who were found to be John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, and Sir William Tindal. On a partition, Barkway and Newcells were allotted to the former; and his heirs continued owners till about the conclusion of the reign of Henry the Eighth; in the time of whose daughter, Queen Mary, Sir John Peters was possessor. He sold them to Henry Prannel, Esq. an Alderman of London; and his

son,

son, Henry, married to Frances, daughter of Lord Viscount Bindon, procured a new charter for a market, and a three days' fair, for his Manor of Barkway, from Queen Elizabeth. This was granted in consideration of the loss he had sustained by the whole town having been nearly destroyed by fire, and which appears, from Norden, to have so affected him, as to occasion his death. His heirs sold Barkway to the Chester family, who retained it till the middle of the last century. It is now the property of the Hon. John Selsea, who derived it from his marriage with the heiress of the Jennings family.

Barkway *Church* is dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, and contains various monuments and inscriptions for the *Chesters;* together with many ancient slabs, formerly inlaid with Brasses, scarcely any of which are now remaining. Some fragments of a series of representations of the Creation, in painted glass, remain in the windows of the north aisle; with arms, and other figures. The market has been disused many years. The inhabitants of Barkway, as returned under the Act of 1800, amounted to 699; the houses to 147.

ANSTEY, or ANSTIE, called *Anestige* in the Domesday Book, is supposed, by Salmon, to derive its name from the *Ermin Street*, which he imagines to have run through this parish, and to have been called *Heanstige*, the High-way, by the Saxons, in token of pre-eminence. This manor was given by the Conqueror to Eustace, Earl of Boulogne, who is represented to have built a CASTLE here, by the King's command, for the purpose of intimidating the English. Some additional out-works were made during the Barons' wars, in the reign of King John; but these were afterwards demolished, by order of Henry the Third, by Nicholas, surnamed *De Anstie;* and the materials are said to have been employed by Richard de Anstie in the erection of the Church. In the reign of Edward the First, Dionise de Monte Caviso died possessed of this Manor and Castle; but in the next reign they became the property of the Crown, but in what manner does not clearly appear, having previously belonged to Audomare de Valentia, Earl of Pembroke, to whose widow, Mary de St. Paul, daughter of Guy de Chatillon, they were granted by Edward the Second during her life. Edward

ward the Third, by his Letters Patent, dated at Shene, in the fifty-first of his reign, granted Anstie, with its Castle, and the Castle of Fotheringay, to his fifth son, Edward of Langley. Edward, Duke of York, his son and successor, who was slain in the battle of Agincourt, obtained license from Henry the Fifth, to make over this, and other manors, to Henry, Bishop of Winchester, and others, in trust, for the completion of the collegiate Church of Fotheringay; towards the building and endowment of which, he had expended large sums. His descendant, Edward the Fourth, granted Anstie to Cecily, Duchess of York, his mother; after whose death it reverted to, and continued in, the Crown, till Henry the Eighth granted it to his Queen, Jane Seymour, for life. After her death, he again granted it, in the thirty-sixth of his reign, to John Cock, Esq. of Broxbourn, in consideration of the payment, into the Exchequer, of 288l. 12s. 10d. to hold by the fortieth part of a Knight's fee, and the yearly rent of 20s. From his heirs it passed through various families; and lastly, by purchase, to Sir Rowland Lytton, of Knebworth; and it is still in possession of the representative of his family.

The artificial mount, on which stood the Keep, or more ancient part of the *Castle*, still remains surrounded by a moat; together with a deep ditch and rampart, that inclosed the additions made in the time of King John. The *Church* is built in the form of a cross, with a low tower rising from the intersection of the nave and chancel: in the latter are some ancient stalls. In the south aisle is an ancient monument, with the effigies, as traditionally reported, of *Richard de Anstie*, the builder of the Church.

BRENT PELHAM, FURNEUX PELHAM, and STOCKING PELHAM, are now three distinct parishes; but at the period of making the Domesday Survey, they were all included in one, under the general name of Pelham; and though divided into seven parcels, were all held of the Bishop of London. How they were alienated from his See is unknown; but in the time of Henry the Third, Simon de Furneuse was Lord of the whole, as appears by his pleading a grant of liberty of free-warren from that King, when summoned to show his right by a *Quo Warranto* in the reign of Edward the First. The Manor of Stocking Pelham, however,

he

he is recorded to have held of the Bishop of London, as of his Castle at Stortford, by homage, and the payment of 10s. annually, for the defence of the Castle. The name of *Furneux Pelham* was derived from his family: that of *Brent Pelham* was obtained from a fire in the reign of Henry the First, which nearly destroyed the whole place, together with the Church: and that of *Stocking* or *Stockin Pelham*, was, according to Salmon, so given from its being situated adjacent to some wood, that had been grubbed or stocked up.

The descent of the Manors of Furneux Pelham, and Brent Pelham, was the same for several centuries. From the family of Furneux they passed by an heiress to Sir John de la Lee, or At Lee, who represented this county in a Parliament held at Westminster in the twenty-ninth of Edward the Third. Sir Walter, his son and heir, was also a representative for this county in the fifty-first of the same King; and in the time of his successor, Richard the Second, he was Knight of the shire in no fewer than ten of the numerous Parliaments held during that troublesome reign. He was also Sheriff of Hertford and Essex, in the thirteenth of the same Sovereign. He dying without issue in the nineteenth of Richard, was succeeded in these manors by Robert Newport, Esq. who had married Margery, his eldest sister and co-heiress. This Robert was Knight of the shire in the second, and again in the twelfth, of Henry the Fourth; and in his descendants these estates continued till the time of Henry the Eighth, when they passed in marriage with an heiress to the family of the Parkers, Lords Morley; William, Lord Monteagle, sold Furneux Pelham to Edward Newport, Esq. about the year 1616; and in 1619, he also disposed of Brent Pelham to the same gentleman, who was descended from the family of his name that had before held these manors. The Manor-House, called *Pelham Hall*, with the demesne and parks connected with it, had been previously sold, by the Lord Monteagle, to Richard Mead, Esq. of Bearden, who pulled down a considerable part of the buildings: it afterwards passed through different families to the *Calverts*, who became owners by purchase about the year 1677: they also became possessed

seised of the Manor of Stocking Pelham, of which the history is very obscure, in the same manner. Brent Pelham was sold to the *Floyers* in the time of Charles the First.

The *Church* at BRENT PELHAM is a small structure, consisting only of a single pace, with a tower at the west end; the chancel is of brick-work. In the north wall of the nave is the curious monument of O PIERS SHONKES, who is said to have been owner of a subordinate manor in this parish very soon after the Conquest; and the site of his mansion is still pointed out, surrounded by a moat. The lower part of the tomb is of modern brick-work; but the top is covered with an ancient slab of Petworth marble, sculptured in very high relief, with the figure of an angel, surrounded by the symbols of the Evangelists, and sustaining a festoon of drapery, out of which rises a small human figure, with his hands raised in the attitude of prayer: below this, in the centre of the slab, is a cross fleury, with a kind of branched stem, the lower end of which is entering the mouth of a dragon or serpent. This symbolical representation of the triumph of Christianity, was most probably the origin of a traditional tale concerning the person buried here, and which represents him as having so offended the Devil, by killing a serpent, that his Highness threatened to secure him, whether buried within or without the walls of a Church; to avoid which, he was deposited in the wall itself. Over the tomb is this inscription, which, as it differs from the copies given both by Chauncy and Salmon, has most probably been renewed since their times.

O PIERS SHONKES
Who died Anno 1086.

Tantum Fama manet Cadmi, Sanctiq. Georgi
Posthuma Tempus Edax Ossa Sepulchra voreat
Hoc Tamen in Muro tutus, qui perdidit Anguem
Invito positus Dæmone Shonkus erat.

Nothing of Cadmus, nor St. George, those names
Of great renown, survives them, but their fames;
Time was so sharp set as to make no bones
Of theirs, nor of their monumental stones;
But SHONKE one serpent kills, t'other defies,
And in this wall, as in a fortress, lies.

Whatever

Whatever might have given rise to the tradition, it would seem that O'Shonkes was a character much venerated, as the buttresses on the outside of the Church, which bound the place of his sepulture, are marked with *Crosses*. The Exchequer rolls mention a Gilbert *Sank*, of Brent Pelham, upon whom Simon de Furneuse made a distress in the sixteenth of Edward the First, for his homage and service, and 40s. and sixpence, annual rent.*

The *Church* at FURNEUX PELHAM consists of a nave, chancel, and side aisles, with a small tower, in the centre of the structure, at the west end: the chancel appears the most ancient, and has a cross fleury at the summit of the east end. It is somewhat remarkable, that there was originally no entrance from the west; but a door-way has been opened through the lower part of a large ramified pointed arched window. The windows of the aisles have obtuse arches, and are each divided by mullions into three trefoil-headed lights, with crockets and smaller lights above. In the north aisle remains a very curious piece of Gothic *Screen-work*; the ancient seat of the Newports, Lords of the Manor, covered with an elegant canopy of light tracery, carved in wood. Over the door are the ancient arms of the Newports, parte per fess, a lion rampant; the more modern arms of the family, Or, a fess between three crescents sable; and another shield, bearing gules, on a cross azure, five tygers heads, Or: each of these shields had deer for its supporters. In a Burial-Chapel appropriated to the interment of the families of the Lords of the Manor, and connected with the south aisle, and in the south aisle itself, are the mutilated remains of several monuments for the *Newports*, and their predecessors, the *At Lees;* but all without inscriptions: several of these, however, have been preserved by Weever and Chauncy. On a slab in the pavement, is also this inscription in Saxon characters: Symon: Deforneux filius. This is thought to be of the time of Edward the First, and to be intended for the son of the Simon de Furneuse who pleaded to the *Quo Warranto* in that reign. On one of the tombs are *Brasses* of a male and female under rich canopies:

* Salmon's Herts, p. 289.

pies: the former has a small sword, or dagger, at his left side, and is standing upon a shepherd's dog; his beard is forked in the fashion of the times of Richard the Second. His Lady is in the dress of the same age. The inscription and arms are gone; but the whole costume of the figures evinces this to be the monument which Weever mentions as 'fouly defaced,' in his days, and as then having the following imperfect epitaph:

Sir Walter At Lea, alias Sir Walter At Clay — — — —

GREAT HORMEAD, or *Hormede Magna,* was given by the Conqueror to Edgar Atheling; but it afterwards reverted to the Crown in the person of Henry the Second, who claimed his right of inheritance by virtue of his descent from Margaret, wife of Malcolm, King of Scots, and sister to Edgar. In the latter end of the reign of King John, it was held by John de Sandford, by service in the Queen's Chamber; and his descendant, Gilbert, Lord Sandford, was Chamberlain to Eleanor, Queen of Henry the Third: an office that was also executed by his wife Lora, after his decease. Their daughter Alice, being left heiress, was married to Robert, son and successor to Hugh de Vere, Earl of Oxford, who had purchased the wardship of the heiress for that purpose. In this family it continued till Henry, the spendthrift Earl, conveyed it to Anthony Cage, Citizen of London, in the twenty-first of Elizabeth; he gave it to Daniel, his youngest son, who claimed the office of Chamberlain to Anne of Denmark, at the time of her coronation with James the First; but the Commissioners of Claims declined to give judgment.

LAYSTON, called *Ichetone* in the Domesday Book, and *Lefstanchirche* in a grant of the manor made to the Church of the Holy Trinity, in London, in the time of King Stephen, had the grant of a weekly market, and an eight days' annual fair, from Henry the Third. These, however, have been long disused. After the Dissolution, the manor was granted to the Lord Chancellor Audley: but it has since been possessed by several different families. In the *Church* are many ancient slabs, now mostly deprived of

their *Brasses;* together with an inscription for JOHN CROWCH, Esq. Lord of this Manor, and of Corny-bury, in the time of Elizabeth, who died in the year 1605; and another for Dr. W. Slatholm, author of the book *De Febribus.*

BUNTINGFORD

Is a small market-town, erected at the junction of Layston, Aspenden, Throcking, and Widdial, and on land formerly belonging to them all. It is situated near the little river Rib, and immediately on the high road to Huntingdon, which occasions it to be a place of some trade. The first mention of Buntingford that occurs, is in the time of Edward the Third, who granted a market and fair here to Elizabeth de Burgo, at the annual rent of sixpence. The market-day was afterwards altered by another grant from the same King; and it was again altered by Henry the Eighth, in favor of the Lord Chancellor Audley, who was empowered to appoint two men to govern the markets and fairs, under the direction of six others, inhabitants of the town; the profits to be employed for the good of the town, at the discretion of the Lord. The *Chapel* at Buntingford was built, by voluntary subscription, during the years 1614 and 1621, under the superintendance of the Rev. Alexander Strange, who was Vicar of Layston forty-six years, and lies buried in his own structure. Near it is an *Almshouse* for four poor men, and as many women, founded and endowed in the year 1684, by DR. SETH WARD, Bishop of Salisbury, who was a native of this town. He also founded four scholarships, in Jesus College, Cambridge, for boys born in this county, and educated in the *Grammar School* at Buntingford; giving the preference to natives of this and the adjoining parishes.

This benevolent prelate was born in the year 1617; and having been taught the early rudiments of learning in the Grammar School of his native town, was removed to Sydney College, Cambridge, of which he was afterwards chosen Fellow. In the time of the Civil Wars, he was imprisoned for his opposition to the ruling powers; but, after the Restoration, he was promoted to the See of Exeter. He

was afterwards made Chancellor of the Order of the Garter, and by his influence occasioned that office to be annexed to the See of Salisbury, to which he was translated in 1667. He died in January, 1688, and was buried in Salisbury Cathedral.

The Manor of WIDDIAL, called *Widehale* in the Domesday Book, was granted by the Conqueror to Hardwyn d'Escalers, who is thought to have had his residence here. In his posterity it continued till the marriage of Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas de Scales, with Anthony Widville, afterwards Earl Rivers, whose possessions being seized by Richard the Third, after the decapitation of the Earl, at Pontefract, Widdial continued in the Crown, till Henry the Eighth granted it to George Canon, and John Gill, his son-in-law, who had afterwards possession of the whole manor. His grandson, also named John, was Sheriff of Herts in the seventeenth of Elizabeth; and was succeeded by George, his son, who was knighted in the first of James the First. He sold this estate to John Goulston, Esq. a Prothonotary of the Court of Common Pleas, from whose descendants it was purchased by the late Brabazon Ellis, Esq. He sold it to his father-in-law, John Hecton, Esq. of Bedfords, in Essex; but it is now, or was lately, the seat of Thomas Calvert, Esq. In Widdial *Church* are various monuments, in a chapel which runs the whole length of the north side, of the *Gill* and *Goulston* families, together with an inscription in memory of GEORGE CANON, Gent. who built the chapel in the reign of Henry the Eighth. On a *Brass* in the Chancel is the effigies of DAME MARGARET, only daughter and heiress of Sir Thomas Nevil, Knt. and wife to Sir Robert Southwell, Knt. Master of the Rolls: she died in December, 1575, at the age of fifty-five. The windows of the Chapel have been ornamented with painted glass in a very superior style, representing various events in the History of Our Saviour: some of the subjects are yet perfect.

At THROCKING was formerly a seat of the *Soames*, Baronets, now demolished. Sir Thomas Soame, Bart. lies buried in the Church. The estate belongs to the family of Elwes of Roxby, in Lincolnshire, who inclosed the *Park* here. The Rector of Throck-

ing has no house, nor any land, in the parish, except the Church-yard; a circumstance almost unparalleled.

ASPENDEN, or ASPEDEN, called *Absesdene* in the Domesday Book, was granted by the Conqueror to Eudo Dapifer. In the time of Edward the First it belonged to John de Wengham, Precentor of St. Paul's, and continued in his family till the time of Edward the Fourth, when it passed to Sir Ralph Jocelyn, by his marriage with Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of William Berkley. Sir Ralph was twice Lord Mayor of London; and was made Knight of the Bath at the Coronation of Elizabeth Gray, Edward the Fourth's Queen. He died in 1478; and his wife surviving him, married, secondly, Sir Robert Clifford, third son of Lord Clifford, who had this manor in her right. Being implicated in the conspiracy for asserting the rights of Perkin Warbeck, he was arrested; but obtained his pardon by making known the particulars of the plot. Salmon supposes his estate to have been restored to him only for his life, as in the next reign, Aspenden was held by the Crown; and was finally granted, by Edward the Sixth, to John Philpot, Esq. on a fee-farm rent of 28*l.* annually. He sold it to Sir Ralph Sadleir, of Standon, whose son, Sir Thomas, again sold it to William and Ralph Freman, brothers and merchants, of London, who made the Manor-House their place of residence. Ralph, son of William, died possessed of it in 1665: William, his grandson, left, by Catherine, his wife, (sister and heiress to Sir Henry Pope Blount,) an only daughter and heiress, named Catherine, who married the Hon. Charles Yorke, son of the first Lord Hardwick, and father of the present Lord: by this marriage most of the family estates came into the Yorke family; but Aspenden had been previously sold to the Duke of Buccleugh, and afterwards to the *Bolderos*: Charles Boldero, Esq. who resides at ASPEDEN HALL, is now owner.

In the Hall Park is the village *Church*, a small fabric, dedicated to St. Mary, and containing various monuments and inscriptions in memory of the *Fremans*. Here also is a handsome monument in memory of SYR ROBERT CLYFFORD, 'late Kynght for the Body to the most excellent Prince, Kyng HENRI the vii, and Master of his Ordinaunce.' He died on the fifteenth of March,

in the twenty-third of the above Sovereign. The slab which covers the tomb is inlaid with curious *Brass* figures of the Knight and his Lady in attitudes of prayer. In the chancel window was the portrait and arms of *Sir Ralph Jocelyn*, who has been mentioned as an owner of this manor. The former has been removed; but an engraving from it was published in the year 1796.* In the Churchyard is a memorial for JOHN and MARTHA WARD, the parents of Seth Ward, Bishop of Salisbury.

BENNINGTON, called *Belintone* in the Domesday Book, was a seat of the Mercian Sovereigns; and here, according to Spelman, a great Council of nobility and prelates was assembled about the year 850, under King Bertulph, who, on the complaint of Askill, a Monk of Croyland, of the great devastations committed on the property of that Monastery by the Danes, granted the Monks a new charter of divers 'splendid liberties,' and several extensive manors. In the time of Edward the Confessor, it was held by Almer, surnamed De Belintone; but after the Conquest, it became the property of Peter de Voloines, as appears from the Domesday Book, which also states, that here was a Priest, and a park of deer; *Parcus silvatican bestiarum.*

Robert de Valoines, grandson of Peter, left a daughter and heiress, married to Robert Fitz-Walter, who by her had two daughters, the eldest of whom married William de Magnaville, Earl of Essex, but died without issue: the youngest had three daughters; Lora, the second of whom, married Henry de Baliol, and had issue a son, Alexander de Baliol, who, in the thirteenth of Edward the First, conveyed this manor to John de Benstede; and the grant was confirmed by the King in the following year. In the thirty-third of the same Sovereign, a charter of a weekly market, and a fair annually, was granted to him for this manor; but the former has long fallen into disuse. This John de Benstede was made a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, in the third of Ed-

* In a quarto pamphlet, intituled, 'A Survey of the present State of Aspeden Church, Herts.' Copies of all the inscriptions for the Fremans in the Church are inserted in this publication.

ward the Second; and Dugdale has enumerated him among the Barons of England; yet as he had summons to Parliament only in one year, and as in that year the Judges and King's Counsel are promiscuously named among the Barons, it may be presumed that he was not summoned as a *Peer*. In his family this manor continued during several generations; but early in the reign of Henry the Seventh, it was sold to Sir William Say, Knt. who had considerable possessions in this county, and in Essex.

Sir William Say had two daughters; Elizabeth, married to William, Lord Montjoy; and Mary, married to Henry Bouchier, Earl of Essex: the former had issue, a daughter, Gertrude; after whose decease this manor, by settlement, devolved on Anne, the only daughter of her aunt by the Earl of Essex. This lady conveyed it in marriage, with other estates, to Sir William Parre, Lord Parre, of Kendal, who was afterwards created Earl of Essex; though his children, by the Lady Anne, had, in the preceding year, been bastardized by the Parliament. In the first of Edward the Sixth, he was advanced to the dignity of Marquis of Northampton; and in the fourth of the same Monarch, made Great Chamberlain of England. The year following, he married Elizabeth, daughter to George, Lord Cobham; and then procured a special Act of Parliament to disannul his former marriage, and to ratify this, as well as to legitimate the children which he might have by his second wife. After the death of Edward the Sixth, he supported the claims of the Lady Jane Grey; for which he was afterwards arraigned, and condemned to die; but he was respited by the Queen, and restored in blood before the end of the same year. His estates, however, were not restored; and in the third and fourth of Philip and Mary, Bennington, and others of his manors, were granted, for forty years, in trust, for Anne, Viscountess Bouchier, and Lady Lovaine, provided the late Marquis, Sir William Parre, should live so long. In the twelfth of Elizabeth, that Sovereign granted the reversion of this manor to Walter, Viscount Hereford, to hold in soccage under a yearly rent of 44l. 4s. 2d. This nobleman, who was descended from Cicely, sister and heiress of Henry Bouchier, Earl of Essex, was two years afterwards

afterwards advanced to that title; and in the following year, he sat in judgment as a Peer on the Duke of Norfolk. He married Lettice, daughter of Sir Francis Knollis, and had two sons, Robert and Walter; but dying in 1576, he devised Bennington to his widow, who, in the thirty-seventh of Elizabeth, in conjunction with her then husband, Sir Christopher Blount, and Robert, Earl of Essex, the unfortunate favorite of Elizabeth, her eldest son, conveyed it to Thomas Crompton, Esq. and his heirs: he settled it in jointure upon Mary, his wife; and a court was held here in both their names, in the forty-first of Elizabeth.

By what means this manor again reverted to the Earl of Essex, does not appear; but in the first of James the First, it was possessed by Richard, Earl of Clanrickard, in right of his wife, Frances, widow of Robert, Earl of Essex, to whose son, Robert, third Earl of Essex, it afterwards descended, and continued in his possession till after his divorce from the infamous Lady Frances Howard, his first wife, in the year 1613.* He then sold it to Sir Julius Cæsar, Knt. as appears from the following passage in a volume of manuscripts, written by Charles Cæsar, Esq. great grandson to Sir Julius, and now in the possession of a female descendant of the Cæsars, with many other writings belonging to the family.

"The Earl of Essex, after the divorce, was sentenced to pay back his Lady's portion; and to raise part of it, he sold his hunting-house, with a large park of deer, and his mannour of Bennington, in Hartfordshire, to Sir Julius Cæsar, Knt. Master of the Rolls in Chancery, and a Privy Counseller to King James the First, King of Great Britain, for the sum of fourteen thousand pounds."†

* In the very interesting 'Memoirs of the Peers of England, during the reign of James the First,' by S. E. Brydges, Esq. is inserted a full account of the abandoned conduct of this wretched woman, as well as of the disgraceful proceedings that attended the obtaining of the divorce.

† Cæsar's MSS. Vol. I. p. 8. An interesting selection from these manuscripts is intended to be published in the course of the present year; with biographical sketches, and portraits of several of the Cæsar family, from original paintings and miniatures.

Sir Julius Cæsar, who was appointed Master of the Rolls in 1610, and made one of the Lords Commissioners for the custody of the Great Seal in 1620, died in 1636, at the age of seventy-seven, and was buried in St. Helen's Church, London: but if the information in Chauncy is correct, this manor must have been conveyed to his son and heir, Sir Charles Cæsar, very soon after he had purchased it from the Earl of Essex, as Sir Charles is recorded to have held a court here in April, 1614.* This gentleman, who, like his father, was an eminent civilian, was appointed Master of the Rolls in 1638; and, after being twice married, and having fifteen children by both wives, died of the small-pox, at Bennington, in the year 1643: this disease proved fatal also to several of his issue, and among them, to Julius, his eldest surviving son, who dying within a few days, was buried in the same grave with his father.

Henry, his next son, and heir, represented this county in the two first Parliaments held in the reign of Charles the Second; and he was knighted by that Sovereign in 1660: he also died of the small-pox, in January, 1667, 8, and was succeeded by Charles, his second son, who was knighted in October, 1671, at Cambridge, on the King's visit to that University. This gentleman, with his brother-in-law, Sir Thomas Pope Blount, represented this shire in the Convention Parliament, in the first of William and Mary, and dying in August, 1694, was succeeded by his eldest son, Charles, in whose family this manor continued till the year 1744, when it was sold, by the devisees in trust under his will, to the trustees under the will of Sir John Cheshire Knt. some time Sergeant at Law; whose son, Robert Cheshire, Esq. married one of the daughters and coheirs of Mr. Charles Cæsar. His great nephew, John Cheshire, Esq. is the present possessor, and resides in a small mansion near the site of the ancient CASTLE at Bennington, which stood westward from the Church, and most probably occupied the spot whereon stood the Palace of the Saxon Kings: the artificial mount of the Keep, with the surrounding ditch, are still to be seen.

* Chauncy's Herts. p. 345. Chauncy does not appear to have known that Sir Julius Cæsar was ever in possession of Bennington.

seen. The old manor-house, that had been inhabited by the Cæsars, stood in the park, at a distance from the village, but was burnt down between thirty and forty years ago; and a smaller edifice, since erected on the site, was for some years occupied by Mr. Bullock, a well-known gentleman of the turf.

Bennington *Church* is a small fabric, dedicated to St. Peter, consisting of a nave and chancel, with a tower at the west end, and a Chapel, or burial-place, connected with the chancel on the north. Here are two ancient monuments, under arches, which form part of them, each exhibiting recumbent figures of a Knight and a Lady. The most ancient, or that to the west, has a pointed arch, with pinnacles; and the Knight is cross-legged: this, from the arms, gules, three bars gemells, Or, is evidently a *Benstede*. The other Knight is represented with a collar of SS, under a flat arch, and is doubtless for a *Benstede* also, as the whole monument is of a date long prior to that at which the family parted with this estate. Many of the Cæsars lie buried here; and among them SIR CHARLES CÆSAR, Knt. son of Sir Julius Cæsar, who died in 1643, at the age of fifty-nine; and his two wives; ANNE, daughter of Sir Peter Vanlore; and JANE, daughter to Sir Edward Barkham, Knt. some time Lord Mayor of London: the former died in June, 1625, at the age of thirty-three; and the latter in June, 1661, in her sixtieth year. The Benstede family are supposed to have built this Church, as their arms are displayed both upon the roof, and on the tower: in a niche, over the south porch, is a statue of St. Michael and the Dragon.

YARDLEY was given by King Athelstan to the Canons of St. Paul's, London, and it still belongs to that Church. The Manor-House, called YARDLEY BURY, has become memorable from its having been the residence of the ancient family of the *Chauncys*, during upwards of two centuries; and here SIR HENRY CHAUNCY wrote his History of this County. The Chauncys derived their name from *Chauncy*, near Amiens, in Picardy; and one of them coming to England with the Conqueror, appears to have settled in Yorkshire, where his son William purchased the manor of *Scirpenbeck*, and resided in the time of Henry the First. Walter, his

son, succeeded him in his title of Baron, and held his manor of the King, *in capite*, by the fourth part of a Barony: in the next reign he gave the King, Stephen, 15l. for liberty to marry whom he pleased. His descendants held *Scirpenbach* till the time of Richard the Second, when it was alienated, in exchange for lands in this county. John Chauncy, Esq. son and heir of Sir William Chauncy, late Baron of Scirpenbach, settled at Gilston, in Herts, having married the daughter of William Gifford, the owner of that manor, which was then called Overhall. He died in the twenty-second of Henry the Sixth; and was succeeded by John, his son, who married Anne, daughter of Sir John Leventhorp, of Sabridgeworth, with whom he had a portion of forty marks. His grandson, Maurice, became a monk in the Charter House, and, with the other brethren on that foundation, was condemned to die, for denying the supremacy of Henry the Eighth. He escaped, however, from prison, and settling at Bruges, became Prior of the Monastery of English Carthusians. He was afterwards Confessor to Queen Mary; but, on her death, was obliged to return to his convent, where he died in the twenty-third of Elizabeth. George, second son of his brother Henry, who had inherited the estate, married Jane, daughter and heiress of John Cornwall, Esq. of Yardley; through which marriage the *Bury* became the residence of the elder branch of the family. HENRY, great grandson of this George, the celebrated historian of Herts, received the rudiments of his education at Bishop Stortford, and was afterwards entered of Caius College, Cambridge. Thence he removed to the Middle Temple, and was called to the Bar in 1656. In 1675 he was made Bencher; and, in the same year, chosen Steward of the Borough Court in Hertford, of which also, in 1680, he became Recorder. In the following year he was knighted by Charles the Second; and in 1685, was made Treasurer of the Inner Temple. Three years afterwards, he was made Sergeant at Law, and Judge of one of the circuits of South Wales. He died in 1700. His 'Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire' is a very valuable work, though blended with some inaccuracies, and possessing that common defect of its time, an almost total disregard to

to the description of buildings, and the notice of styles of architecture: this deficiency, however, with respect to various ancient manor-houses, is partly compensated for by the plates. Sir Henry married Jane, daughter of Francis Flyer, Esq. of Brent Pelham Hall, by whom he had issue, three sons and four daughters.

WALKERN, which anciently belonged to the Lords Fitz-Walter, by inheritance from the *De Burghs* and *Lanvalleis*, and descended through the *Mareschals*, by the marriage of an heiress, to the Lords Morley, is one of the most ancient possessions of the Capels, Earls of Essex, in this county; it having been purchased by Sir William Capel, Knt. in the twenty-first of Henry the Seventh, from Sir Edward Howard, Knt. and Alice, his wife, sister and heiress of Henry, Lord Morley. The *Bury*, or Manor-house, is surrounded by a moat, and is now occupied as a farm. In the *Church*, beneath an arch on the south wall, is a defaced effigies of a *Knight Templar*.

This parish, and its neighbourhood, were greatly agitated about the commencement of the last century by an alarm of *Witchcraft*, reputed to have been exercised on the persons of two servant maids and a boy, by a poor woman named JANE WENHAM, and who was tried for the said crime at the Hertford Assizes, before Judge Powel. Some time before her trial, the culprit had the weakness to confess herself guilty of the alleged crime; and though she afterwards accounted for this confession, as arising from fear, it appears to have had considerable influence on the minds of the jurymen, who pronounced a verdict of guilty, notwithstanding the endeavours of the benevolent Judge to explain the evidence brought against her;* and which evidence was clearly the result of a strong prejudice, operating on weak and superstitious minds. The

* Judge Powel is said to have presided when another woman was arraigned on a similar ridiculous charge of Witchcraft, and one of the witnesses gave evidence that the prisoner could fly! On this the Judge asked the woman if it really was so: she answered in the affirmative; when the Judge, with a promptitude of expression, which evinced the superiority of his understanding, told her, 'So she might, if she would; he knew of no law against it.'

The Judge reprieved her; and she afterwards had a free pardon, and lived several years on a small allowance from the parish.

STEVENAGE, anciently called *Stigenhace*, and *Stigenhaught*, is a respectable village, pleasantly situated on the high north road, and consisting of one large and several lesser streets. The manor was given, by Edward the Confessor, to the Abbey of Westminster; and it continued annexed to that foundation till Henry the Eighth converted the Abbey into a Bishopric. This being dissolved by Edward the Sixth, *Stevenach*, with Ashwell, and other manors in Herts, that had formed part of its estates, were granted to the See of London, to which they have ever since belonged, excepting for a short period in the reign of Queen Mary. Monteine, Bishop of London in the time of James the First, procured from that King the grant of a weekly market, and three fairs annually, for this manor; and a charter of confirmation, with liberty to alter the market-day, was obtained in the fifth of William and Mary: the contiguity of the market towns of Baldock and Hitchin, have tended, however, to the decay of this. The *Church* is a small structure, dedicated to St. Nicholas, and consisting of a nave, chancel, and aisles, with a small chapel on each side the chancel, and a tower at the west end: two niches for holy water remain near the altar. The population of this parish, as returned in 1801, was 1254; the number of houses was 267.

On the east side of the high road, about three quarters of a mile southward from Stevenage, are six large *Barrows* lying in a row: two or three of them have been opened, but not any thing of consequence was found, probably through the openings not being carried to a sufficient depth: they appear to be composed of gravel and fine clay. These tumuli have been thought of Danish origin; and with some probability; the names of *Dane-End*, *Danes* Field, *Mundane*, Great and Little, &c. having been conferred on different places in this part of the county.

ASTON was ancient demesne of the Saxon Kings, and was given by Adeliza, Queen of Henry the First, to the Monks of Reading, who held it till the Dissolution, when Henry the Eighth granted it to Sir John Boteler, of Watton Wood-Hall. The House now standing

standing at ASTON PLACE, has marks of earlier antiquity than the time of the last mentioned Sovereign, particularly in the lower part: it is a brick building, with curiously ornamented chimneys.

WATTON, at the period of the Domesday Survey, was divided between the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Abbot of Westminster, Earl Alan, and the King; but in the reign of Henry the First, had mostly concentrated in Peter de Valoines. From his family it was transferred to the *Baliols*, and was granted by Alexander de Baliol, to Robert Aquillon, a famous Baron in the time of Henry the Third. It afterwards passed through the families of D'Aubeni, and Pelatoyt, to that of Boteler, which had been seated at Oversley, in Warwickshire, in the time of Henry the First. In this celebrated family it continued till the year 1778, when it was sold, by John Palmer Boteler, Esq. to Sir Thomas Rumbold, Bart. late Governor of Madras, who died in 1791, and was buried in Watton Church. It was afterwards sold, by the trustees under his will, to the notorious Paul Benfield, Esq. and since the failure of him, and his partner, Walter Boyd, it has again been sold to Samuel Smith, Esq. the present possessor.*

WATTON WOOD-HALL, the beautiful seat of this gentleman, occupies one of the finest situations in the county. It is a spacious and elegant mansion, standing on an eminence in a large Park, nobly diversified by hill and vale, and watered by several small streams, which flow into the river Beane in its course through the grounds. The woods are extensive, and many of the trees are of great magnitude, and luxuriant growth. Salmon records that the cut-water to the Royal Sovereign was wrought out of a single tree from this park, and which it required eighteen horses to draw when slit.† The ancient mansion of the *Botelers* was mostly destroyed by fire in the year 1772: it was a noble quadrangular building, with a gateway of brick flanked by round towers, and a gallery

* "Sir Thomas Rumbold bought the estate, of about 5000 acres, for 85,000l. wood included: it lately sold for 150,000l. timber excluded." *General View of the Agriculture of Herts, by A. Young, Esq.*

† Hist. of Herts, p. 218.

gallery 300 feet long. The present mansion was erected by Sir Thomas Rumbold, and is fitted up with great taste and elegance.

In Watton *Church* are various *Brasses*, with inscriptions, and other monuments in memory of the Botelers, said to have been preserved from dilapidation in the time of the Civil Wars, by the care of an Oliverian who resided at *Bardolfs*, a manor subordinate to Watton. The most ancient of the brasses represents a Knight in armour, of the *Peletoyt* family, who died in the reign of Edward the Third: this is supposed to be Sir Ralph Peletoyt, whose grand-daughter, Catherine, conveyed the estate to the Botelers, by her marriage with Ralph Boteler. The inscription in memory of Sir Philip, his grandson, is now lost, but it is thus recorded by Weever.

> Hic Jacet corpus Domini Philippi But'ler militis quondam Domini de Woodhall, et hujus Ecclesie Patroni, qui obijt in festo Sancti Leonardi, Anno Domini M. CCCC.XXJ et Regis Henrici quinti post Conquestum vltimo. Cuius anime propitietur Deus. Amen.

Against the north wall is a large and costly monument in memory of PHILIP BOTELER, Esq. and his wife ELIZABETH, daughter and co-heiress of William Ettricke, Esq. The former died in May, 1712, in his thirty-first year, and having no issue, bequeathed Watton to John Boteler, Esq. the son of his great-uncle. On a slab in the south aisle, are brasses of *Edmund Bardolf*, Knt. *Edmund Bardolf*, Esq. his son; and *Joan Bardolf*, wife of the latter; all of whom appear to have died in the time of Henry the Sixth.

SACOMBE, called *Sevechampe* in the Domesday Book, was, in the time of the Conqueror, the property of Peter de Valoines, or Valoignes, from whose family it passed by marriage into that of Fitz-Walter. Gundreda, a daughter of Robert Fitz-Walter, had issue three daughters, her co-heiresses; of whom Isabel, the youngest, married David Comyn, whose grandson, Edward, left two daughters: the eldest, named Enfemia, married William de la Beche; and their daughter and heiress, Elizabeth, was twice married;

married: first, to Sir Roger Elmrugge, who died in the forty-ninth of Edward the Third; and secondly, to Sir John Holt, a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas in the time of Richard the Second. In the eleventh of that Sovereign, this Sir John was, with the other Judges of the different courts, assembled at Nottingham Castle, on the twenty-fifth of August, when divers questions were propounded to them by the King, concerning the proceedings of the Duke of Glocester, and other Lords of his party, in the last Parliament at Westminster: the answers returned were so obsequious to the King's will, and so offensive to the Lords implicated by the questions, that soon afterwards, when the Duke of Glocester, and his friends, obtained the ascendancy, Sir John Holt was, with others of the Judges, condemned to death by the Parliament; and his lands and goods were confiscated. His life, however, was spared at the Queen's intercession, under condition of perpetual exile, with the allowance of a certain portion of money for his maintenance.

This manor was afterwards the property of the Babthorpes, an ancient Yorkshire family, in which it continued from the fifteenth of the reign of Henry the Sixth, till the beginning of that of Henry the Seventh, when it passed by an heiress to William Plumpton, Esq. from whose descendants it was purchased by Sir Robert Boteler, Knt. of Watton Wood-Hall. He died possessed of this estate, in the year 1622; and Jane, his daughter and heiress, conveyed it in marriage to John, Lord Bellasis, of Worlaby, in Lincolnshire, who commanded in the cause of Charles the First, and was afterwards Governor of Tangiers. By him it was sold to Sir John Gore, who, in the time of James the Second, resold it to Sir Thomas Rolt, a younger son of the Rolts of Bedfordshire, and President of the East India Company at Surat. His great grandson, Thomas, dying in 1758, it descended to the two sisters and co-heiresses of the latter: Mary, the only sister who had issue, married Timothy Caswall, Esq. LL.D. one of the Commissioners of the Excise, and some time representative for Hertford, who died seized of this manor in 1802, and was succeeded by his son, George Caswall, Esq. who is now owner. The ancient

ancient manor house, which was situated in *Sacombe Park*, was pulled down by the late Mr. Caswall, who erected the present residence of the family, called COLD HARBOUR, at some distance from it.

At TEMPLE CHELSING, in the Parish of Benjeo, was a PRECEPTORY of Knights Templars, the site of which still remains, surrounded by a moat.

In LITTLE MUNDANE *Church*, beneath the arches between the chancel and a chapel on the north side, are two ancient altar monuments, on each of which are the effigies of a *Knight* in armour, and his *Lady*: on one of them are several shields of arms, much defaced. Who these monuments were intended to commemorate is unknown.

At ROWNEA, in the Parish of *Great Mundane*, or *Mundane Furnivall*, was a BENEDICTINE NUNNERY, founded about the tenth of Henry the Second, by Conan, Duke of Bretagne, and Earl of Richmond, a descendant from Earl Alan, to whom this manor was given by the Conqueror, as an appendage to the Honour of Richmond. The possessions of the Nuns were increased by different benefactors; yet their revenues were so reduced in the time of Henry the Sixth, that Agnes Selby, the Prioress, obtained the King's license to resign her estates to John Fray, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, who, with Henry's permission, applied them to found a *Chantry* of one Priest in the Parish Church: the income of this foundation was estimated at 13l. 10s. 9d. annually, in the time of Henry the Eighth. The Priory buildings were converted into a farm, and the Hall yet remains: the site of the Chapel may also be traced near the farm-house.

In the year 1729, two laborers digging a trench in *Lemonfield*, in the Parish of WESTMILL, discovered "two large *Roman* vessels, of pale reddish earth, pointed at the bottom, and having handles, with some letters on them, but containing only dirt and chalk:" the letters F AR NA were stamped on the narrow neck of one of them.*

HAMELLS was purchased in the time of Elizabeth by Sir John Brograve, Attorney General for the Duchy of Lancaster, who received

* Gough's Camden, Vol. I. p. 345; from Ward's MSS.

ceived his honor of knighthood from James the First. He built the Manor-House here; and in his descendants the estate continued till the death of Sir Thomas Brograve, Bart. the third of his family who bore the title, in the year 1707. It was afterwards sold, under an order of the Court of Chancery, to Ralph Freman, Esq. of Aspeden, who greatly improved the house and grounds, and considerably enlarged the park. From him it descended, by the marriage of an heiress, to the present Earl of Hardwick, who sold it to the late John Mellish, Esq. The grounds are laid out with much taste, and display some very beautiful landscapes.

BRAUGHING, called *Brachinges* in the Domesday Book, was ancient demesne of the Saxon Kings, and was given by the Conqueror to Earl Eustace; but on his rebellion in the next reign, it was seized by William Rufus; and afterwards remained in the Crown till the time of King Stephen, who granted lands here, of the yearly value of 100s. to the Church of the Holy Trinity, in London, in perpetual alms. This grant was confirmed by the Empress Maud, who bestowed the remainder of the manor on the same foundation; and it continued attached to it till the period of the Dissolution, when Henry the Eighth granted it to the Lord Chancellor Audley; but it has since passed through a variety of families. The weekly market, which had been granted to the Canons of the Holy Trinity by Stephen, has been long disused.

The *Church** at Braughing is a handsome building, consisting of a nave, chancel, and aisles; with a Chapel, now divided into a School-room, and Vestry, on the north side of the chancel. This Chapel was erected by Simeon Brograve, Esq. son and heir of Sir John Brograve, Knt. of Hamells, as a family burial-place; and round it, on the inside, is this inscription: *Hæc Capella fuit extructa*

* "Near the Church-yard, (says Salmon, Hist. of Herts. p. 232,) is an old House, at present the habitation of poor families: it was given, with all sorts of furniture, for the use of weddings. They carried their provisions, and had a large kitchen, with a caldron, large spits, and dripping-pan; a large room for entertainment and merriment; and a lodging-room, with bride bed, and good linen: some of this furniture was lately in being."

tructa propriis sumptibus SIMEONIS BROGRAVE, *Ann. Domini Manerii de* HAMELLS, *in locum Sepulturæ prædictis dictæ Domus et per Dominum dicti Manerii sustinenda perpetuoque reparanda. Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto.* In this Chapel, many of the *Brograves* lie buried. Various memorials for other families appear in different parts of the Church.

Salmon supposes Braughing to have been the *Cæsaromagus* of the Itinerary, but on very insufficient grounds, and he has not been supported by other authorities. His strongest argument is deduced from an ancient *Encampment*, traces of which may be distinguished to the south of the village, on a rising ground above the confluence of the Rib and the Quin. Not any discoveries, however, have been made here to justify his supposition of its ever having been occupied by the Romans.

ALBURY, called *Eldeberie* in the Domesday Book, was in the time of the Conqueror the property of the Bishops of London; but in Henry the Second's reign, Hugh de Bokeland was Lord here, who obtained his surname from the Manor of Bokeland in this Hundred. William de Bokeland, his son, who was Sheriff of Cornwall in the latter end of Henry the Second's reign, left three daughters, co-heiresses, the youngest of whom married Robert de Ferrariis. In the next reign it was in the possession of the Baard family; and the daughter and heiress of Sir John Baard conveyed it in marriage to John De la Lee, whose son, Geoffrey, represented Herts in several Parliaments during the reigns of Edward the Second and Third. Sir Walter, his grandson, who was Lord also of Farneux Pelham, left three sisters, co-heiresses. Joan, his second sister, married John Barley, Esq. several of whose descendants were Sheriffs of this county; and the last of whom, William, died in the seventh of Elizabeth, leaving two daughters, by his wife Joyce, daughter of John Perient, Esq. of Digswell. Dorothy, the elder, by a second marriage, conveyed Albury to the *Leventhorps*, on whose death it became divided among his four daughters, co-heiresses; and afterwards descended in moieties through different families, till it was purchased by the Calverts. ALBURY HALL was, in the time of Charles the Second, the residence of the learned

Sir Edward [illegible]ns, who was made Chief Baron of the Exchequer in the year [illegible], and had purchased a moiety of the manor. It is now the seat of Nicholson Calvert, Esq. one of the Members for the Borough of Hertford.

The *Church* at Albury is dedicated to St. Mary, and contains some ancient inscriptions and monuments of the Lords of the Manor. In the nave is an ancient tomb, on which are the effigies of a Knight in armour, and his Lady: the latter lies on the right, a circumstance that induced Salmon to conjecture that this monument was erected in memory of *John de la Lee*, and his wife, the heiress of the Baards; it having been occasionally the practice, in sepulchral memorials, to give the lady the right hand, when an heiress.

LITTLE HADHAM, or HADHAM PARVA, anciently belonged to the See of London; and it still pays Castle Guard to Stortford.* In the reign of Henry the Third, it belonged to Sir William de Baud, whose grandfather, Sir Nicholas, was a commander against the Saracens in the Holy Land. This Sir William was the person who granted a fat buck and doe annually to the Dean and Canons of St. Paul's, for liberty to enlarge his park with twenty-two acres of their lands, adjoining to his seat at Corringham, in Essex.† In his family, many of whom were Sheriffs of Herts and Essex, this manor continued till the year 1505, when Thomas Baud, Esq. conveyed it by indenture to Sir Thomas Darcy, Knt. Lord Darcy, and his heirs. Lord Darcy again conveyed it, with all its appurtenances, to Sir William Capel, in the twentieth of Henry the Seventh; and his descendant, the Earl of Essex, is now owner.

In the *Church* are inscriptions for ARTHUR, LORD CAPEL, Baron of Hadham, who was beheaded, for his loyalty to Charles the First, on the ninth of March, 1648; ELIZABETH, his wife, only daughter of Sir Charles Morison, Knt. who died January the twenty-sixth, 1660; and HENRY CAPEL, third son of Lord Arthur,

* Salmon's Herts, p. 279.

† For an account of the curious ceremony with which these animals were received by the Dean and Canons, see Vol. V. p. 486.

Arthur, Knight of the Bath, and Lord Deputy of Ireland in the time of William the Third, who died at Dublin, May the thirtieth, 1696, aged fifty-eight. Several ancient slabs for the Baud family, but mostly deprived of their brasses and inscriptions, are also remaining here.

At the time of the Domesday Survey, the Manor of STANDON was held by Rothais, wife of Richard de Tonebruge, in whose family, the *Clares*, Earls of Hertford, it continued till the reign of Edward the Second, when it was conveyed in marriage by Elizabeth, a daughter and co-heiress of Gilbert de Clare, to Roger d'Amory, who procured a charter of free-warren for this manor, and had summons to Parliament, from the eleventh to the fourteenth of the above Sovereign. Elizabeth, grand-daughter and heiress to Elizabeth d'Amory, by her son William de Burgh, (the issue of a first marriage with John de Burgh, son and heir of the Earl of Ulster,) married Lionel, Duke of Clarence, third son of Edward the Third, who procured the grant of a market weekly, and a three days fair, for this manor. Philippa, their daughter, married Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March; and their grand-daughter, Ann, married Richard of York, whose grand-son, Edward, was the successful claimant for the Throne against Henry the Sixth. After his accession, Standon remained vested in the Crown till it was given by Henry the Eighth to Ralph Sadleir, Esq. This gentleman was a native of Hackney, in Middlesex; and having been educated under Cromwell, Earl of Essex, he became his Secretary; and while in this situation, attracted the notice of the King, by his knowledge and assiduity in state affairs. Henry received him into his own service in the twenty-sixth of his reign; and, within four years afterwards, he was appointed a principal Secretary of State, and employed on different negociations with the Scottish court. Henry made him one of the executors to his will; and soon after the accession of Edward the Sixth, he was knighted. In the same year, 1547, he accompanied the Protector, Somerset, to Scotland, as Treasurer for the army; and was present at the decisive battle of Musselburgh, fought on September the tenth: in this battle his bravery was so eminently conspicuous, and tended

so much towards the success of the day, that he was constituted a Knight Banneret on the field, together with Sir Francis Bryan, and Sir Ralph Vane.* The banner of the King of Scots was taken by Sir Ralph Sadleir in this battle; and, after his death, was placed near his monument in Standon Church, where the pole of it still remains. After the accession of Queen Mary, he resigned his employments, and retired to this estate, where he rebuilt the Manor-House on the site of the former one. In the reign of Elizabeth, he was again very actively employed in state affairs, and was a member of all the committees of Parliament for the trial of the Queen of Scots. He died in his mansion at Standon, in March, 1587, having represented this county in various Parliaments, from the thirty-third of Henry the Eighth, to the twenty-eighth of Elizabeth; leaving three sons, and four daughters. Sir Thomas, his eldest son, and successor, was Sheriff of Herts in the thirty-seventh of Elizabeth; and had the honor of entertaining James the First at Standon for two nights, during his progress from Scotland to London. He died in 1606, and was succeeded by his son Ralph, who married Ann, daughter of the Lord Chief Justice, Sir Edward Coke, but had no issue: indeed, the tradition of the place represents him as never having consummated the wedding, though he lived upwards of fifty-nine years with his wife, 'in good correspondence, and in the same house.' On his death, Gertrude, his sister, succeeded him in the possession of Standon: she was married to Sir Walter Aston, Bart. who was ambassador at the Court of Spain in the time of James the First; and, on his return, was created Baron Forfar, of the Kingdom of Scotland. Walter, Lord Aston, his second son and heir, married Mary, daughter of the Lord Treasurer Weston: he obtained a new grant for a Friday market at Standon, and two fairs annually; but these have been long disused. The co-heiresses of the last Lord Aston, sold the estate and manor, between twenty and thirty years ago, to William Plumer, Esq. one of the present representatives for this county. The ancient mansion of the Sadleirs is now a very fine

* This was the last creation of Knights Bannerets in England.

ruin, mantled with ivy. After it ceased to be the residence of the Lords Aston, it was converted into a seminary for Roman Catholics; but when the manor was purchased by Mr. Plumer, that gentleman refused to suffer its continuance on his estate. The establishment was removed, therefore, to *Old Hall Green*, at a little distance, where a spacious building has been erected for its convenience.

Standon is mentioned by Ingulphus, the historian of Croyland, as having been granted to Croyland Abbey, before the middle of the ninth century; and as the place where Abbot Brithmere, about the year 1030, built a stately house, with out-offices, for the entertainment of himself, and his retinue, during his journeys to London. In this parish also, about half a mile eastward from the Church, was a PRECEPTORY of Knights Hospitallers, but of short continuance, built on lands given to that Order by Gilbert de Clare in the time of King Stephen:* the site, and some of the remains of this building, are now connected with a farm, called *Friars*. A HERMITAGE, founded at Standon in the time of Richard de Clare, was given by him to the monks of Stoke, in Suffolk, and afterwards became a Cell to that house. This is supposed to have afterwards become a secular free Chapel, and to be the same with Selburn, in this parish.†

Standon *Church* is dedicated to St. Mary, and is furnished with many monuments and sepulchral memorials of noble and other families. The chancel is ascended by several steps from the nave, and is divided by the altar from the more eastern part, which is raised still higher, and contains the monuments of the *Sadleirs*. Against the south wall is the tomb of SIR RALPH SADLEIR, whose effigies is represented in armour, lying beneath a canopy; with his sons and daughters kneeling below: he died in the year 1587, in

* The grant made by Gilbert de Clare, was confirmed by his nephew, Richard de Clare, and included 140 acres of land, together with his vineyard, and the Church of Standon. The *Manor* is also mentioned as belonging to the Knights Hospitallers, in the Claus. 10. Ed. III. m. 13.

† Tanner's Notitia.

in his eightieth year. Opposite to this is a similar kind of monument, in memory of his son, SIR THOMAS SADLEIR, Knt. who died in January, 1606; and who is also represented in armour, with his second Lady, GERTRUDE, daughter of Robert Markham, Esq. of Cotham, in Nottinghamshire, lying on his right hand; and their children, a son and daughter, kneeling beneath. WALTER, second Lord Aston, who died in November, 1714, was also buried here, together with several others of his family. On a tablet in the vestry, is an inscription in memory of ANN, eldest daughter of Sir Edward Coke, Knt. "by his first and best wife, Bridget Paston, daughter and heir of John Paston, of Norfolk, Esq." and wife to Ralph Sadleir, Esq. Among the many other sepulchral memorials in this Church, is one in commemoration of SYR WILLIAM COFFYN, Knt. Master of the Horse to Queen Jane Seymour, who died in December, 1538; and another in memory of PHILIP ASTLEY, Esq. a younger branch of the Astleys, of Warwickshire, which, in Salmon's time, had brass figures of himself, and his four wives, and ten children: he died in July, 1491. The inhabitants of this parish, according to the late returns, amounted to 1846; the number of houses to 254.

On an eminence in Standon Lordship, called HAVEN END, are two large *Barrows*, supposed, by Salmon, to have been raised by the Danes. In the neighbouring parish of WIDFORD are two other *Barrows*, which give name to the estate on which they are raised.

BISHOPS' STORTFORD

DERIVES its name from its situation on the river Stort, and from its having been the property of the Bishops of London from the Saxon times. In the reign of John, however, it underwent a temporary alienation; that Prince having seized it during his opposition to the encroachments of the Papal See. While it remained in his possession, he erected the town into a borough; and empowered the inhabitants to chuse their own officers: and though the authority of the Bishops was afterwards restored, the inhabitants appear to have retained a sufficient independent authority

to return two members to Parliament, in the fourth, seventh, eighth and sixteenth years of Edward the Second; and again, in the ninth, twelfth and fourteenth of Edward the Third. Since the latter period, no return has been made; and the Bishops appoint a Bailiff to exercise jurisdiction through the extent of their liberty.

On the east side of the town are some remains of an ancient CASTLE, called *Waytemore*, on a piece of ground environed by the Stort. This was in existence in the time of the Conqueror, and had probably been built by the Saxons, on the site of a Roman camp, as Roman coins, of the Lower Empire, have been found in the Castle garden.* In the days of Stephen, this fortress was considered as of some importance; and the Empress Maud endeavoured to prevail on the Bishop of London to exchange it for other lands, but without effect. King John ordered it to be demolished; but, after his submission to the Pope, he was obliged to make atonement to the Bishops of London, by granting them his Manor of Stoke, near Guildford, in Surrey: some of the out-buildings, and other parts, however, appear to have been standing as lately as the seventeenth century; and the Bishops continued to appoint a *Custos*, or Keeper of the 'Castle and Gaol of Stortford,' till the time of James the First. The Gaol was last used by Bishop Bonner; and some remains of the lower walls are yet to be seen in the cellar of an ale-house below the Castle Hill. Quit-rents, for castle-guard, are still paid to the See of London, from many manors adjacent to Bishops' Stortford.

The *Church* is dedicated to St. Michael, and is situated on a commanding eminence; it consists of a nave, chancel, and aisles, with a tower at the west end. The monuments, and sepulchral tablets, are numerous; many of them record the family of the *Dennys*, of Waltham Abbey, in Essex; and among them, of the LADY MARGARET DENNY, a descendant from the Edgcumbes, of Mount Edgcumbe, in Cornwall, Maid of Honor to Queen Elizabeth, and wife to Sir Edward Denny, Knt. Groom of the Queen's Privy Chamber:

* Salmon's Herts, p. 271.

Chamber: she died in April, 1648, at the age of eighty-eight. In the chancel are several ancient *Stalls;* and in this Church was formerly a chantry, and three altars for as many guilds.

The extent and population of Bishop's Stortford are considerable, and many improvements have been made here of late years. The trade of the town has also been increased by a *Canal,* completed about the year 1769, under an Act of Parliament obtained early in the present reign. In the High Street is a square building, having the market-place and shops beneath, and a *Grammar-School* above, connected with a library, and writing-school: this was erected about the commencement of the last century. Here are some good inns, and many of the houses are respectable buildings. The inhabitants of the town, as enumerated under the act of 1800, amounted to 2305; the number of houses, to 456. Various small donations and bequests have been made to this Parish for charitable purposes.

About five miles south from Bishop's Stortford, is the village of SAWBRIDGEWORTH, or SABRIDGEWORTH, corruptly called *Sabsey* and *Sabsworth.* This manor was granted by the Conqueror to Geoffrey de Magnaville; and from his family was conveyed, by the marriage of an heiress, to William de Say, in the time of Richard the First. Geoffrey de Say, whose son and successor, of the same name, married Maud, daughter of Guy de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and had summons to Parliament in the first of Edward the Third, obtained the grant of a weekly market for this manor from Edward the First; yet it appears that a market had previously been held here under the Magnavilles. In his descendants it continued till the death of Sir William Say, who was knighted by Richard the Third, and was several times Sheriff of this county and Essex, when it devolved on his daughter Mary, married to Henry Bouchier, Earl of Essex. It afterwards descended in the same manner as Bennington,* till it reverted to the Crown in the time of James the First, and afterwards passed through va-

* See under Bennington, p. 196.

rious families, by purchase, and otherwise, to the *Prenans*, and from them to the Earls of Hardwick.

The *Church* is dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and consists of a nave, chancel, and aisles, with a massive tower, embattled, at the west end. The windows of the aisles are large and pointed; those of the nave have trefoil-headed lights, under obtuse arches; and a similar one, but much larger, is at the east end of the chancel. The monuments are numerous; and among them are some very fine ancient *Brasses*. Among the latter, in a small chantry, or chapel, connected with the south aisle, are two full-length figures, represented as completely emaciated, and in winding sheets; these are extremely well drawn, and appear, by the arms, to be of the family of the *Plantagenets*. Here also are full-length brasses of a Knight and his Lady, with the same arms: and in the same chapel is a tomb, and curious brasses, of the *Leventhorps*. In the chancel is a good altar-tomb of Bethersden marble, with a rich canopy, in the pointed style: beneath it are indents of brasses, which have evidently delineated a Knight kneeling before a representation of the Trinity, and behind him the figures of his two wives, one of whom appears to have had four, and the other three children. This is said to have been erected in memory of SIR RALPH JOCELYN, Knt. twice Lord Mayor of London, whose family became seated at HYDE HALL, in this Parish, as early as the thirty-third of Henry the Third, by the marriage of Thomas Jocelyn with Maud, a daughter and co-heiress of Sir John Hyde. The inscription, as recorded by Weever, was as follows:

Orate pro anima Radulphi Joslyne quondam militis, et bis Maioratus Ciuitatis London, qui obiit xxo Octob. M.cccc.lxxviii

Opposite to the above is another tomb, with recumbent figures of a male and female, supposed to represent *John Jocelyn*, Esq. and *Philippa*, his wife; the former of whom died in 1525. On the floor, also, is a slab, inlaid with *Brasses*, of a male and two female figures, arrayed in the dress of the times, with a brass of fifteen boys beneath, indents of other children, and this inscription:

Hic

Hic jacet Galfridus Justice et Katherina et Johanna uxor ei' qui obiit xx°. die mensis Januarii Anno dñi M°.ccc°.lxx°. quor A——

In a chantry connected with the north aisle, several of the Chauncy family were interred; and on a slab in the pavement, bearing the name of *William Chauncy*, is the following inscription, beneath two shields; one of which has the five wounds, and the other a cross fleury, in chief, a lion passant guardant.

Te ergo quesumus tuis famulis subuem quos preciosо sanguine redimisti.

Round the verge of an ancient stone, in the nave, is this inscription in Saxon characters, for a former Rector of this Church; and which has been given incorrectly both by Chauncy and Salmon:

Hic jacet Thomas de Gangerville quondam Rector ecclesie de Sabricheswothe.

Among the other monuments are several to the memory of the *Hewyts*, formerly Lords of this Manor, and of Pishobury; whose burial vault is beneath the entrance to the chancel. The figure of GEORGE, LORD HEWYT, who was created a Baron by James the Second, in 1689, and died in the same year, at the age of thirty-seven, is represented in armour, standing upright, and surrounded by trophies. SIR WALTER MILDMAY, Knt. and MARY, his wife, daughter of Sir William Walgrave, Knt. of Stalbridge, in Suffolk, were also buried, and have a monument in this Church. According to the late returns, the number of houses in this Parish amounted to 186; that of inhabitants to 1687.

PISHOBURY, in the Parish of Sabridgeworth, was anciently the property of the Magnavilles, but afterwards belonged to the Fitzgeralds, and the Scropes of Bolton. Henry, Lord Scrope, conveyed it to trustees for the use of Henry the Eighth; and Queen Elizabeth granted it to Walter Mildmay, Esq. afterwards Sir Walter, who was Sheriff of Herts in the thirty-second of Elizabeth, and erected a mansion at Pishobury for his own residence. His son, Sir Thomas, sold it to Sir Lionel Cranfield; and it has since

passed through various families to that of Milles. The situation of the House and grounds is very pleasant; the river Stort nearly encircles the south and east sides.

GILSTON formed part of the estate of the Magnavilles, and afterwards of William D'Albini, whose daughter and heiress, Isabel, married Robert de Roos, Lord of Helmesley, in Holderness, by whom the manor was divided into two, called Great and Little Gilston; and also *Overhall*, and *Netherhall*. These have descended, by purchase, and otherwise, through the families of the *Giffords, Chaunceys, Gores,* and others, to William Plumer, Esq. one of the present Members for this county; whose principal residence is at GILSTON PARK. The more ancient seat of this gentleman is at BLAKESWARE, in the parish of Ware; an estate that was purchased by his father, John Plumer, Esq. In the north aisle of Gilston *Church* is an ancient slab, the lower part covered by a pew, on which is sculptured a cross fleury; and above it the words ALYS DE ROS, who appears to have been wife to John de Ros, or Roos, a Lord of this Manor in the time of Edward the Third. Several of the Gores lie buried in this fabric.

HUNSDON is a pleasant village, situated on a rising ground, overlooking the fertile meadows watered by the Stort. In the time of King John, the manor was held by Sir Walter de Montgomery, Count de Ferrariis; but it afterwards became the property of the *Engaines,* and from them, by a co-heiress, passed to the *Goldingtons.* In the reign of Henry the Sixth, it belonged to Sir William Oldhall, who was Knight of the shire in the twenty-ninth of that Sovereign; and whose son, Sir John Oldhall, built a large *castellated Mansion* here in the time of Edward the Fourth, at an expense of more than 7000l. After he was slain in the battle of Bosworth Field, this manor was seized by the Crown, and was granted, by Henry the Seventh, to his mother, the Lady Margaret, Countess of Derby, and her husband, Thomas, Earl of Derby, for life. Henry the Eighth built a *Palace* here, afterwards called HUNSDON HOUSE, and destined it to the education of his children.* He also connected the manor with those of Stansted, and

* Chauncy's Herts, p. 197.

and Royden, in Essex, and erected them into the 'Honor of Honesdone.'* Queen Mary annexed the manor of Hunsdon, with several others in this county, to the Duchy of Lancaster: but it was again separated, and granted by Queen Elizabeth to Sir Henry Cary, who was the son of her unfortunate mother's sister, Mary Boleyn, by her husband, Sir William Cary, and who was afterwards created Baron Hunsdon by the Queen, and made a Knight of the Garter, besides having several important offices conferred on him.† His great grandson, John, second Earl of Dover, sold Hunsdon to William Willoughby, Esq. afterwards Lord Willoughby, of Parham; who, in the year 1671, again sold it to Matthew Bluck, Esq. from whose family it was purchased by the Calverts, and is now the property of Nicholson Calvert, Esq.

Hunsdon

* Salmon's Herts, p. 252.

† The following particulars of the death of this Earl are inserted in Hasted's Hist. of Kent, Vol. III. p. 42, octavo edit. "Lord Hunsdon was highly favored by the Queen, who continually employed him in offices of trust, and negociations of great importance. In her fourth year he was elected Knight of the Garter, being then Captain of the Band of Pensioners, and of the Privy Council, and afterwards Lord Chamberlain, and General Warden of the Marches towards Scotland. Notwithstanding which, thinking himself slighted by the Queen, in her not giving him the dignity of Earl of Wiltshire, a title which he thought in some measure belonged to him in right of Mary, his mother, and which he had frequently solicited, he took it so much to heart, that it threw him into a dangerous sickness, which at length put an end to his life in the thirty-eighth year of that reign; though the Queen, to make some amends for her hard usage of him, whilst he lay on his death-bed, paid him a gracious visit, causing his patent for the above earldom to be drawn out, his robes to be made, and both to be laid on his bed. But this Lord, who could dissemble neither sick nor well, told her, that as he was counted by her unworthy of this honor whilst living, so he counted himself unworthy of it when dying. He was buried in the Abbey Church of Westminster, where a noble and costly monument was erected to his memory."

Hunsdon House has been much reduced, but has still a venerable appearance, and is surrounded by a moat. In Strype's Memorials are letters dated from Hunsdon, by Prince Edward; and his sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, appear to have resided here for several years. With them also, was educated their second cousin, the Lady Elizabeth Fitzgerald, the Earl of Surrey's *Fair Geraldine*, who was grand-daughter to the Marquis of Dorset, the brother of Elizabeth, Henry the Seventh's Queen.* The Princess Mary resided here when Lady Jane Grey was proclaimed Queen, after the death of Edward the Sixth; but then retired to Framlingham Castle for safety.

In Hunsdon *Church*, in a small Chapel, or Burial-Place, of the Lords of the Manor, is a monument, and inscription, in memory of "SIR JOHN CARY, Knt. Baron of Hunsdon," who succeeded his brother George, second Lord Hunsdon, on the death of the latter, in September, 1603. He had been made Governor of Berwick, and Lord Warden of the East Marches, by Elizabeth; and continued in the north till the accession of James the First, whom he accompanied in his progress to the Metropolis: he died in the year 1617.† Several of the *Calverts* lie buried here; some of whom have monuments: and in the chancel is the monument of SIR THOMAS FORSTER, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, who died in May, 1612, at the age of sixty-three. Near the pulpit is also a slab,

* "Strype has preserved a curious Letter, relating to the maintenance of the Lady Elizabeth after the death of her mother: it is written from *Hunsdon*, by Margaret, Lady Bryan, governess to the Princess, (Elizabeth,) and who, as she says herself, had been made a Baroness on her former preferment to the same post about the Lady Mary; a creation which seems to have escaped all our writers on the Peerage."

Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors.

† This Nobleman was the fourth son of Henry, first Lord Hunsdon. Robert, Lord Leppington, his youngest brother, wrote "Memoirs of his own Life," which were published by the late John, Earl of Cork and Orrery, in 1759, and contain many interesting anecdotes of the times of Elizabeth, and her successor, James the First: he was the first person that conveyed the intelligence of the death of Elizabeth into Scotland.

a slab, inlaid with a very curious *Brass*, representing a Huntsman, with his bugle-horn and broad-sword, levelling a cross-bow at a stag, while Death, delineated as a skeleton, is pointing a dart at his breast: beneath is this inscription:

BELOVED OF ALL WHILST HE HAD LYFE
VNMOANED OF NONE WHEN HE DID DIE
JAMES GRAY INTERRED OF HIS WYFE
NEAR TO THIS DEATH'S SIGNE BRASS DOTH LYE;
YEARS THIRTY-FIVE IN GOOD RENOWN
PARKE AND HOUSEKEEPER OF THIS TOWN.
OBIIT 12 DIE DECEMBRIS A°. D'NI 1591,
ÆT. 60.

Tradition represents the Huntsman as dying suddenly, while in the act of shooting at a buck: his motto is *Sic Pergo;* which a celebrated antiquary has translated, 'Thus I go on till the same fate befalls me.'*

EASTWICK had formerly the privilege of a market, and a three days' fair, granted by Henry the Third to Richard de Toni, to whom he had previously given the manor. In the *Church* is the effigies of a *Knight* Templar; and a mural monument for JOHN PLUMER, Esq. of Blakesware, and MARY, his wife, daughter of William Hale, Esq. of King's Walden: the former died in 1718, 19, at the age of sixty-five; the latter in 1709.

STANSTED ABBOT is recorded in the Domesday Survey, as a borough-town, governed by a Port-reve, and having seven Burgesses: but it is now only an inconsiderable village. Roger de Wauney, who was Lord here in the time of William Rufus, and Henry the First, gave the Church of Stansted to the Priory of Merton in Surrey; and Michael, his son, granted a moiety of the manor to the Abbots of Waltham, in the reign of Henry the Second: the other moiety he sold to the King, who afterwards bestowed it on the same Abbots. Henry the Eighth, in his twenty-third year, obtained it in exchange for the Priory of Blackmore, in Essex;

* Gent's Mag. March, 1795, p. 200. A Cut of the Brass is inserted in the same Volume, fronting p. 13.

Essex; and then granted it to Peter Paris, Esq. who sold it to Edward Baesh, Esq. who lies buried in the Church, and, as his monument records, was "General Surveyor for the Victuals of the Royal Navy, and the Marine Affairs, within the realms of England and Ireland, under four Princes; Henry the Eighth, Edward the Sixth, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth." Sir Edward Baesh, who was knighted by Charles the Second, sold the manor to Edmond Feild, Esq. and it is now the property of William Henry Feild, Esq.

In Stansted Parish is the RYE HOUSE, a building that has become celebrated from its having been tenanted by one of the persons engaged in the real or pretended conspiracy to assassinate Charles the Second, and the Duke of York, on their return to London from Newmarket. The oppressive measures of the Royal brothers, and their evident, and almost avowed, design to re-establish Popery, had, about this period, 1683, greatly agitated the nation; and meetings were frequently held by the supporters of liberty, on true constitutional principles, to consider of the most eligible method of opposing the further encroachments of despotism and bigotry. The Duke of Monmouth, Capel, Earl of Essex, the virtuous Lord Russel, and the patriot Sydney, were associated with others in these conferences; of the absolute *necessity* of which, no other proof can be requisite, than a reference to the conduct of the Duke of York when King; and which conduct, most happily for the nation, produced by the opposition it provoked, the glorious Revolution of 1688. While they were thus employed, the intemperate zeal of some inferior persons was exercised in talking over plans of violence and assassination; yet even by them, no overt act was committed, from which it could reasonably be inferred, that they really purposed to found any system of action on these idle discourses.* "Rumsey, Ferguson, and West," says Burnet,† "were often talking that the shorter and surer way was to

* Hume, the Apologist of the Stuarts, himself admits, that 'The whole was little more than loose discourse, the overflowings of zeal and rancour.' *Hist of Eng. Vol. VIII. p. 69.*

† Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 543.

Engraved by John Rye, from a Drawing by J.C. Smith.

For the Beauties of England and Wales E.W. Brayley

THE RYE HOUSE,
Hertfordshire.

London, Published by Vernor Hood & Sharpe Poultry, Nov.r 1.1805.

to kill the two brothers. One Rumbold, who had served in Cromwell's army, came twice among them; and while they were in that wicked discourse, which they expressed by the term *lopping*, he told them 'He had a farm near *Hodsden*, in the way to Newmarket; and that there was a moat cast round his house, thro' which the King sometimes past in his way thither. He said, once the coach went thro' quite alone, without any of the guards about it; and that, if he had laid any thing cross the way, to have stopt the coach but a minute, he could have shot them both, and have rode away thro' grounds that he knew so well, that it should not have been possible to have followed him.' Upon which they run into much wicked talk about the way of executing that; but nothing was ever fixed on; all was but talk."

These circumstances having been mentioned to an associate and Anabaptist, named Keeling, in a loose kind of way, were by him communicated to the government, and became the subject of a judicial inquiry. West and Rumsey,* alarmed for their safety, concerted a tale to secure their own lives; and, on their apprehension, gave evidence of a regular conspiracy to assassinate the King and Duke; and pretended that Rumbold had offered them his house on the heath for the purpose; and that forty men, well armed and mounted, were to wait there in readiness; one half of whom were to engage the King's guard, while the others stopt the coach, and effected the murder. This tale being designedly interwoven with the meetings held by the Protestant Lords, and who had firmly supported the bill for excluding the Duke of York from the succession to the Throne, was artfully employed by the court to effect the destruction of Russel and Sydney; though not the least proof was offered in evidence of either of them having been present during the intemperate conversations from which the assassination plot was deduced. In connection, however, with this, was a design of seizing the King's guards, and promoting a general

* "West was a creature of Lord Shaftsbury's; a witty and active man, full of talk, and believed to be a determined atheist.—Rumsey had been an officer in Cromwell's army." *Burnet.*

general insurrection; and the Earl of Essex being also implicated, was seized, and sent to the Tower, where he committed suicide on the very day that Lord Russel was tried at the Old Bailey; an event that was maliciously stated to the jury for the purpose of influencing their decision. Russel was beheaded in Lincoln's Inn Fields; and within a few weeks Sydney bled upon Tower Hill. Walcot, who was declared, by Rumsey and West, to have been appointed as the commander of the troop to be stationed at the Rye House, had previously suffered, as well as Rumbold, and several others, who had been sworn to as engaged in the conspiracy. Whether these deserved their fate, or not, the destruction of Russel and Sydney, can never be considered in any other light than as murder of the blackest die, because committed by the hand of authority in violation of the laws, and in direct opposition to every principle of liberty and of justice.*

The *Rye House* was originally built under a licence from Henry the Sixth, granted to Andrew Ogard, and others, to impark the Manor of Rye; and to erect thereon a Castle, with battlements and loop-holes. The same licence, also, gave them liberty of free-warren in this, and the neighbouring manors of Stansted, Amwell, Hoddesdon, Ware, and Widford. Some remains of the ancient structure, principally consisting of a gate-house, are yet standing; and have for many years been converted into a workhouse for the poor of Stansted Parish.†

HODDESDON,

* In the Duke of Monmouth's Journal, it is affirmed, that the King told him that "He inclined to have saved the Lord Russel; but was forced to consent to his death, otherwise he must have broke with his brother, the Duke of York." *Kennet, p.* 406.

† The following curious particulars of the Manor, and Manor-House, of Rye, are inserted in Gough's Camden, from W. Worcester, p. 86, 87. "Nobilitas Andreæ Agard, chevalier qui obiit anno Christi 1454 die Sancti Kalixta apud Bokenham.—De proporcione et mensura manerii de Rye per 16 milliaria de London, in Essex. Mem. the utter court at Rye ys 75 steppys in length, and in brede 60 steppys. The hede of the mote is 20 steppys. Item, from the utter yate to the logge paled and

HODDESDON, a chapelry in the Parishes of Broxbourn and Amwell, was anciently a part of the estate of the *Bassingbourns;* who derived their surname from Bassingbourn, in Cambridgeshire, where they had license to embattle and fortify their Manor-House. Stephen de Bassingbourn had liberty of free-warren at Hoddesdon, a privilege that was confirmed to him on his answer to a writ of *quo warranto* in the time of Edward the First. The next possessor on record, after this family, apears to have been Walter de Norwich, who was thrice made Lord Treasurer in the reigns of Edward the Second and Third, and twice appointed Chief Baron of the Exchequer. In Henry the Seventh's time Sir William Say was proprietor; and after it had devolved on Mary, his daughter, married to Henry Bouchier, Earl of Essex, Henry the Eighth granted the privilege of a market weekly, and a three days annual fair, for this manor. The *Market-House*, an old and curious edifice of wood, supported on arches and pillars, is yet standing, though considerably out of repair; a number of rude and grotesque figures are carved on different parts. On the attainder of the Lord Parre,* this manor, with his other possessions, was seized by the Crown; and Queen Elizabeth afterwards granted it to Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, whose descendant, the Marquis of

 Salisbury,

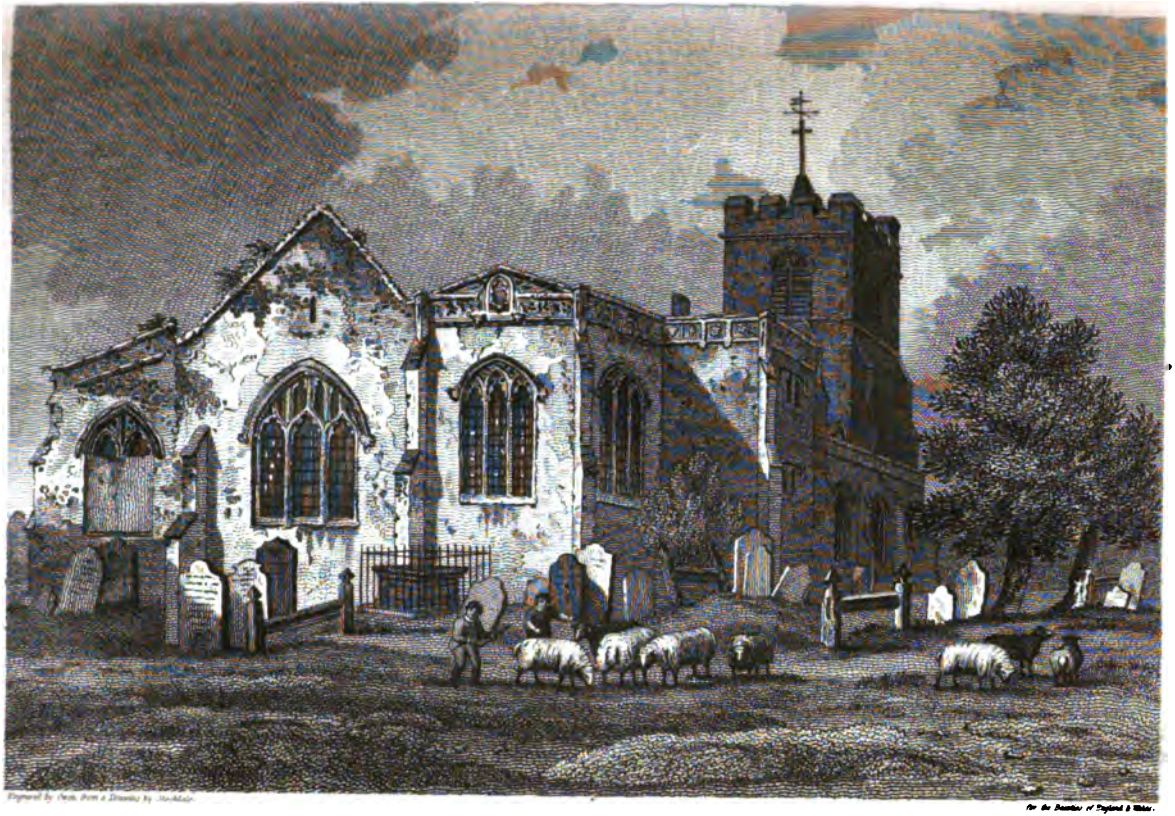
and parked yn every side ys yn length 360 tayllors yards. Aula continet in longitudine 34 pedes et in latitudine 24 pedes. Item claustri longitudo continet 17 virgas et dimidium, et latitudo continet 13 virgas. Longitudo unius quadrati principalis curiæ ex parte boriali continet 28 virgas. Item continet 39 virgas in longitudine ex parte orientali manerii. Item dictus Andreas per 8 Annos in Anglia existens custodiebat capellam in domo sua de presbiteris, clericis, et choristis, qualibet die 16, cum 4 presbiteris ad expensas C libr. per annum. Item dedit ecclesiæ Wyndham Abbey xv capas de panno auro coloris blodii cum les orfreys cum suis armis.—Perquificio manerii de Rye constabat 1130 libr. Item granarium, 16 equi, et 30 vaccæ, cum le storehows mercandizarum 2000 marcæ.—Item le byldyng de le inner court edificat. cum bryke, et cameris cum claustro cum reparacionibus ad summam ii m marcarum."

* See under Bennington, p. 196.

Salisbury, is now owner. Hoddesdon *Chapel* is a neat brick structure, and was erected in place of a more ancient building about twenty years ago. Near the Market-house is a *Conduit* of good water, which is supplied by pipes from a spring at some distance, and was erected by the *Rawdons*, a respectable family of this town; and is kept in order by a bequest of a certain sum annually, made by Marmaduke Rawdon, Esq. in the year 1679. The number of houses in Hoddesdon, as returned under the late act, was 227; that of inhabitants, 1227. The buildings are mostly disposed on the sides of the high road, and form a handsome street.

BROXBOURN was granted by the Conqueror to Hugh de Grentemaisnill, who settled it on his wife Adeliza; after whose death, Ivo, their fourth son, inherited, his brothers being all deceased. He gave it to the Abbey of Bermondsey, in Surrey, where his mother had been interred: but whether from some defect of form, or otherwise, the grant was re-assumed by Robert Blanchmains, Earl of Leicester, who had married Ivo's daughter, and, with her consent, and that of their sons, granted the Manor and Church of Broxbourn to the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, who retained the manor till the period of the Dissolution; but re-granted the Church to the Bishops of London. Henry the Eighth sold Broxbourn, and its appurtenances, to John Cock, Esq. who was Sheriff of Herts and Essex in the time of Edward the Sixth. His son, Henry, was knighted by Queen Elizabeth; and at his death left a daughter and co-heiress, married to Sir Robert Oxenbridge. Their daughter, Ursula, married Sir John Monson, who was made a Knight of the Bath at the Coronation of Charles the First; and in his family it continued till the death of the late Lord Monson; but is now the property of Jacob Bosanquet, Esq. an eminent banker, and a Director of the East India Company.

Broxbourn *Church* is a handsome fabric, probably of the time of Henry the Sixth; it consists of a nave, chancel, and aisles, with a tower at the west end, terminated by an octagonal spire, and a small chapel, connecting with the chancel at the end of each angle. The chapel on the north side, was built in the reign of Hen-



BROXBOURNE CHURCH,
Herts.

ry the Eighth, by Sir William Say, Knt. as appears from the following inscription on a frieze surrounding the outer side, and which is intersected with shields of arms.

Pray for the welfare of Syr Wyllyam Say, Knyght, wych fownyd yis chapel in honor a ye trenete the yeare of our lord god 1522.

The workmanship of this chapel is in a very superior style. Beneath the arch which separates it from the chancel, is an elegant altar-tomb of grey marble, of a reddish hue; having a rich canopy, supported on four octagonal columns. This was erected in memory of the above SIR WILLIAM SAY, who died in December, 1529, the twenty-first of Henry the Eighth; and his 'wyffs, *Genevese*, and *Elizabyth*."* On the sides of the tomb have been brass plates, containing the arms of the family, together with ten others of whole-length figures, all which are gone: and against the east end, under the canopy, have been brasses, representing a Knight, and two Ladies, kneeling beneath a representation of the Trinity. On the upper part of the canopy, the crest of the Says, a stag's head, is repeated on different shields.†

Beneath the arch between the chancel and the south chapel, is a large altar-tomb in memory of SIR JOHN SAY, Knt. and ELIZABETH, his wife. On the slab which covers the tomb, are *Brasses* of the Knight and his Lady: the former in armour, with his tabard of arms above, gauntlets on his hands, and a long sword coming before him. His Lady is richly apparelled in a close dress,

 with

* Weever's Fun. Mon. Edit. 1631.

† On the north side of this Chapel is a square tower, connecting with the chancel by means of a small door, divided into two stories; the ascent to the upper story being by a small under stair case: the windows are very narrow, and well defended by iron bars. This tower was doubtless erected for the safe keeping of the vests, the rich silver chalices, and the other vessels, used in the celebration of high mass; and probably had a small altar in it, as was customary in these places.

with a narrow waist, and an outward cloak, blazoned with the arms of Cheyne, of Cambridgeshire. She has on a necklace of jewellery-work, wrought with pearls: on her left hand are three rings; on her right hand, one. Her head-dress is very singular; her hair being turned back, and closely trussed up in a sort of cap of rich lace, from which, by means of wires, a sort of kappet, of very great size, is suspended. Between the heads of these figures, as well as at the corners and on the sides of the tomb, are the arms of Say, impaling those of Cheyne, several times repeated.* Over the centre shield, at the top, is placed the crest of the Says, with the helmet and mantle. Round the verge of the tomb is a mutilated inscription in raised letters: this is as follows; the words in Italics being supplied from Weever.

Here lyeth Dame Elyzabeth, sometyme wyf to *Syr John Say, Knyght, dawter to Laurence Cheyne, Esqyer* of Cambrigge shire; a woman of noble blode, and most noble in gode maners, which decessed the xvi day of *Septem.* A M cccc lxxiii. and entred in this Church of Brokesborn abydyng the bodye of her sa.d husband. Whose Soules God Bryng to Everlastyng lyff.

Many ancient *Brasses,* besides those above described, were formerly in this Church, and some yet remain; but of these several are now covered by the pews of the chancel. One of them represents a *Priest,* holding a chalice; with a label proceeding from his mouth, thus inscribed:

Si quis eris qui transieris sta plege plora
Su qe eris fuera qe quod es p me precor ora.

At the corners, also, are labels, with the words Jhu mercy; and Lady helppe. Another slab in this chancel is inlaid with a male figure,

* These arms are represented in their proper colors, by means of pastes of red, blue, and black, which are let into the brasses; the brass itself being employed to represent the yellow parts of the arms, and a white metal somewhat like tin, to describe those intended to be white. This seems to be the mode of describing arms, in use previously to the introduction of engraved lines in different directions.

figure, in a cloak with open sleeves, in the centre, and the emblems of the Evangelists at the corners: from his mouth proceeds a label, with this sentence:

Miserere mei Deꝰ secm̄ magnā unam̄ tuam.

In the north aisle is a slab, inlaid with curious *Brass* figures of JOHN BORRELL, Sergeant at Arms to Henry the Eighth; ELIZABETH, his wife; and their children, eight sons and three daughters. The Sergeant is depicted in plate armour, with roundels at the knees and elbows; on his head a helmet, the vizor up; both hands have gauntlets, and his right-hand sustains the mace: he has on a sword and dagger, and his feet rests upon a dormant lion. His Lady is arrayed in the square head-dress of the time. His arms are a saltire between four leaves in base, on a chief, a tyger's head erased between two battle-axes. At the sides of the slab are labels, containing the sentences Esperer en Deu, and I trust in God, alternately. According to Weever, the Sergeant died in 1531.

Among the other monuments, are several in commemoration of the Cock and Monson families; one of which, in the chancel, erected to the memory of SIR HENRY COCK, Keeper of the Wardrobe to Queen Elizabeth and James the First, who died at the age of seventy-one, in March, 1609, is constructed in a very stately manner, but is now greatly in want of reparation. Near it is the monument of WILLIAM GAMBLE, alias Bowyear, having beneath the inscription a grotesque carving, consisting of various specimens of osteology, exhibited in eight compartments, as through a shop window. The most elegant monument lately erected, records the virtues of HENRIETTA, "daughter of Sir George Armytage, of Kirklees, in the county of York, Baronet, and wife of Jacob Bosanquet, of Broxbourn Bury, Esq. who died," at the age of thirty-one, in October, 1797. The upper part displays a pyramid, on which is sculptured a fine female figure, bearing an inverted torch, and mournfully reclining on an urn overhung by a drooping willow. The inscription also commemorates the exem-

plary character of ELIZABETH, "Relict of Jacob Bosanquet, of the city of London, Esq." who lived a widow thirty-nine years, and died at the age of seventy-three, in January, 1799. Beneath are the arms of Bosanquet, impaling Armytage. Sir William Monson, and his Lady, who founded an *Almshouse* in Broxbourn; Sir John Baptist Hickes, Bart. who died in November, 1791, aged seventy; Thomas Jones, Esq. formerly one of his Majesty's Judges of the Supreme Court of New York, in North America; and William Peere Williams, Esq. 'Editor of the Reports,' who died at the age of seventy-three, in June, 1736; have also memorials in this Church. The interior has a neat and handsome appearance, having been lately ornamented by the parishioners. The *Font* is ancient; the bason is supported by a column in the centre, surrounded by eight smaller pillars.

BROXBOURN BURY, the seat of Jacob Bosanquet, Esq. and formerly the residence of Lord Monson, has, within a few years, been new fronted in the modern style, and otherwise improved. It is a spacious edifice, standing in the midst of a pleasant Park, which has been considerably enlarged by the present owner, and has a neat Porter's Lodge, recently built. Sir Henry Cock entertained James the First in this mansion, in his progress from Scotland. A large portion of the *Stables*, which were built on the same plan as the Royal Mews at Charing Cross, was taken down during the late improvements.

The Manor of WORMLEY was one of the seventeen with which Earl Harold endowed the Abbey at Waltham, and it continued attached to that foundation till the time of the Dissolution, when Henry the Eighth granted it to Edward North, Esq. and his heirs. It now belongs to Oliver Cromwell, Esq. of Cheshunt, but is rented by Sir Abraham Hume, Bart. of WORMLEY BURY, whose father, the late Sir Abraham, was created a Baronet in 1769, and succeeded his brother in the possession of that estate. The mansion at Wormley Bury is a substantial brick building, with a portico, sustained on four stone columns, of the Composite Order. The grounds are pleasant, though not extensive; and their beauty is much increased by a sheet of water, over which is a Chinese bridge.

Wormley

Wormley *Church* is a small fabric, consisting only of a nave and chancel: the west end exhibits traces of considerable antiquity, and has on the north side, a small Norman doorway; and the chancel is lighted by three lancet windows. In the pavement of the nave is a slab, formerly inlaid with *Brasses*, of a male and female, kneeling beneath a representation of the Trinity; and beneath their feet two groups of children: one of the latter, and the figure of the man, has been taken away. Round the verge was an inscription, of which only the following words now remain: Here lyeth John Cok yoman and Al ——. passed to God owte of this transitorie ——. On a tomb, against the north wall of the chancel, are brass figures of a male and female, in dresses of the time of Elizabeth, with two groups of children beneath their feet; above them a shield of arms, parte per chevron between three griffins' heads erased, impaling, Or, a lion rampant, surmounted by a bar, charged with three bezants; and over the arms a rhyming inscription, and the motto, *In vita vana vita.*

In the pavement of the chancel is a coffin-shaped stone, having the faint outlines of a cross sculptured on it; and in the centre of the top some indistinct remains of a figure: round the verge a mutilated inscription, in very ancient Saxon letters, of which only the words Henri Goryon—— de' ea alme eit merci, can now be distinguished. Across this stone has been inserted a more modern brass, in memory of "Edward Shambroke, sumtyme psonn of this churche & p'bendary of ye Cath churche of St. Poule i London" He died in December, 1534. On a slab in the pavement also is this inscription:

Hic iacet Johēs Cleve qnd̄a Rector huj' Eccl̄ie de Wormele qui obijt xxij. die Octobr A°. dni M̄ cccc°. iij°. cui' a'e ppicie' dē.

A similar inscription, on another slab, records the memory of *Richard Ruston,* who was also Rector of this Church, and died in May, 1457.

CHESHUNT is an extensive and pleasant village, principally extending along the sides of the high road, but having many detached and respectable buildings. In the Domesday Book it is

called *Cestrehunt;* an appellation that, together with its distance from London, the remains of an ancient *Camp* in a field to the west from Cheshunt Street, and a supposed military way leading from that to the *Ermine* Street, induced Salmon to place here the *Durolitum* of Antoninus. This opinion may be thought to receive support from the circumstance of Roman coins having been discovered here, of the Emperor Hadrian, Claudius Gothicus, and Constantine, which were exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries by Dr. Stukeley, and Mr. Sawyer, in the year 1724.*

Cheshunt contains several subordinate manors: the principal manor, from which some of the others have branched off since the time of the Domesday Survey, was given by the Conqueror, to his nephew Earl Alan, surnamed the Red, who commanded the rear of his army at the battle of Hastings, and was rewarded with the Earldom of Richmond, and the whole of Richmondshire, in Yorkshire, to which Honour this manor was an appendage. The Domesday Book records, that the right of trading here was in ten men, who paid ten shillings annual rent to the Lord for the privilege; that the land was rated at twenty hides; and that here was pannage for 1200 hogs.

Henry the Third detached Cheshunt, with other lands, from the Honour of Richmond, and granted them to Peter de Savoy, the Queen's brother; but he afterwards restored them to John, Duke of Bretagne, the inheritor of the Honour, whose descendant, also named John, resigned the Earldom of Richmond to John of Gaunt, fourth son of Edward the Third, from whom the grant of a weekly market was procured for this manor; but this has been very long disused. From this period Cheshunt descended, with the Honour of Richmond, till the time of Henry the Eighth, who granted the manor, and its appurtenances in this county, to his natural son, Henry Fitz-Roy, Duke of Richmond and Somerset. He dying without issue, it reverted to the Crown; and Edward the Sixth gave it to Sir John Gates, and his heirs; but after the attainder

* Gough's Camden, Vol. I. p. 346. Mr. Gough queries whether *Durolitum* should not rather be placed at *Durnford*, vulgarly Turnford, a little village at the north end of Cheshunt, by Cheshunt Wash.

tainder of that Nobleman, Queen Mary granted it to Sir John Huddlestone, who, in the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth, sold it to John Cock, Esq. whose son, Sir Henry Cock, purchased a new grant of the manor from James the First. From him it descended to the Lords Monson; but is now the property of Sir George Beeston Prescott, Bart. it having been purchased by the late George Prescott, Esq. about twenty years ago.

The *Church* is a handsome fabric, dedicated to the Virgin Mary: it was built in the time of Henry the Sixth, by NICHOLAS DIXON, who was Rector of this parish during thirty years, and lies buried in the chancel. On a large broken grave-stone, that covers his remains, has been a brass figure, under an elegant triple-arched canopy, in the pointed style, with the arms, a fleur de lis, in chief, ermine, and the following inscription above.

O miserere ihū famuli Dixon Nicholai
Cui brevis hospiciū tumulus potat satis arctū
Jocund qui famū terdenis reverat annis
Ad cui' fabricam bursas pprias alienas
Solvit et allexit quo crevit in arduā templū
Pulcrū cancellū t.bi dat pia virgo novellū
Du laudaris eo famulo suffragia p'stes
Cleric' hic pipe subthesaurarius inde
Bare Sccij se inste gessit ubiqs
Pacem paupibs dans cedat divitis iras
Larga manus relevat quos paupies fera pressit
Anno milleno et quater bis^mo deca xpi
Octavo moriens mutans terrestria celis
Octobris luce terdena transit ad astra
Auxiliare prece qui plegis hec Nicholao
Ut sibi cū sanctis presentur dica perhennis.

On another, but smaller slab, in the pavement of the chancel, is a *Brass* of a female figure, represented with very long flowing air; and beneath her feet this inscription:

Icy gist Damoiselle Jehanne Clay, qui trespassa l'an d' grace. M. cccc. lvi. le xxv. Jour d' octobre Jour saint Welenn evesque.

On

On the north side of the altar is a tomb and inscription in memory of ROBERT D'ACRES, Esq. of Cheshunt, Privy Counsellor to Henry the Eighth; of his wife, ELIZABETH, and several others of their family. Against the south wall is a monument for DR. HENRY ATKINS, who was thirty-two years Physician in Ordinary to James the First, and Charles the First, and died in 1635; MARY his wife, and SIR HENRY ATKINS, Knt. their son, who died in 1638, at the age of thirty-four. Other inscriptions for the D'acres and Atkins families, who were united by marriage, occur in different parts of the Church. On a slab, in the south aisle, are *Brasses* of a man and woman; the former in a merchant's habit, with this inscription:

> Hic jacent Willmo Pyke qui obiit xxij die ffebruarij anno Dñō millmō cccc xlix et Elena uxor ejus quor' aiabs ppicietur deus amē.

On another slab, in the same aisle, is a *Brass* of a female kneeling at a desk, in the habit of Elizabeth's time: the inscription records the name of "*Elizabeath Garnett*, wife of Edward Collen, Citizen and Freemason of Londō," who died in September, 1609, at the age of thirty-three. Before the door, which opens into the chancel from the Church-yard, is a stone coffin, with the lid reversed; the inner side, as now situated, is said to have a figure in relief, sculptured on it.

Near the Church is a House formerly inhabited by *Richard Cromwell*, the abdicated Protector; who, after his return from the Continent, about the year 1680, assumed the name of Clark, and lived here during the remainder of his life, in retirement. Here also he died, in July, 1712, in the arms of the gardener of Baron Pengelly, and was conveyed to Hursley, in Hampshire, for interment; the manor of Hursley having descended to him in right of his wife; though he was obliged to contest the possession of it with his daughters, in a court of law.* Sergeant Pengelly, who was retained by him, on this occasion, as Counsel, and was afterwards Chief Baron of the Exchequer, is supposed to have been a natural

* See under Hursley, Vol. VI. p. 114, 115.

natural son of his employer; a supposition which Noble admits to be rendered probable by Richard's gallantry.*

In the north part of Cheshunt are some remains of a NUNNERY, originally founded for Nuns of the Sempringham Order, and made subordinate to the Gilbertine Priory, at Cattely, in Lincolnshire, by Peter de Belingey, in the time of King Stephen. Henry the Third placed Nuns of the Order of St. Benedict in the room of the former, and made them independent; their mual revenue, at the time of the Suppression, in the twenty-sith of Henry the Eighth, amounted, according to Speed, to 27l. 6. 8d. but

* Memoirs of the Cromwell family, Vol. I. p. 175. In thesame work is the following singular anecdote concerning Richard, whic was related to the late Rev. George North, Vicar of Codicote, nearWelwyn, by two persons who conversed with him in the last years of is life at Cheshunt.—When Richard left Whitehall, he was very careful to preserve the *Addresses* which had been sent to him from every art of the kingdom, expressing 'that the salvation of the nation dependd upon his safety, and his acceptance of the Sovereignty;' and many of them proffering him the lives and fortunes of the Addressers. In his retirement at Cheshunt, no one was admitted to visit him, without trong recommendations of being of agreeable conversation, and strict ionor. One of the two persons above alluded to, named Windus, who lied at Ware, was introduced to him as such, with an admonition to coform to his peculiarities, without asking any questions, or seeming to make observations. After an hour or two spent in "conversation and drinking, Richard started up, took the candle, and the rest of the company, who all knew, except the last admitted man, what was going forward, took up the bottle and the glasses, and followed the quondam Praector up to a dirty garret, in which was nothing but a little round hair trunk: Mr. Cromwell pulled it out to the middle of the room, and calling for a bumper of wine, drank 'Prosperity to Old England.' All thecompany did the same. When the new man, Mr. Windus, was caled to do so, sitting a-stride, as they had done upon the trunk, Cronwell desired him to take care, and sit light, for he had no less than the lives and fortunes of all the good people of England under him:—the trunk was then opened, and the original Addresses shewed him, with great mirth and laughter. This was his method of initiating a new acquaintance."

but Dugdale records it at only 14l. 1s. 0d. Two years afterwards, the King granted the Nunnery manor to Sir Anthony Denny; but it has since had a variety of possessors; and was for some years the seat of the late Mrs. Blackwood, who had a very valuable collection of paintings, by the first masters. The remains of the Nunnery forms the domestic parts of a large Mansion, that has been erected at different periods, and contains some elegant apartments. The grounds are disposed with taste; and the river Lea has been formed into a canal before the east front of the house.

The Manor of St. Andrew le Mote, in Cheshunt, was granted, by Henry the Eighth, to Cardinal Wolsey, who resided in the Manor-house, now called CHESHUNT HOUSE: this is a plain brick structure, but has been much modernised since Wolsey inhabited it. After his disgrace, and fall, the King granted the manor to the Earl of Worcester, and afterwards to Thomas Denny, Esq. whose son, John, sold it to George D'Acres; whose descendant Sir Thomas Dacres, again sold it to James, Earl of Salisbury. James, his son, disposed of it to Sir Edward Desbovery, whose executors re-sold it to Sir John Shaw, Bart. in whose family it yet continues. The population of Cheshunt township, as returned under the late Act, amounted to 3173; the number of houses to 615.

THEOBALDS, in Cheshunt Parish, has become of great celebrity from having been the favorite residence of Lord Burleigh, and afterwards of James the First. The Manor of Theobalds was formerly called *Cullynges*, and, in the year 1385, belonged to William Attemore, of Cheshunt, who, being indebted to William de Tongge in the sum of 101l. made over to him this manor, together with an estate named Le Mores, and from him it obtained the name of *Tongge*. It was afterwards named *Thebaudes;* and under that appellation was granted by the Crown to John Carpenter, Master of St. Anthony's Hospital, and others, in the year 1441, to hold by the annual render of a bow valued at 2s. and a barbed arrow, value three-pence. No further particulars occur of the descent of this manor till the time of Elizabeth, when it was possessed by William, Lord Burleigh, whose son, Robert, first Earl

* Tanner's Notitia.

Earl of Salisbury, exchanged it with King James for other lands Charles the Second granted it to George Monk, Duke of Albemarle, with the site of the House and Park, all which escheated to the Crown on the death of Christopher, the second Duke, without male issue. His widow marrying Ralph, Duke of Montagu, this Nobleman is supposed to have had a new grant of the Manor of Theobalds, as his descendant, John, Duke of Montagu, sold it in 1736, to Mrs. Letitia Thornhill, from whom it came to the *Cromwells*, descendants from the Protector Oliver, who derived this title from the marriage of Richard Cromwell, Esq. grandson of Henry Cromwell, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, with Sarah, daughter of Ebenezer Gatton, and niece, and one of the co-heiresse of Sir Robert Thornhill, father to the above-named Letitia. Oliver Cromwell, Esq. the last male descendant of the Protector Oliver, is now owner.

"The original site of this manor was a small moated house the traces of which are still visible in Sir George Prescott's park. Sir William Cecil, afterwards Lord Burleigh, began, about the year 1560, to build upon a new site, what, it is said, he at first intended for a small mansion, to be the residence of his younger son. On the twenty-seventh of July, 1564, Queen Elizabeth first honored him with a visit at Theobalds. It is probable that she then expressed her intention of repeating her visit, which induced her Minister to enlarge his house for her better accommodation; and that it was completed upon a more enlarged scale, before the twenty-second of September, 1571, when the Queen visited him again, and was presented with a copy of verses, and a *Portait of the House*. Her visits were repeated in 1572, 1575, 77, 1583, 1591, 1593, 1594,* and 1596. In 1583 she was attended by a large retinue, and staid four days; the Earls of Leicester and Warwick,

* 'An Oration, spoken by the Hermit of Theobalds in 1594, is printed in Queen Elizabeth's Progresses: it was written Sir Robert Cecil. Her visit to Theobalds, in 1596, is mentioned by the Earl of Monmouth in his Memoirs. The Queen is said to have held her court at Theobalds, September 5th, 1598; being a few days after the funeral of Lord Burleigh, who was buried on the twenty-ninth of August.'

ick, the Lord Admiral, (Lord Howard,) Lord Hunsdon, Sir Christopher Hatton, and Sir Francis Walsingham, were then with hr. In Murdin's State Papers is the copy of a manuscript, in Lrd Burleigh's own writiug, specifying the rooms in which the seeral persons belonging to her court were to be accommodated. In 1593, her Majesty's stay at Theobalds was prolonged to nine dys. Each of these visits is said to have cost the Lord Treasurer fro 2000l. to 3000l. 'The Queen lay there at his Lordship's chge, sometymes three weeks and a month together,' says the wrir of his Life. 'Her Majesty had also sometymes straungers anambassadors came to her at Theobalds, where she hath beyn sen in as great royalty, and served as bountifully and magnificenly, as at anie other tyme or place, all at his Lordship's chardg: withrich shows, pleasant devices, and all manner of sports that coldbe devised, to the greate delight of her Majesty, and her whol traine, with greate thanks from all who partook of it, and as grate commendation from all that heard of it abroad.' The usual expense of his house-keeping at Theobalds was 80l. per week: his stables cost him a thousand marks (666l. 13s. 4d.) per annum. The sum of 10l. per week was allotted to setting the poor to ork in his garden; and 20s. a week was distributed by the Vicaof Cheshunt, as his Almoner.

"Lor Burleigh was succeeded at Theobalds by his son Robert, afterwar created Earl of Salisbury, who, like his father, proved one of t ablest statesmen of his time. On the third of May, 1603, hentertained King James the First on his way from Scotland, wh he came to take possession of the crown of this kingdom. He the Lords of the Council paid their homage: the King appnted several new Members, both of the English and the Scotch nility, and made twenty-eight Knights. 'His Majesty,' says Stow, staid four days, with entertainment such, and so costly, as hart can be expressed, considering the multitudes that thither resord, besides the train; none going thence unsatisfied."* In 1606, t Earl gave a second entertainment to King James, and to Christoer the Fourth, King of Denmark, who staid with him four

* Stow's Annals.

four days.* Soon afterwards, to oblige his Royal master, who was much pleased with the situation of Theobalds, he gave him the house, manor, and park, in exchange for the palace and manor of Hatfield.

"Theobalds became a favorite residence of King James, who frequently retired thither, particularly in the latter part of his reign: he drew his last breath in this Palace, on the twenty-seventh of March, 1625. King Charles resided occasionally at Theobalds: there the petition from both Houses of Parliament was presented to him in February, 1642; and thence he went immediately afterwards, to put himself at the head of his army.† When the sale of the Crown lands was in agitation in 1649,‡ it was at first resolved that Theobalds should be excepted; but it was afterwards determined that it should be sold. In the year 1650, the Commissioners who were appointed by Parliament to make a survey of Theobalds Palace, reported, that 'it was an excellent building, in very good repair, by no means fit to be demolished; and that it was worth 200l. per annum; exclusive of the Park: yet, lest the Parliament should think proper to have it taken down, they had estimated the materials, and found them to be worth 8275l. 11s. Notwithstanding this report, the greater part of the Palace was taken down to the ground; and the money arising from the sale of the materials divided among the army."§

When King James "got possession of Theobalds, he enlarged the Park, by taking in part of Enfield Chase, and of Northaw and Cheshunt Commons, and surrounded it with a brick wall, ten miles in circumference. When the survey was taken in 1650, Theobalds

* Biographia Britannica.

† Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 343. Fol.

‡ 'Whitlock's Memorials, p. 411. This was in the month of June; the subject was again debated on the 12th of July. In an Act which passed soon afterwards, Theobalds is not mentioned among the houses to be reserved from sale. Perfect Summary, July 23—30: 1649.'

§ Environs of London, Vol. IV. p. 31—33.

balds Park contained 2508 acres; valued, together with six Lodges, one of which was in the occupation of Colonel Cecil, at 1545l. 15s. 4d. per annum. The deer were valued at 1000l. the rabbits at 15l. the timber at 7259l. 13s. 2d. exclusive of 15,608 trees marked for the use of the navy; and others, already cut down for that purpose. The materials of the barns and wall were valued at 1570l. 16s. 3d."*

Among

* In the survey of *Theobald's Palace*, taken in 1650, and now preserved in the Augmentation Office, it is described as consisting of "two principal quadrangles, besides the Dial-court, the Buttery-court, and the Dove-house-court, in which the Offices were situated.

"The fountain-court, so called from a fountain of black and white marble in the centre, was a quadrangle of eighty-six feet square; on the east side of which was a cloister, eight feet wide, with seven arches. On the ground-floor of this quadrangle was a spacious hall, paved with Purbeck marble; the roof arched over at the top with carved timber of curious workmanship, and of great worth, being 'a goodlie ornament to the same:' at the upper end was 'a very large picture of the bigneese of a paire of stagges hornes seene in France.' On the same floor was the Lord of Holland's, the Marquis of Hamilton's, and the Lord of Salisbury's* 'lodging rooms,' the council chamber, and the chamber for the King's waiters. On the second floor was the presence chamber, 'wainscotted with carved wainscot of good oak, painted of a liver color, and richly gilded with antick pictures over the same; the seelinge full of gilded pendents hanging downe, settinge forth the roome with greate splendor; as alsoe with verie large windowes, and several coates of armes sett in the same.' These windows opened south on the walk in the great garden leading to the green gates going into the park, where was an avenue of a mile long, between a double row of trees. On the same floor were also the privy chamber, the withdrawing chamber, the King's bed chamber, and a gallery 123 feet by twenty-one, 'wainscotted with oak, and paintinge over the same of divers cities, rarely painted, and sett forth with a frett seelinge, with divers pendents, roses, and flower de luces, painted and gilded

* William, Earl of Salisbury, was made Keeper of Theobalds-House by King James, in 1619; as was William, his son, the third Earl, by King Charles, in 1628.

Among the few parts of the Palace that were left standing after its dismantlement, about 1650, was one of the Chapels, which continued to be used by the Presbyterians till the year 1689, when

 the

gilded with gold; alsoe divers large stagges heades sett round the same, and fastened to the sayd roome, which are an excellent ornament to the same.' The windows of this gallery looked 'north into the park, and so to Cheshunt.' On an upper floor were the Lord Chamberlain's lodgings, my Lord's withdrawing chamber, and several other apartments.

"Near the Chamberlain's lodgings, on the east, was a leaded walk, sixty-two feet in length, and eleven in breadth, with an arch of free-stone over it, 'which sayd arch and walk,' says the survey, 'looking eastward into the middle court, and into the highway leading from London to Ware, standeth high, and may easily be discerned by passengers and travellers to their delight.' On the west of the Lord Chamberlain's lodgings was another walk of the same dimensions, looking westward into the fountain-court. At the corners of these walks stood 'fower high, faire and large towers, covered with blue slate, with a lyon and vaines on the top of each; and in the walk over the hall, in the midst of the fowre corners, one faire and large turrett, in the fashion of a lanthorne, made with timber of excellent workmanship, curiouslie wrought, standinge a great height, with divers pinacles at each corner, wherein hangeth twelve bells for chiminge, and a clocke with chimes of sundrie worke.' The walk from the lower gate up to the middle of the fountain-court, is described as leading 'through the severall courtes, so that the figure of Cupid and Venus (which stood between the pillars of the fountain) maye easily be seene from the highway, when the gates are open.' This walk, continues the survey, 'is so delightful and pleasant facing the middle of the house, and the severall towers, turretts, windowes, chimneyes, walkes, and balconies, that the like walke, for length, pleasantness, and delight, is rare to be seene in England.'

"The middle court was a quadrangle 110 feet square; on the south side of which were the Queen's Chapel, (with windows of stained glass,) her presence chamber, privy chamber, bed chamber, and coffer chamber. The Prince's lodgings were on the north side: on the east side was a cloister, over which was the green gallery, 109 feet by twelve, 'excellently well painted round with the severall shires in England, and the armes of the noblemen and gentlemen in the same.' Over this gallery was a leaded walk, (looking eastward towards the dial-court

and

the site of the Palace, and the Park, were granted, by William the Third, to the Earl of Portland. From him they descended to the present Duke of Portland, who, about the year 1762, sold the estate

and the highway,) on which were two 'loftie arches of bricke, of no small ornament to the house, and rendering it comely and pleasant to all that passed by.' On the west side of the quadrangle was another cloister, on five arches; over which were the Duke's lodgings, and over them the Queen's gallery, 109 feet by fourteen.

"On the south side of the house stood, 'a large open cloister, built upon severall large faire pillars of stone, arched over with seven arches, with a faire rayle and balisters, well painted with the Kinges and Queenes of England, and the pedigree of the old Lord Burleigh, and divers other ancient families;* with paintings of many castles and battailes, with divers supscriptions on the walls:' this cloister was standing so lately as 1765. The whole house was built, as the survey states, of excellent brick, with coins, jambs, and cornices of stone.†

The *Gardens* at Theobalds were large, and ornamented with labyrinths, canals, and fountains. The great garden contained seven acres of ground; besides which, there was the pheasant-garden, privy-garden, and laundry-garden. In the former were 'nine knotts, artificially and exquisitely made; one of which was sett forth in likeness of the Kinge's armes.' The *Stables* (which are included in the survey of the manor) stood on the road leading from Waltham Cross to Cheshunt. On the west side of the road was the camel stable, sixty-three feet in length: on the east side were two stables, each 119 feet; and a barn 163 feet in length.‡"

* 'The mutilated remnants of these pedigrees, as they existed in 1765, were engraved for Queen Elizabeth's Progresses, published by J. Nichols.'

† "I have not been able to find any print, or painting, which conveys any adequate idea of this Palace. There is a scarce print of it, by Stent, upon a small scale, which seems to be a very imperfect representation. The view in the Tapestry, at Houghton, which was supposed to be Theobalds, and is engraved in Gough's edition of Camden, does not agree with the description in the survey. At Hinton St. George, (the seat of Earl Poulet,) there is, according to Walpole's Anecdotes, an inside view of Theobalds, by Polenberg."

‡ Lysons' Environs, Vol. IV. p. 34—37.

estate to the late George Prescott, Esq. but in the intermediate time, the Park had been divided, and converted into farms. Three years afterwards, when the houses which now form Theobalds Square, were erected, every remaining vestige of the Palace was destroyed. About the same time a new Park, of 205 acres, was inclosed by Mr. Prescott, who also built a handsome brick Mansion, on a rising ground, about a mile north-west from the site of the Palace, and at a short distance from the New River, which runs through the grounds.* THEOBALDS PARK is now the property and residence of Sir George Beeston Prescott, Bart. grandson of the purchaser.

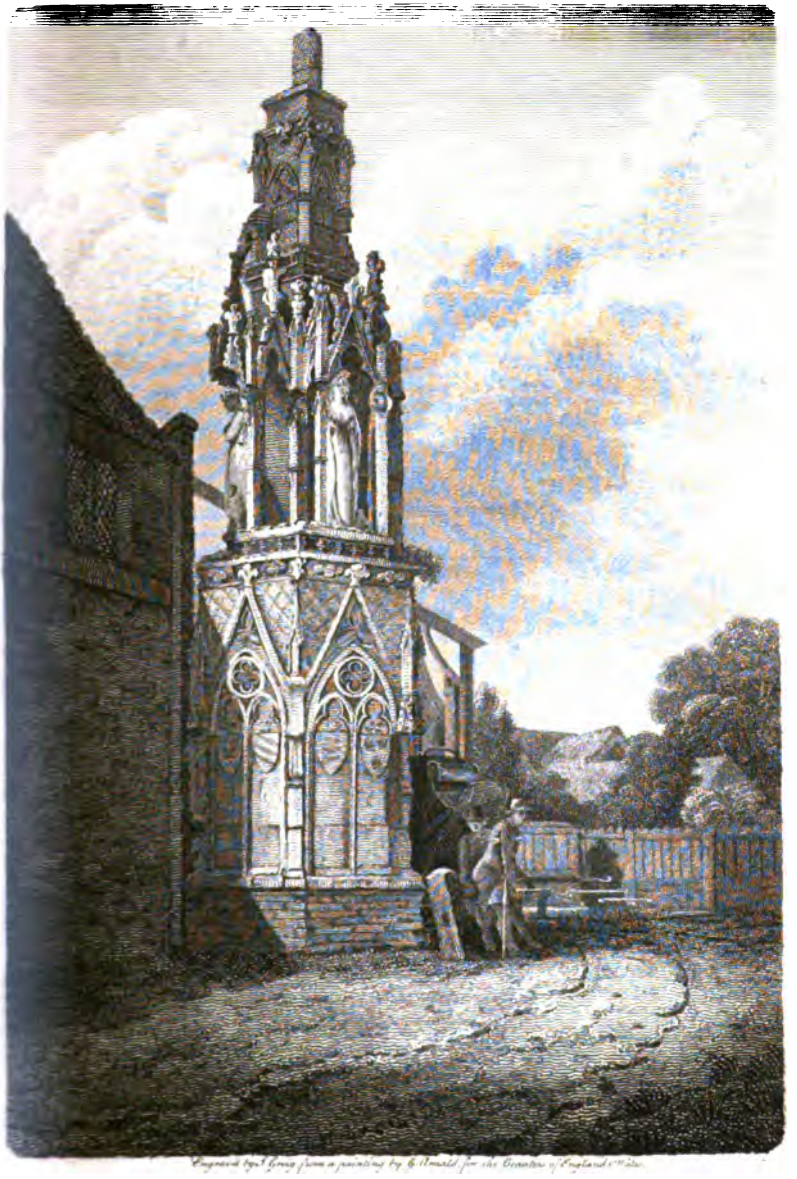
WALTHAM CROSS, a hamlet in Cheshunt Parish, derives its name from one of those elegant stone CROSSES, which the pious affection of Edward the First occasioned him to erect in memory of his beloved and faithful consort, Queen Eleanor. This lamented female was daughter to Ferdinand the Third, King of Castile and Leon, and had been married to Edward from motives of state policy; yet, contrary to the common issue of matches so made, she conceived a very ardent attachment for her husband, and is reported to have saved his life by sucking the poison from a wound which he received by the hand of an assassin in the Holy Land. She died, deeply regretted by the King, in November, 1291, at Hardeby, near Grantham, in Lincolnshire. Her bowels were interred in Lincoln Cathedral; but her body was brought to London, and deposited in Westminster Abbey. At each of the places where it had been rested during this journey, namely, at Lincoln, Grantham, Stamford, Geddington, Northampton, Stony-Stratford, Dunstable, St. Alban's, and Charing,† Edward afterwards erected a *Cross*, of which, only those at Geddington, Northampton, and Waltham, now remain.

* This Account of Theobalds is wholly derived from Lysons' Environs, Vol. IV. p. 29—39.

† Now Charing Cross; but then only a village between London and Westminster.

WALTHAM CROSS is the least perfect of the three; though the Society of Antiquaries have twice interested themselves in its preservation: once in 1721, and again in 1757, when Lord Monson, the then Lord of the Manor of Cheshunt, at the request of the Society, communicated by letter from their Secretary, Dr. Stukeley, surrounded the base with brick-work: it was originally surrounded by a flight of steps, like those at Geddington and Northampton; but these have been long removed. The upper parts are also greatly mutilated: much of the foliage is defaced, and the pinnacles and battlements are broken. The form of the Cross is hexagonal: it is separated into three stories; the middlemost of which is open, and displays statues of Queen Eleanor. Each side of the lower story is divided into two compartments, beneath an angular coping, charged with shields pendant from different kinds of foliage, and exhibiting the arms of England, of Castile and Leon, quarterly, gules, a castle, Or; and argent, a lion rampant, purpure; and of Ponthieu, Or, three bendlets, azure, with a border, gules: the colors are obliterated. Over these compartments is a quatrefoil; and above that, a trefoil, filling up the space to the point of the whole. The pediment of each compartment has been richly adorned with foliage; and the spandrils are sculptured with eight-leaved flowers in lozenges: the pannels are separated by purfled finials, divided by two niches. "The cornice over the first story is composed of various foliage and lions' heads, surmounted by a battlement pierced with quatrefoils. The second story is formed of twelve open tabernacles in pairs, but so divided that the dividing pillar intersects the middle of the statue behind it: these terminate in ornamented pediments, with a bouquet on the top; and the pillars that supported them are also purfled in two stories. This story also finishes with a cornice and battlement, like the first, and supports a third story of solid masonry, ornamented with single compartments in relief, somewhat resembling those below, and supporting the broken shaft of a plain cross. The statues of the Queen are crowned; her left hand holding a cordon; and her right, a sceptre, or globe."* This Cross stands

* Vetusta Monumenta, Vol. III.



WALTHAM CROSS.
Hertfordshire.

London Published by Vivar & Head, Poultry, Jan. 1, 1819.

AMWELL HOUSE,
Herts.
The Seat of John Hanbury, Esq

stands close to the Falcon Inn, which has been built up against it, in the angle formed by the high road, and another road, which branches off towards Waltham Abbey.

The pleasant village of AMWELL, which is situated to the south-east of Ware, has the name of *Emme-welle* in the Domesday Book; an appellation supposed to have been derived from Emma's Well, a spring of pure water, which issuing from the hill on which the Parish *Church* is situated, now forms part of the New River. This eminence, and the pleasing scenery it presents, have been celebrated in a sentimental poem by the late John Scott, Esq. of AMWELL HOUSE, which is now the property and residence of J. Hooper, Esq. who married the daughter of Mr. Scott. The poet, after an excursive view of the surrounding country, returns to the immediate neighbourhood of *Amwell*, and portrays the landscapes it affords with great exactness.

> How picturesque the view, where up the side
> Of that steep bank, her roofs of russet thatch
> Rise mix'd with trees, above whose swelling tops
> Ascends the tall Church tow'r, and loftier still
> The hill's extended ridge! How picturesque,
> Where, slow beneath that bank, the silver stream
> Glides by the flowery Isle, and willow groves
> Wave on its northern verge, with trembling tufts
> Of osier intermixed!

On the Isle here mentioned, a tribute of respectful homage has been recently paid by Robert Mylne, Esq. to the genius and patriotism of SIR HUGH MIDDLETON, who first conveyed the New River to London, in despight of difficulties that exhausted his fortune, and for a time rendered all his efforts fruitless. Several mournful trees are planted here; and in the centre is a votive urn, standing upon a pedestal, surrounded by a close thicket of evergreens. An inscription is engraven on each side of the pedestal; that on the south is as follows:

Sacred to the Memory of
Sir HUGH MYDELTON, *Baronet;*
Whose successful Care,
Assisted by the Patronage of his King,
Conveyed this Stream to LONDON.
An immortal Work;
Since Man cannot more nearly
Imitate the Deity,
Than in bestowing Health.

The inscription on the north side is a Latin translation of the above: that on the west, records the distance of *Chadwell*, the other source of the New River, at two miles; and the meanders of the river from Amwell to London, at forty more; the east side records the dedication of this "humble tribute to the genius, talents, and elevation of mind, which conceived and executed this important Aqueduct," by "Robert Mylne, architect, engineer, &c." in the year M. D, CCC.

It appears from the register of Amwell, that the *Plague* has twice raged in this village: first, in the year 1603; and again in the year 1625. The Rev. *Thomas Hassel*, who has recorded these facts, and has enriched the register with various anecdotes of the persons mentioned in it, was Vicar of Amwell upwards of fifty-seven years, and dying at the age of eighty-four, in September, 1657, was buried in the Church. Here, also, was interred MR. WILLIAM WARNER, an Attorney, author of the poem called *Albion's England*, who died in March, 1608-9. On the hill above the Church, are traces of a very extensive *Fortification*, the rampart of which is very distinguishable on the side overlooking the vale through which the river Lea flows. In this parish, also, on the side towards Hertford, is *Barrow Field*, wherein is a large tumulus; and not far distant are remains of an ancient road, probably of Roman origin.

WARE

Is an ancient and populous town, situated on the west side of the river Lea, and having a considerable trade in malt and corn. In the Domesday Book it is called *Waras:* but in other old writings,

tings, it has the name of *Guare*, and *Guaris*, from which Salmon was induced to imagine that the Danes, who infested this neighbourhood in the time of Alfred, had their place of arms either here, or immediately adjacent."* The stratagem by which that renowned Sovereign obtained possession of the Danish fleet, by diverting the waters of the Lea from their former channel, obliged the Danes to abandon their Camp, and retreat into Glocestershire. Whether Edward the Elder ever built a town here, as some writers have supposed, is rather questionable; as, in that case, it would doubtless have been made independent of Hertford, which it does not appear to have been till long after the Conquest; though its annual value was then about fifty shillings.

At the time of the Domesday Survey, Ware was held by Hugh de Grentemaisnil, to whom it had been given by the Conqueror; and from whose family it passed, by an heiress, to Robert Blanchmains, Earl of Leicester. Their son, Robert, dying in the reign of King John, his inheritance descended to Amy, married to Simon de Montford, and Margaret, married to Sayer de Quincy, afterwards Earl of Winchester, who, on a partition of the estates, became possessed of this manor, among others, in right of his wife. "Before his time," says Salmon, "a great iron chain was put across the bridge, to prevent a road here to the disadvantage of Hertford. The Bailiff of Hertford had the keys in his power; and no carriage with horses or harness could go over without paying a toll to him, which toll was esteemed worth 10l. 13s. 4d. yearly. But the Earl broke the chain, and laid the road open, which made this a great thoroughfare, brought trade to the town, and occasioned buildings in it."† This boisterous Nobleman, who acted a very conspicuous part in the Barons' Wars, died in the fourth of Henry the Third; but Margaret, his widow, survived till the nineteenth of the same reign, spending much of her time at the *Priory* here, which she had considerably enlarged. Roger, her second son, inherited this manor; which he gave in his lifetime to his younger brother, Robert, who married Helen, daughter

* Hist of Herts, p. 243. † Ibid.

ter of Llewellyn, Prince of Wales, and widow of the Earl of Huntingdon. He obtained from the Crown, the grant of a market and annual fair here; and dying in 1257, his estates were divided between his daughters and co-heiresses; Hawyse, the youngest of whom, was married to Baldwyn de Wake, who had this manor as parcel of her inheritance. His descendant, Thomas, Lord Wake, who was Constable of the Tower, and Governor of Hertford Castle, in the reign of Edward the Second, dying without issue, his possessions devolved on his sister Margaret, widow of Edmond de Woodstock, Earl of Kent; whose youngest daughter, Joan, married to Sir Thomas Holland, afterwards inherited; and in her right, Sir Thomas eventually assumed the title of Earl of Kent. Thomas, his successor, was constituted Marshal of England by Richard the Second, and had an annuity of 1000l. granted him out of the Exchequer. On his death, Thomas, his son, succeeded: he was created Duke of Surrey by the same King, sitting crowned in Parliament; and lost his life in his service, being slain at Cirencester while endeavouring to excite an insurrection. Edmond, his brother, and next heir, was killed at a siege in Bretagne, by an arrow discharged from a cross-bow, on which his possessions were divided among his co-heirs, and Ware became the property of Thomas de Montacute, in right of Eleanor, his wife, Edmond's fourth sister. Alice, their daughter and heiress, married Richard, son of Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmoreland, and father of the Great Earl of Warwick, who was slain at Barnet fight. Isabel, eldest daughter to the latter Nobleman, married George, Duke of Clarence, after whose murder, this manor fell to the Crown. Henry the Seventh granted it to his mother, the Countess of Richmond; but, in the first of Henry the Eighth, it was restored to Margaret de la Pole, daughter of the Duke of Clarence, on whose attainder, and subsequent decapitation, in 1541, it again reverted to the Crown.* Queen Mary restored it to the daughters

* The following very interesting retrospective survey of the bloody line of the possessors of this manor, and their immediate connections, is

ters and co-heiresses of Henry, Lord Montacute, first son of Margaret, under a particular settlement; and the reversion being afterwards granted, by Queen Elizabeth, to Katherine, the eldest, she sold the manor to Thomas Fanshaw, Esq. who claimed the manorial rights, and the privilege of a Tuesday market at Ware, which were allowed. He held the office of King's Remembrancer in the Exchequer;

is the production of a correspondent who has been already alluded to, as having made considerable collections towards a History of this County.

Edmond Plantagenet, Earl of Kent, husband of Margaret de Wake, Lady of this manor, was beheaded the nineteenth of March, 1330; 4 Ed. III.

John de Holland, Duke of Exeter, and Richard the Second, two of the sons of Joan Plantagenet, Lady of this manor, (daughter of Edmond and Margaret,) were both put to death under Henry the Fourth, A. D. 1400: and Thomas de Holland, Duke of Surrey, Lord of this manor, son of Thomas, Earl of Kent, and grandson of the said Joan, was murdered at Cirencester the same year.

Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, husband of Alice de Montacute, Lady of this manor, and mother of the Duke of Surrey, was beheaded at Wakefield in the second of Ed. IV. by order of Margaret of Anjou, the very same day that his son, Sir Thomas Neville, lost his life in battle.

Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick and Salisbury, and Lord of this manor, and John Neville, Marquis of Montacute, his brother, (sons of Richard, Earl of Salisbury, and Alice,) were both killed at the battle of Barnet, in the eleventh of Ed. IV.

Edward Plantagenet, Prince of Wales, first husband of the youngest daughter of the Earl of Warwick, was murdered by Richard, Duke of Glocester, at Tewkesbury, on the fourth of May, 1471.

George, Duke of Clarence, husband of the eldest daughter of the Earl of Warwick, was murdered in the Tower, the eighteenth of February, in the seventeenth of Ed. IV.

Richard, Duke of Glocester, who became King by the title of Richard the Third, second husband of the youngest daughter of the Earl of Warwick, was killed at the battle of Bosworth, on the twenty-second of June, 1485.

Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick, only son of George, Duke of Clarence, and the eldest daughter of the Earl of Warwick, who, af-

Exchequer; and dying in 1600, was succeeded by his son, Henry, who was afterwards knighted. Sir Thomas, his eldest son, was made Knight of the Bath at the coronation of Charles the First, in whose cause he was extremely active, as well as his younge brother, Sir Richard Fanshaw, though greatly to the detriment o the family inheritance. After the Restoration, he was created Viscount Fanshaw, of Dromore, in Ireland, and was chosen to represent

ter the accession of Richard the Third, being then only eight years of age, passed all the remainder of his life in imprisonment, and who therefore could not have offended against any laws to which the benefits received from their protection had rendered him amenable, was beheaded in the Tower, on the fifteenth of November, 1499, under Hen. VII.

Henry Pole, Lord Montacute, (eldest son of Margaret, the only sister of Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick,) was beheaded on the ninth of January, anno 30th of Hen. VIII. on a charge of treason, in designing to place his younger brother, Geoffrey Pole, a clergyman, on the throne: a charge which carries on the face of it so strong an air of improbability, that though one of his brothers is said to have evidenced it against him, it is difficult for the most credulous reader to believe.

And, to close this melancholy train, comes the venerable Margaret Plantagenet, Countess of Salisbury, widow of Sir Richard Pole, Knt. mother of Henry Pole, Lord Montacute, sister of Edward, Earl of Warwick, daughter of George, Duke of Clarence, and last of the Plantagenets. The frivolity of the charges brought against her is truly contemptible: and of the judgment of death passed upon her, without evidence, without even the ceremony of trial, our language affords no adequate expression of abhorrence. Nay, even when the sentence *was* passed upon her by a vote of Parliament, on accusations which she was not permitted to refute, (for she never was heard in her defence,) it seemed as if the King was ashamed of the business, and her execution was delayed from the thirty-first to the thirty-third of Hen. VIII; when, on an alarm of danger from an insurrection in Yorkshire, said to be promoted by her son Reginald, afterwards Cardinal Pole, the cruelty of the King was sharpened by his fears, and he consigned her to the scaffold. This was on the twenty-seventh of May, 1541, in the Tower of London. She was then seventy years of age. She refused to make any sort of confession, and displayed a dignified heroism in her death, which reflected all the lustre of an ancestry of princes, and of soldiers,

present this county in Parliament. His son Thomas, who inherited the estates, sold the manor of Ware to Sir Thomas Byde, second son and heir of John Byde, Citizen and Alderman of London. He was knighted in April, 1661, and was returned to Parliament four times as a representative for the Borough of Hertford; and again in the Convention Parliament, which immediately preceded the Revolution. He died in January, 1704-5: and the manor is now the property of Thomas Hope Byde, Esq. his great-great grandson.

At a *Tournament* held at Ware, in the twenty-fifth of Henry the Third, and which appears to have been proclaimed in despite of the King's prohibition, Gilbert le Mareschal, the potent Earl of Pembroke, was killed by falling from his horse, and being afterwards trampled on: Robert de Say, one of his knights, was also slain in the diversion, and several others were wounded. In 1408, the town was greatly damaged by a *Flood:* its low situation rendering it very liable to this inconvenience, several weirs and sluices have been raised at different times to remedy it.

There were anciently two religious establishments in this town: one of them was a PRIORY of Benedictines, subordinate to the Abbey of St. Ebrulph, at Utica, in Normandy, to which Hugh de Grentemaisnil granted the Church of Ware, and two carucates of land in this manor: "Whereupon," says Tanner, "it became a Cell to that Abbey; and, in process of time, was so well endowed, that, upon the seizure of the Alien Priories by Edward the Third, during the wars with France, this was farmed at 200l. per annum. After the suppression of these foreign houses, this was given, in the third of Henry the Fifth, to the monks at Shene. Henry the Sixth, for some time, annexed it to the Abbey of St. Mary, near Leicester; but it was afterwards restored to Shene, and, as parcel of its possessions, granted, by Henry the Eighth, to Trinity College, in Cambridge."* Some remains of the Priory buildings are yet standing at a little distance from the Church, near the banks of the river. They chiefly consist of ancient walls, fitted up,

* Tanner's Notitia.

up, and accommodated to the purposes of a modern dwelling: a small, obtusely-pointed arch, within the north-east angle of the building, is supported by corbels, displaying the upper parts of human figures; one of which appears to be clad in mail. Margaret, widow of Sayer, Earl of Winchester, was a great benefactress to this Priory; and also made it her place of residence for a considerable time. The other establishment was for *Grey*, or *Franciscan Friars;* but by whom founded is uncertain: it stood in the north part of the town.

Ware *Church* is a spacious edifice, dedicated to St. Mary, and consisting of a nave, chancel, and aisles, with an embattled tower at the west end. The roofs are of timber, and have been ornamented with paintings and inscriptions, of which there are now considerable remains; particularly in the south chancel, or Chapel. Here the roof is divided into squares, in each of which is some figure, or legendary subject: in this Chapel, also, is a single seat for a Chaplain. The Sepulchral memorials are numerous, and among them are various ancient slabs, most of which were pillaged of their *Brasses* by a knavish Sexton. Among the persons of eminence who have been interred here, are ROGER D'AMORY, Lord of Standon; his Lady, ELIZABETH, daughter of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Glocester, the foundress of Clare Hall, in Cambridge; SIR THOMAS BOUCHIER, son of Henry, first Earl of Essex; SIR RICHARD FANSHAW, Bart.* and SIR THOMAS BYDE, of Ware Park. The *Font* is ornamented with various sculptures, representing St. George, and other subjects. At the west end of the Church is a handsome gallery, that was built by the Governors of Christ's Hospital, for the use of the school that was formerly established here, for the younger children of that institution, but which has been many years removed to Hertford. Several *Alms-houses*, for poor widows, &c. are in different parts of the town; and various other benefactions for charitable purposes have been made to this parish; the population of which, as returned under the act of 1800, amounted to 2950: the number of houses to 580.

In

* See some particulars of his life under Ware Park.

WARE PARK,
Hertfordshire.

In a piece of ground called the BURY FIELD, at the south-west corner of Ware, in February and March, 1802, at about the depth of three feet, were found four *Stone Coffins*, each of them formed of one mass of stone, and hewn with tolerable squareness; each lid was also of one piece. Three of them were lying within twelve inches of each other, but the fourth was at the distance of twenty feet. The bodies that had been interred in them, appeared to have been embedded in lime: the bones were mostly in regular order, and either of a yellow or deep red-brown color. In one of the coffins, the impression of the winding-sheet appeared in the lime, which adhered to the side; and the skull found in the same coffin had some remains of short and tufty hair on it, at the back, and about the ears. The length of the coffins varied from seven feet three, to six feet seven; the general thickness of the sides was about three and four inches. The stone of which they were made had a yellowish hue, and was full of fossil shells. "In the mould was found one small copper coin of the Lower Empire, Constantine the Great, or Constantius; head laureate. Reverse, [illegible]victories supporting a shield, on which was the usual inscription VOTA PR, or VOT. X."*

[illegible]ARE PARK, the seat of Thomas Hope Byde, Esq. is very [illegible]antly situated on an eminence, commanding the rich meadows [illegible]h extend between Ware and Hertford. The ancient Manor-[illegible]se, which had been the retirement of the *Fanshaws*, and the [illegible]sional residence of their predecessors in the possession of the [illegible]or, was pulled down by Thomas Byde, Esq with the Chapel [illegible] long gallery; and a new mansion, in the modern style, was [illegible]ted by the same gentleman on the acclivity of a hill. This is [illegible]antly fitted up, and forms the present residence of the family. [illegible] Park and grounds are well diversified, and are rendered ex-[illegible]ly pleasant by the contiguity of the rivers Lea and Rib. Dur-[illegible]e time the manor was possessed by Sir Henry Fanshaw, the flower

* See account of this discovery, with drawings, and admeasurements of the coffins, communicated by Mr. Gough to the Gentleman's Magazine for May, 1802.

flower-garden appears to have been an object of his peculiar attention; and Sir Henry Wotton styles it, in his Essay on the Elements of Architecture, published in the Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, "a delicate, and diligent curiosity, surely without parallel among foreign nations."

Sir Richard Fanshaw, the tenth child of the above Sir Henry, was born in the ancient Manor-House at Ware, in the year 1607. He received his education at Cambridge; and having increased his address and acquirements by travelling into foreign states, was appointed Ambassador to the Court of Spain, by Charles the First, in 1635. Here he continued till the commencement of the Civil War, when returning to England, he took a very active part in the Royal cause; and, in 1644, had the degree of LL. D. conferred on him by the University of Oxford. About the same time, also, he was appointed Secretary to the Prince of Wales. At the battle of Worcester, in 1651, he was taken by the Parliament's army, and being closely imprisoned in London, the rigors of his captivity brought on a severe illness, on which he was permitted to retire into the country, after engaging not to extend his walks beyond the circuit of five miles. During this retirement, he spent some time at Ware Park, and employed his leisure hours in translating Guarini's *Pastor Fido*, or Faithful Shepherd; and the Lusiad of Camoens: he also made various translations from the Latin Poets, &c. In 1659, he went to the exiled King at Breda, and received the honor of Knighthood. After the Restoration, he was appointed Envoy-Extraordinary to the Court of Portugal, where he negociated the match between the King and the Infanta, Catherina of Braganza. In 1664, he was sent Ambassador to Madrid, where, after conducting the affairs of his mission with great ability and credit, he died in June, 1666. His body was afterwards brought to England by his widow, and buried in Ware Church, where a monument has been erected to his memory, and inscribed with a long epitaph in Latin, stating various particulars of his family and life.* In

* This epitaph is to the following import. 'In a vault near this monument lies the body of the noble Sir Richard Fanshaw, Knt. and Bart. of

In the meadows opposite to Ware Park, on the south-east, are the springs of CHADWELL, the proper source of the *New River*.* These are concentrated in a small pool, or bason, surrounded by a light railing, from which the stream slowly issues in its course towards London, and is swelled at a little distance by a cut from the river Lea. This circumstance is thus poetically noticed in Scott's poem of 'Amwell:'

Old Lea meanwhile,
Beneath his mossy grot, o'erhung with boughs
Of poplar quiv'ring in the breeze, surveys
With eye indignant, his diminish'd tide,
That laves yon ancient Priory's wall, and shows
In its clear mirror Ware's inverted roofs.

HERTFORD

Is a town of considerable antiquity, but of uncertain origin; though it is known to have attained importance very early in the Saxon times; and a *Synod* is recorded to have been held here as early as the year 670, or 673. Its situation on the Ermin-Street, and

of the ancient family of the *Fanshaws*, of Ware Park, Hertfordshire, and tenth child of Sir Henry Fanshaw. He married Anne, eldest daughter of Sir John Harrisson, Knt. of Balls, in the same county, and by her had six sons, and eight daughters; of whom Richard, Catherine, Margaret, Anne, and Elizabeth, survived him.—A man most excellent for the gentleness of his manners, the brightness of his learning, and his constant loyalty. In time past, a joyful exile, he boldly shared the calamities of his most serene king, Charles the Second; and was made by him Secretary at War. After the happy restoration of the monarchy, he was constituted Master of the Requests, Latin Secretary, and a Privy Councellor both for England and Ireland; and was elected a Burgess for the University of Cambridge. He was also appointed his Majesty's Ambassador to the courts of Portugal and Spain; at which last, having executed his commission with great spirit, he changed a most splendid life for a lamented death.—This monument, and the vault, were built by his most sorrowful wife, who also brought over his body by land from Madrid. He died on the sixteenth of June, 1666, aged fifty-nine.

* The more particular history of the New River is reserved for the article *New River Head*, in the description of Middlesex.

and on a ford of the river Lea, is supposed, by Salmon and others, to have occasioned its present name, which is thought to be a corruption from *Here-Ford;* that is, the *Army's Ford;* an etymology that receives support from the name of the town being frequently written *Hereford* by the Saxon authors, and in charters to monasteries.* The conjecture that the appellation Hertford, or Hartford, was derived from *Heort-ford,* or the Ford of Harts, seems much too fanciful to be admitted, though strengthened by the arms of the town, a *Hart couchant at a Ford;* which arms, it should be remembered, were not assumed till many centuries after the Saxon writers had recorded this place by the name of *Hereford,* and *Hertford.*

Dr. Heylin supposes Hertford to have been a principal residence of the East Saxon Kings; but, however this may be, it was certainly of sufficient consequence to give name to the shire, on the division made about the time of the Great Alfred; and it has ever since continued to be the county town. After the Danes were driven from this neighbourhood, which they had very early infested, through the facility which the river Lea afforded to their shipping, a CASTLE was built here by Edward the Elder, about the year 909. '*Edvardus Rex,*' says Henry of Huntingdon, '*anno nono Regni sui, construxit Herefordiam Castrum non immensum inter Beneficam, et Mimeram, et Lyre flumina non profunda, sed clarissima.*'† The same King is also recorded to have built and fortified the town, which had probably been wholly despoiled and ruined by the Danes. '*Hoc anno,*' are the words of the Saxon Chronicle, under the year 913, '*circa Martini Festum jussit Eadweardus Rex ædificari aquilonarem urbem apud Heorotfordam inter Mimeran, Benefican, et Lygean:—interim aliqua pars copiarum erexit urbem apud Heorotfordam ab australi parte Lygeæ:*'—from which it appears, that the north part of the town was that first built by Edward, and the southern part the last.

At the time of the Domesday Survey, Hertford contained 146 Burgesses, and had two Churches: the lands and houses were then divided

* Salmon's Herts, p. 29. † Lib. V. p. 353.

BERTFORD CASTLE.

divided between the King, and eight of his principal officers, among whom was Peter de Valoines, who had been constituted Governor of *Hertford Castle*, and who was afterwards confirmed in that post by Henry the First. Robert Fitzwalter, who married the heiress of the Valoines' family, claimed the possession of this Castle in her right, at the time that King Stephen was seizing the Barons' castles into his own hands. Notwithstanding this claim, it was given to Richard de Montfichet, together with the Forestship of Essex; and was afterwards purchased, with that office, by King John, for 100 marks, in the second of his reign. The following year Robert Fitzwalter was again in possession; but he was once more disseized, and the custody of the Castle was committed by the King to Walter de Godarvil, Knt. a retainer of Falcasius de Brent. This Governor bravely defended the Castle against Lewis, the Dauphin of France, and the confederated Barons, during a siege of nearly four weeks; but at length surrendered on honorable terms; the goods, horses, and arms, of the besieged, being allowed to continue their own. After the surrender, Robert Fitzwalter claimed the restoration of the Castle to himself, but was refused by the Dauphin, who told him, that, 'the English had betrayed their King, and were, therefore, unfit to be trusted.' This answer, conjoined with the general insolent conduct of Lewis to the Barons, plainly intimated that his own intentions were to profit by the existing differences, and, in the end, obliged him, by the re-action it occasioned, to abandon his enterprize, and leave the kingdom. From this period, to the reign of Edward the Third, various governors were successively appointed; and, in the fifth of that Sovereign, it was determined, on an inquisition, that 'The Castle and Borough of Hertford were held of the King *in capite*.' The King had also the right of appointing the Porter of the Castle, whose salary was rated at twopence per day.

In the year 1345, Edward created John of Gaunt, his fourth son, Earl of Richmond, and granted him the Honor, Castle, and Town of Hertford, as a place where he might be 'lodged and accommodated in a manner suitable to his dignity.' While the Castle was in his possession, it was the occasional residence of John,

King of France, who having been made prisoner by Edward, the Black Prince, at the battle of Poitiers, was brought to England, where the lingering years of his captivity were softened by every attention that the generous victors could bestow. David, King of Scots, was also a prisoner here about the same period: and here, in the year 1362, died Joan, his Queen, sister to Edward the Third.

Henry, Duke of Lancaster, son of John of Gaunt, kept his court in Hertford Castle at the time of Richard the Second's deposition; and after he had himself assumed the reins of empire, he settled the Castle and town on Joan de Navarre, his Queen, for her life; and she continued to possess them till the seventh of Henry the Fifth, when being charged with conspiring to effect the King's death by sorcery, all her estates and honors were forfeited. The Honour of Hertford was next bestowed on the Lady Catherine of France, whom the King married. Henry the Sixth kept his Easter in the Castle in his seventh year: and the Honour was afterwards settled on his Queen, Margaret of Anjou.

In the reign of Richard the Third, Henry, Duke of Buckingham, claimed the Honour of Hertford, in right of descent from Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hertford; and the King admitted his claim; but the Duke was beheaded before he was secured in the possession. Henry the Seventh was the next owner, as heir to the house of Lancaster; and, in his reign, an act was passed by the Parliament, ordaining, that measures and weights of brass should be kept at Hertford, as standards for the whole county. Henry the Eighth caused a particular survey of the state of the Castle to be taken, with the intent, as imagined, of residing here; but it is not known that he ever did. In the twenty-fifth of Elizabeth, the Michaelmas term was adjourned from London to Hertford, on account of the *Plague* that was raging in the Metropolis, and all the courts were kept in the Castle: this was also the case, and from a similar cause, in the thirty-fourth, and thirty-fifth, of the same reign. The Queen occasionally resided here; and in this has probably originated the traditional tale of her imprisonment in the Castle;

Castle; and a small chamber, in the highest tower, is now pointed out as the scene of her captivity.

About the seventeenth of James the First, all the honours, lands and revenues of the Crown, at Hertford, except what arose from the mills, were, by the King, settled in trustees for the use of Prince Charles: and after the latter had ascended the Throne, in his sixth year, he granted the Manor and Castle of Hertford, to William, Earl of Salisbury, whose descendant, the present Marquis of Salisbury, is now owner of the manor. The Castle was leased by Earl William, for a term of years, under a reserved annual rent of ten shillings, to Sir William Harrington, Knt. In the same reign it was assigned to Sir William Cowper, Bart. who was a zealous supporter of the Royal cause, and was imprisoned, by the Parliament, in Ely House, London, with John, his eldest son. The latter died in confinement: but Sir William survived the troubles, and passed the residue of his days in an honorable retirement at the Castle. He bequeathed it to his fifth son, Spencer Cowper, Esq. who sold it to Edward Cox, of Cheshunt; and he having made various reparations, resold it to the Cowpers; since which it has had various possessors, and has lately been hired by the East India Company, for the purpose of establishing a COLLEGE, for the education of youth destined to fill the various offices in the civil departments in India.*

* The entire plan for the government of the COLLEGE is not yet arranged, (April 16,) but is expected to be so in the course of the present month. A 'Preliminary View' of the establishment has, however, been made public; and as the details thus promulgated, are evidently those on which the final arrangement will be formed, the general outline is here given.

The great change that has taken place in the affairs of the East India Company, within the last thirty or forty years, occasioned by the increase of power that has followed the extension of empire, has rendered it an object of the utmost consequence, "to provide a supply of persons duly qualified to discharge the various and important duties required from the civil servants of the Company, in administering the government of India." Those who formerly acted in the capacity of factors and

Very few remains of the original CASTLE are now standing, and those are principally confined to the outer walls, which show parts of one round, and some angular towers. The present body of the Castle is chiefly of brick-work, and apparently of the time of James, or Charles the First, except the high tower, that has been mentioned,

and merchants, are now called upon to administer, throughout their respective districts, an extensive system of finance; and to fill the important offices of magistrates, ambassadors, and provincial governors. "The education of those destined to fill these offices, should certainly be founded on the firm basis of learning and science; on a knowledge of the principles of ethics and civil jurisprudence; of general history and the laws of nations: to this should be added a more particular acquaintance with the language, history, and manners, of those nations among which they are to exercise their respective functions. The cultivation and improvement of their intellectual powers should be accompanied with such a course of moral discipline, as may tend to excite and confirm in them, habits of application, prudence, integrity, and justice; and to render this system of education fully efficient, it is essential that it be inculcated and enforced under the sanction and influence of the Christian Religion." Upon these principles, which "may reasonably be expected, under the favor of Providence, to be productive of a benign and enlightened policy towards the native subjects of India, to improve their native condition, and to diffuse the happy influences of Christianity throughout the Eastern World," the establishment at Hertford is formed.

The plan of this establishment comprehends two institutions: "a School, into which boys may be admitted at an early age; and a College, for the reception of students at the age of fifteen, to remain till they are eighteen, or till they are sent by the Court of Directors to their respective destinations. In the School, the pupils will be taught the elements of general learning, and such other accomplishments as are the usual objects of instruction in the larger seminaries of this country. Especial attention will be paid also to such parts of education as may serve to qualify them for public business, and for the higher departments of commercial life. In the College, the students will be instructed by courses of lectures, upon a plan similar to that adopted in the Universities; and as it is designed that the School shall be introductory to the College, those who shall have passed through both institutions, will

tioned, and which is more ancient, and commands, from the leads, an extensive prospect over the adjacent country. The apartments are mostly small, but neat, and convenient; the whole interior having been recently fitted up for the purposes of the College. Beneath are some strong vaults, and a subterraneous passage, re-

 puted

will enjoy the advantage of a uniform education, began in early youth, and continued to their departure for the duties of their public stations.

The students will also be furnished with the means of instruction in the elements of Oriental literature: for this purpose they will not only be taught the rudiments of the Asiatic languages, more especially the Arabic and Persian, but also be made acquainted with the history, customs and manners of the different nations of the East: and as the study of law, and political economy, is to form an essential part in the general system of education, it will be required, that, in the lectures upon these subjects, particular attention be given to the explanation of the political and commercial relations subsisting between India and Great Britain. It is not expected, however, that any very great portion of time can be allotted to the acquiring a knowledge of the *several* languages of the East; but it is presumed that the main object in this respect will be attained, if the students be well grounded in the rudiments of the *two* languages before specified; and that, on their leaving the College, such instructions be communicated, as may enable them to prosecute their Oriental studies during their passage to India."

The College is to be under the direction and authority of a principal, and several professors in the sciences of mathematics, and natural philosophy; humanity, and philology; history, and political economy; general policy, and the laws of England; and Oriental literature. A teacher of the French language, drawing and fencing masters, and other proper instructors, will also be attached to the College.

Besides the general superintendence of the College and School in their respective departments, "it will be the office of the principal, more especially, to watch over the moral and religious conduct of the students; to instruct them in the principles of ethics and natural theology, and in the evidences, doctrines and duties of revealed religion. Whilst in this respect, he is considered as discharging the duty of a professor in divinity, so, in the ordinary exercise of his clerical function, he will be required, in conjunction with such professors as are in holy orders, to preach in the College Chapel; and at the stated seasons, to perform the solemn rights of the established Church." The

puted to extend a considerable distance towards the east. The walls have been surrounded by a deep moat, supplied with water from the Lea, which flows under the north side. The inclosed area has been converted into gardens. Numerous

The lectures in *Oriental Literature* are to illustrate the history, manners and customs of the people of India; and to convey practical instruction in the rudiments of the Oriental languages, but more especially of Arabic and Persian.

The *Mathematical* lectures will be made entirely subservient to the purposes of natural philosophy; yet, while the more abstruse parts of pure mathematics will be excluded, as altogether inconsistent with the object of the institution, a course of practical instruction will be given on the elements of Euclid, algebra, and trigonometry; on the most useful properties of the conic sections, the nature of logarithms, and the principles of fluxions.

The lectures on *Natural Philosophy* will elucidate the sciences of mechanics, hydrostatics, optics, and astronomy; and will be illustrated by occasional experiments. In these lectures, the chief attention will be directed to the arts and objects of common life; and, to render them more extensively useful, as soon as a proper collection of specimens shall be procured, the students will receive some elementary instructions in chemistry, mineralogy, and natural history.

In the lectures on *Classical and General Literature*, the ancient writers of Rome and Greece, and more particularly the historians and orators, will be practically illustrated; the arts of reasoning and composition will be taught, with such other subjects as are understood by the term *Belles Lettres;* and peculiar care will be taken to make the students perfectly acquainted with the English language, and with the merits of its most approved writers; to which end, they will be exercised in every species of composition appropriate to their future occupations.

The lectures on *Law*, *History*, and *Political Economy*, will elucidate the principles of those branches of learning. Besides a course on general history, the particular history and statistics of the modern nations of Europe will be distinctly treated on; as well as the principles of general polity, of the laws of England, and of the British constitution.

The College year is to be divided into two terms, each consisting of twenty weeks; and the first of which commenced on Monday, the third of February. The former term in each year will begin on the second

Numerous privileges and immunities have been granted to Hertford, by various Sovereigns, since the time of the Conqueror, who first incorporated the borough by charter. The civil government was originally vested in a chief Bailiff, an under Bailiff, and other officers; but this form, after being altered at various times, was abrogated by James the First, and the jurisdiction committed to a Mayor and Common Council. Charles the Second, by Letters Patent, dated in 1680, vested the Corporation in a Mayor, Re-

 corder,

cond of February, and end on the nineteenth of June: the latter will begin on the first of August, and end on the twenty-first of December. In the last week of the second term of each year, *Public* examinations of all the students will be holden by the professors in the different departments of literature and science, under the superintendence of the principal; and, at the conclusion of the examinations, the principal and professors will, at a general meeting, arrange the students in four separate lists, according to their respective merits. A copy of these lists will be transmitted to the Honorable Court of Directors, for insertion in the public records of the Company; and on this occasion, the Chairman, the Deputy Chairman, the College Committee, and such other of the Directors as may think proper, will attend to distribute prizes and medals to the most deserving of the students. The moral and religious discipline of the College will be regulated by a code of ordinances, approved by the Court of Directors, and subject to such improvements as time and experience may suggest.

The compensation to be made to the Company by the students of the College, at the commencement of each term, is fifty guineas; for which they will be supplied with every requisite accommodation during that term; a few articles excepted of private convenience. The annual sum to be paid to the Master of the School is seventy guineas; which, without any additional charge, will include, besides the usual course of classical instruction, the French language, writing, arithmetic, mathematics, drawing, and dancing.

The College will be exclusively appropriated to the reception of the students designed for the civil service of the Company abroad, but the School will be open to the public at large.—A model and designs for a new COLLEGE, to be erected at Hertford, of a quadrangular form, have been very recently approved of by the Court of Directors; and the building will be commenced immediately.

corder, ten Aldermen, a Chamberlain, sixteen Assistants, and other officers; and under this charter the Borough is now governed.

The earliest return of members to Parliament from Hertford, was in the twenty-sixth of Edward the First; but, after the fiftieth year of Edward the Third, no return appears to have been made till the twenty-first of James the First, when the right of sending was restored on a petition from the Corporation. It is probable, however, that a precept, or writ, had been issued in the intermediate time, as the Burgesses solicited to be excused returning members, on account of poverty, in the time of Henry the Fifth. The right of election is vested in the inhabitant householders, resident freemen, &c. The number of voters is about 580. The Burgesses were formerly obliged to furnish one man completely armed, to attend the King in any warlike expedition.

Hertford had formerly five CHURCHES; four parochial, and one belonging to the Priory; but only two are now standing: these are respectively dedicated to All Saints, and to St. Andrew. *All Saints*, the principal Church, is a large edifice, standing in the south-east part of the town, and consisting of a nave, chancel, and side aisles, with a low tower and spire. At the west end is a large gallery for the use of the younger children belonging to Christ's Hospital, who are brought up in this town till vacations occur in the School at London. The monuments are numerous: one of the most ancient is a slab at the east end of the south aisle, on which has been a male figure, inlaid, of brass; but only the feet are now left: beneath is this inscription:

Icy gyst maistre Jehu Hunger escuyer iadiz Maistre Queux de la Royne Katherine lequel trespassa le xme. io' d'octobre. l'an de gce m^{l}. cccc. xxxv. dont dieux ait l'ame.*

Among the more modern inscriptions, is a very long one in the chancel, in memory of SIR JOHN HARRISON, Knt. of Balls, in this

* *Here lies John Hunger, Esq. formerly Master Cook to Queen Catherine, who died on the tenth of October, in the year of Grace*, 1435, *&c.* This Queen appears to have been a frequent resident at Hertford, as others of her servants lie buried in this Church.

this parish, who was a Commissioner and Farmer of the Customs in the reigns of Charles the First, and Second: he died in his eightieth year, in September, 1669. Several of the *Dunsters*, of Jenningsbury, were also buried here; as well as of many other respectable families. In *St. Andrew's* Church, which stands on the north side of the Lea, are likewise many Sepulchral memorials for different families.

The PRIORY, which stood in the east part of the town, and on the site of which a good modern house has been erected, was founded for Monks of the Benedictine Order, by Ralph de Limesey, who had lands in this town granted him by the Conqueror. It was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and made subordinate to St. Alban's Abbey; to which it continued attached till the Suppression, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, when its revenues were, according to Dugdale, estimated at 72l. 14s. 2d. annually; but Speed records them at 86l. 14s. 8d. Henry, in his twenty-ninth year, granted the Priory, with all its appurtenances, to Sir Anthony Denny, his wife, Joan Champernoun, and their heirs; since which it has passed through various families, both by descent and purchase. Ralph de Limesey, the founder of this Priory, and said to have been nephew to the Conqueror, became, in his latter years, a Monk on his own establishment, and was buried in the Priory Church. Here also was interred *Robert Sadington*, a Justice Itinerant in the reign of Henry the Third, and highly favored by that King: he died at Hertford while on a journey, in the year 1257. Tanner mentions another religious house in this town for FRIARS, and 'called *Le Trinitye:*' this was subordinate to Mottenden, in Kent; and at the Suppression, was granted to the above Sir Anthony Denny.

Hertford is a very healthy, respectable, and improving town: the *Sessions*, and *Market-House*, and *Town-Hall*, were re-built between thirty and forty years ago, and are handsome brick edifices. The *Blue Coat School*, or that connected with Christ's Hospital, is a large building at the east end of the town, forming three sides of a quadrangle: it contains sufficient accommodations for upwards 500 children; and about that number are now resi-

dent. In this town is also a good *Grammar School*, originally founded and endowed by Richard Hale, Esq. of King's Walden, in the time of James the First. Since that period, the School has been re-built, and the endowments increased by various benefactors. Among other donations, Bernard Hale, Esq. gave 100l. per annum, for establishing seven scholarships at Peter House, Cambridge, for boys educated on this foundation. The number of inhabitants in the four parishes of Hertford, and in the Blue Coat School district, as returned under the Act of 1800, amounted to 3360; of whom 1762 were males, and 1598 females: the number of houses was 542.

Among the many elegant seats in the neighbourhood of Hertford, is BALLS, the property of the Marquis Townshend, to whom it was bequeathed by Etheldreda, daughter and heiress of Edward Harrison, Esq. who married Charles, Lord Viscount Townshend, grandfather to the present Marquis, who was the younger son of George, the issue of this marriage. The House stands in a very pleasant Park, and commands an extensive view over the surrounding country: it was built in the time of Charles the First, by Sir John Harrison, Knt. who lies buried in All Saints Church, and who purchased this estate from the *Willis's*. Balls gave name to an ancient family, of whom Simon de Balle was a representative for Hertford in the time of Edward the First.

BRICKENDEN BURY, which adjoins Balls on the south, is the pleasant seat of —— Morgan, Esq. and is situated in a large Park, well furnished with wood and water. This estate has had various possessors since the era of the Dissolution, at which time it belonged to the Abbey at Waltham, in Essex, to which foundation it had been granted or confirmed by Edward the Confessor. The Abbots had liberty of free-warren, with the privileges of fishing in the Lea, and making what pools they pleased within the circuit of the manor.

BAYFORD, which had been held by Earl Tosti in the reign of Edward the Confessor, was, after the Conquest, granted to Peter de Valoines, from whose family it came into the possession of the Crown, and, in the time of Edward the Third, was held of the King

King *in capite*, by William de Scrope. In the reign of Edward the Sixth, it belonged to the *Knightons*, and was conveyed by the marriage of a daughter of Sir George Knighton, who died in 1613, to Sir John Ferrers, who was a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to Queen Elizabeth, James the First, and Charles the First. It was afterwards conveyed to the *Fanshaws*, by the marriage of a grand-daughter of Sir John Ferrers, with Thomas Fanshaw, Esq. son of Sir Thomas, of Ware Park. This gentleman, after the decease of his wife, sold it to John Mayo, Esq. whose son, Israel, was Sheriff of Herts in the year 1668. On the death of the latter, this manor was sold to —— Long, Esq. whose daughter and heiress married Charles Cæsar, Esq. a descendant of Sir Julius Cæsar, and left two daughters, co-heiresses, one of whom was married to Sir Charles Cottrell Dormer, Knt. and the other to Robert Chester, Esq. From this family the Bayford estate was purchased by Sir William Baker, Knt. some time Lord Mayor of London, whose eldest son, William Baker, Esq. one of the representatives for the county of Hertford, is the present possessor. BAYFORD BURY, the residence of this gentleman, does not stand on the site of the ancient Manor-house, but is a modern building, at a little distance from the village of Bayford. The Park is extensive, and the situation of the Mansion high and commanding.

Bayford *Church* is dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and contains several monuments and inscriptions for the Lords of the Manor, since the time of Elizabeth. Against the north wall is the monument of SIR GEORGE KNIGHTON, Knt. who is represented by a recumbent figure of a Knight in armour: he died in November, 1613, at the age of seventy-six: his arms are barry of eight, argent and azure, and on a canton, Or, a tun, or barrel, gules, in allusion to the family name.

HERTINGFORDBURY PARK was an appurtenance to the Castle of Hertford, and appears to have been conveyed, by William, Earl of Salisbury, to Sir William Harrington, who sold it to the *Keightlys*, from whom it was purchased by John Culling, Esq. The heirs of Elizabeth, his daughter, conveyed it to Spencer Cow-

per, Esq. Chief Justice of Chester, from whose family it has been purchased by the *Bakers*, of Bayford Bury.

The Manor of HERTINGFORDBURY was granted by the Conqueror to Peter de Valoines, of whose female descendant, Elizabeth Comyns, and Sir Richard (afterwards Lord) Talbot, her husband, of Gooderich Castle, in Herefordshire, it was purchased by Edward the Third; and, after being possessed by the Greys, of Wilton, was by that Sovereign annexed to the Duchy of Lancaster. Charles the First granted it, with the Manor of Hertford, to the Earl of Salisbury, who sold it to Christopher Vernon, Esq. Comptroller of the Pipe Office, in the Exchequer, of the family of the Vernons, of Haddon, in Derbyshire. His grandson sold it to James Selby, Esq. from whose family it was purchased by William, first Earl Cowper, in whose descendants it yet continues.

The village of Hertingfordbury is very pleasant, and contains some good houses, one of which, formerly the property of the Hughes family, was purchased of Lady Hughes, the widow of the gallant Admiral of that name, by an Earl Cowper, some years ago. In the *Church*, which is dedicated to St. Mary, are various memorials of respectable families; and among them a noble cenotaph in memory of WILLIAM, second Earl Cowper, son of the Lord Chancellor Cowper, who died in 1764. The first Earl Cowper was buried here in 1723; as was the third Earl, who died in December, 1789; and the fourth and late Earl, in the year 1799. Here is also a monument in memory of Spencer Cowper, Esq. brother of the first Earl Cowper, who was appointed Chief Justice of Chester in 1717; Attorney General of the Duchy of Lancaster in 1727; and soon afterwards a Sergeant at law, and a Justice of the Court of Common Pleas: he died in the year 1728.

BRANTFIELD, or BRANDFIELD, was given by the Conqueror to Hardwyn D'Escalers, who granted it to the Abbey of St. Alban, to which it was afterwards confirmed by Henry the First. The famous *Thomas a Becket*, Archbishop of Canterbury in the time of Henry the Second, is recorded, by Matthew Paris, to have had this benefice as his first Church preferment; and a small pond near the Rectory is still called after his name. After the Dissolution, the

the manor was possessed by several families, till, in the reign of Elizabeth, it was sold to Henry Boteler, whose son, Sir John Boteler, of Hatfield Wood-Hall, Knt. was created Baron Boteler, of Brantfield, in the fourth of Charles the First. William, second Lord Boteler, left several sisters his co-heiresses; Audry, the eldest of whom, married first to Sir Francis Anderson, Knt. and secondly, to Francis Lee, Earl of Chichester. By the latter, she had two daughters, co-heiresses; Mary, the youngest of whom, married George Villiers, third Lord Viscount Grandison, of Ireland, who purchased the remaining interest in this estate, and, together with his Lady, lies buried in Brantfield Church. On the death of John, fourth Lord Viscount Grandison, in 1766, the estate devolved upon Elizabeth, his only surviving daughter, and wife of Aland John Mason, Esq. This Lady, who was created Countess of Grandison in the same year, died in 1782; and was succeeded by her only surviving son, George Mason Villiers, Earl and Viscount Grandison, who died possessed of this estate in 1800, leaving an only daughter and heiress, the Lady Gertrude Emilia, who, in the year 1802, was married to Lord Henry Stuart, third son of the Marquis of Bute, the present owner. BRANTFIELD PLACE is a small but pleasant retirement.

PANSHANGER, the delightful residence of Peter Leopold Lewis Francis Cowper, Earl Cowper, and Viscount Fordwich, has only become the family residence of late years, the more ancient seat being COLN GREEN, at a little distance to the south-west. The House at Coln Green, which has been taken down since the decease of the fourth Earl Cowper, in 1799, was built by William, the first Earl, who was advanced to that dignity by George the First, in March, 1718; after being created Lord Cowper, Baron Cowper, of Wingham, in Kent, in December, 1706, by Queen Anne, and appointed Lord Chancellor in the following year. The situation of Panshanger is extremely fine: the House has been recently improved and enlarged; and the grounds, though small, are pleasant, being animated by the vicinity of the Maran River, which flows on the south-west side. Among the oaks is one which has been named the *Great Oak* for upwards of a century: it is now a very

very healthy and luxuriant tree, and measures seventeen feet in girth, at about five feet from the ground: the lowermost branches issue at about the height of twelve feet. The *Cowpers* have very largely increased their possessions in this county of late years.

TEWING, or TEWIN, was anciently parcel of the lands belonging to St. Alban's Abbey, from which it appears to have been dissevered by the Conqueror, as Peter de Valoines obtained possession, by claiming it under a grant from that Sovereign. It afterwards gave name to the family of Tywinge; but, about the time of Henry the Third, it appears to have been given to the Canons of St. Bartholomew, in London; and, after the Dissolution, was granted, by Henry the Eighth, to John Cock, Esq. of Broxbourn, with all its rights and privileges, as possessed by the Priory of St. Bartholomew. Frances, elder daughter and co-heiress of his son Henry, sold the manor to Richard Hale, Esq. in Queen Elizabeth's time; and his younger son, to whom he had given it, again sold it to William Cecil, Earl of Salisbury. He settled the estate on William, his third son, of whose grandson, also named William, it was purchased by James Fleet, Esq. son of Sir John Fleet, Lord Mayor of London. He died in 1733, and bequeathed it to his widow for her life. She soon afterwards married Joseph Sabine, Esq. a distinguished General Officer under the Duke of Marlborough, and who was afterwards killed at the Battle of Fontenoy. Being thus again left a widow, she married, thirdly, in 1739, Charles, eighth Lord Cathcart, who died the following year. Her fourth and last husband, was Lieutenant Colonel Hugh Macguire, whom she survived; but, during the greater part of the time from the period of her marriage to him, to that of his death, he kept her in obscure and severe confinement, in a remote part of Ireland.* She died at the age of ninety-eight, in August, 1789, and

* In the novel of Castle Rackrent, written by Maria Edgeworth, and edited by her brother R. Edgeworth, Esq. the following particulars, concerning the conjugal imprisonment of Lady Cathcart, are given in a note (p. 47, 49,) by that gentleman; who mentions that he was himself

and was buried in Tewing Church; but the reversion of the Manor was sold, about ten years before her death, by the representatives of Mr. Fleet, the purchaser, to William, third Earl Cowper, whose descendant, the present Earl, is now owner.

TEWING HOUSE was re-built in a magnificent manner, by General Sabine, who embellished it with paintings of the Battles of the Duke of Marlborough; and lies buried in the Church-Yard of Tewing, where a noble marble monument was erected to his memory; which becoming greatly damaged by the weather, and ill-usage, has been since mostly removed into the Church. Joseph Sabine,

self acquainted with Colonel M'Guire, and had lately questioned the maid-servant, who lived with the Colonel during Lady Cathcart's confinement. "Her Ladyship was locked up in her own house for many years; during which period her husband was visited by the neighbouring gentry; and it was his regular custom at dinner, to send his compliments to Lady Cathcart, informing her, that the company had the honor to drink her Ladyship's health, and begging to know whether there was any thing at table that she would like to eat. The answer was always—'Lady Cathcart's compliments, and she has every thing she wants.'—At Colonel M'Guire's death, her Ladyship was released. When she was first told of her husband's death, she imagined that the news was not true, and that it was told only with an intention of deceiving her. At that period, she had scarcely clothes sufficient to cover her; she wore a red wig, looked scared, and her understanding seemed stupified. She said that she scarcely knew one creature from another. Her imprisonment lasted above twenty years.—An instance of honesty in a poor Irishwoman, deserves to be recorded. Lady Cathcart had some remarkably fine diamonds, which she had concealed from her husband, and which she was anxious to get out of the house, lest he should discover them. She had neither servant nor friend to whom she could entrust them; but having observed a poor beggar woman, who used to come to the house, she spoke to her from the window of the room in which she was confined, and obtaining her promise to do what she desired, she threw a parcel containing the jewels to her. The poor woman carried them to the person to whom they were directed; and several years afterwards, when Lady Cathcart recovered her liberty, she received her diamonds safely."

Sabine, Esq. grandson to the General, sold this mansion and estate to Robert Mackay, Esq. and he disposed of them to Charles Schrieber, some time an eminent and wealthy furrier. Since his death, in 1800, his son has disposed of them to Earl Cowper, the present possessor. The ancient *Manor House* of Tewing stands at the bottom of a hill, on the north side of the Maran River, and about 300 yards south-west from the Church: it is now inhabited by a farmer. On the site of the Mansion of the Fleet family, at TEWING WATER, has been erected a new and handsome house, by Henry Cowper, Esq. Clerk of the House of Lords. The grounds and scenery are very pleasant. MARDEN, another beautiful seat in Tewing Parish, was, in the beginning of the last century, possessed by Richard Warren, Esq. some time Sheriff of Herts. whose grandson sold it to Robert Mackay, Esq. This gentleman pulled down the ancient Mansion, and erected a handsome edifice at a little distance, which, with the estate, belongs to the present Earl Cowper.

DIGSWELL, called *Dicheleswelle* in the Domesday Book, was, in the time of Edward the First, the property of Lawrence de St. Nicholas, who, in answer to a writ of *quo warranto*, produced a grant from Henry the Third, of a weekly market, and a ten days annual fair, for this Manor. In the reign of Richard the Second, it belonged to the *Perients*, of whom John Perient was Squire of the Body, and Penon-bearer to that Sovereign; and, in the next reign, Master of the Horse to Joan of Navarre, second wife to Henry the Fourth. His descendant, Thomas Perient, Esq. who was Sheriff of Essex and Herts in the twenty-seventh of Henry the Eighth, left four daughters, co-heiressses, by Mary, the eldest of whom, married to George Horsey, Esq. this Manor was conveyed into his family; and was afterwards sold by his son Ralph, to George Perient, Esq. a descendant of its former owners. He was Sheriff of this county in the second of James the First; and sold Digswell to Richard Sedley, Esq. who was also Sheriff of Herts. in the twenty-second of the same King. William, his son and heir, again sold it to Humphrey Shalcross, Esq. who was Sheriff in the sixth of Charles the Second; and from his family it was conveyed

conveyed in marriage, by an heir-female, to Richard Willis, Esq. who dying in 1781, it descended to his daughter, by whom the estate has been sold to the present Earl Cowper. The *Manor House* is an ancient building, and has been let to various tenants.

The *Church* at Digswell is dedicated to St. John the Evangelist, and contains some fine *Brasses* in memory of the Perients. On a slab in the chancel, are those of JOHN PERIENT, and his *Lady*, who are represented by large figures: the former as a Knight, "in a pointed helmet, adorned with engrailed facings, and having plated armour, with roundels at the shoulders and elbows: a kind of collar or belt is round his neck; a long strait sword, without a cross-bar, at his left side; a dagger at his right; and at his feet a leopard couchant. His Lady, at his right hand, is in a singular triangular head-dress, the curls coming down in a point to her neck; and at the top a wreathed fillet: she has slender arms, the wrist-bands studded, and wears a mantle: at her left foot is a dead hedge-hog."* The inscription round the verge of the slab is now mutilated, but has been given as follows by Weever:

> Hic jacent Johannes Perient, Armiger pro corpore Regis Richardi Secundi. et Penetarius eiusdem Regis: et Armiger Regis Henrici Quarti; et Armiger etiam Regis Henrici Quinti; et Magister Equitum Johanne filiae Regis Navarr, et Reginae Angliae qui obiit -- — — — et Johanna uxor eius. quondam capitalis Domicilla — — — que obijt xxiiij Aprilis. Ann. Dni. M. cccc. xv.

The Manor of WELWYN has, with little intermission, been an appendage to its Rectory from the time of Edward the Confessor, who granted it to the Presbyter, as appears from the Domesday Book, where its name is written *Welge*. The advowson is possessed by the College of All Souls, Oxford, which, in the year 1730, presented to the Rectory, the REV. DR. YOUNG, author of the *Night Thoughts*, who retained it till the time of his death, in April, 1765. That very original, but melancholy poem, was prin-

 cipally

* Sepulchral Monuments, Vol. II. Where also is an engraving of these figures.

cipally composed here, as well as various others of his pieces; and this also was the scene of his death. He was buried in the chancel of Welwyn Church, near the body of his lamented wife, the *Lady Elizabeth Lee*, who died in the year 1741. Frederick, their only son, concerning whom Rumour was once so busy, and has so falsely characterized, erected a monument over the remains of his parents, with this inscription:

M. S.
Optimi parentes
EDWARDI YOUNG, LL. D.
Hujus Ecclesiæ Rect.
Et ELIZABETHÆ,
Fœm. prænob.
Conjugis ejus amantissimæ
Pio et gratissimo animo
Hoc marmor posuit
F. Y.
*Filius superstes.**

Welwyn is traditionally said to have been the place where the massacre of the Danes began on Hock Tuesday. MARDLEY BURY, a subordinate Manor in this Parish, was formerly held by the rent of a *July Clove-flower*. LOCKLEYS, another Manor in Welwyn, was anciently possessed by the *Perients;* but is now, or was lately, the seat of George Gardner, Esq. The Mansion is pleasantly situated, at a short distance from the Maran River, on the east side. According to the late returns, the Parish of Welwyn contains 168 houses, and 1015 inhabitants.

BROCKET HALL, so named from the ancient family of the *Brockets,* was conveyed in marriage by Mary, youngest daughter and co-heiress of Sir John Brocket, Knt. who died in October, 1598, to Thomas Read, Esq. of Barton, in Berkshire. His grandson, Sir James Read, Bart. left two daughters, co-heiresses: Love, the

* A brief sketch of the life of Young has been already inserted under the description of Upham, in Hampshire, the place of his birth: Vol. VI. 293, 4.

the youngest, married Mr. Secretary Winnington, from whose family the manor was purchased by Sir Matthew Lambe, Bart. father of Lord Viscount Melbourne, the present owner. The site of the ancient Manor-house is now occupied by a handsome dwelling, commenced from the designs of Mr. James Paine, by the late Sir Matthew Lambe, and completed by Lord Viscount Melbourne. The apartments are elegantly fitted up, and are decorated with many fine paintings by the first masters. The Park and grounds are very beautiful; and the scenery is much enriched by the river Lea, which flows through the Park, and has been formed into a spacious sheet of water, over which is a handsome bridge, built also by Mr. Paine, the architect.* Lady Melbourne directs a considerable share of attention to improvements in agriculture; and has two farms on different kinds of soil, where experiments are frequently made as to the most beneficial modes of culture: on one of these, the system of drill husbandry, on the principles of the celebrated Ducket, has been introduced.

HATFIELD WOOD-HALL was the property of the ancient family of the *Basingbourns,* as early as the reign of Edward the First, in whose name it continued till about the time of Queen Mary, when it passed, on a partition between the two daughters and co-heiresses of John de Basingbourn, to Audrey, the eldest, married to Thomas Gaudy, Sergeant at law. He sold it to Sir John Boteler, Knt. in whose family it continued till the death of Sir Francis Boteler, in 1690, when it devolved on his daughters and co-heiresses. Julia, the eldest, married Francis Shalcross, Esq. of Digswell; but dying without surviving issue, bequeathed the manor to her sister Isabella, married to Charles Hutchinson, Esq. from whom it came in course of descent to the Rev. Julius Hutchinson, Clerk, who sold it a few years ago to the present Marquis of Salisbury. The Manor-House has been since pulled down.

* In Paine's Views, Plans, &c. is a plate of this Bridge, together with elevations and plans of Brocket Hall.

HATFIELD, OR BISHOPS' HATFIELD,*

CALLED *Haethfeld* in the Saxon times, from its situation on a heath, was ancient demesne of the Saxon Kings, till it was granted by Edgar, in the tenth century, to the Abbey at Ely, in Cambridgeshire. On the conversion of that foundation into a bishopric, in the reign of Henry the First, it became attached to the new See; and the Manor-House becoming a *Palace* of the Bishops, the town was thenceforth distinguished by the appellation of Bishops' Hatfield. Queen Elizabeth, who had resided in the Bishop's Palace some years before she came to the Crown, greatly admired the situation; and by virtue of the statute which gave her the power of exchange, procured the alienation of this manor from the then Bishop of Ely, Richard Cox. James the First, in the third year of his reign, exchanged it for the house, manor, and park of Theobalds,† with his Minister, Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury; whose descendant, the Marquis of Salisbury, is the present owner.

The *Church* is a handsome fabric, dedicated to St. Etheldreda, and consisting of a nave, chancel, aisles, and embattled tower, with a Chapel, or Burial-place, of the Earls of Salisbury, on the north side of the chancel. This Chapel was erected by ROBERT CECIL, first Earl of Salisbury of that surname, but contains neither monumental inscription, nor other memorial, for any of the family, except the founder. His monument is curious: it represents the Earl in his robes, lying on a slab of black marble, which is supported by figures, in white marble, of the Cardinal Virtues, kneeling, in virgin habits, and with their proper attributes. Beneath, on another slab of black marble, the Earl is represented as a skeleton, lying on a well-sculptured mat, in white marble. The Earl

* This town has frequently had the honor of being recorded as the place where a Synod was held in the year 680; and also as the birthplace of William de Hatfield, second son of Edward the Third: but the real scene of both those transactions was Hatfield, in Yorkshire.

† See description of Theobalds, p. 239.

Engraved by W. Hogg from a drawing by G. Shepherd.

HATFIELD HOUSE,
Seat of the Marquess of Salisbury
Hertfordshire

Earl died at Marlborough, in May, 1612, in his fiftieth year, and was buried at Hatfield, agreeably to the directions of his will.

On the south side of the chancel, is the Chapel of the Lords of the Manor of Ponsburne, and in this are several monuments of the Brockets and Reads, of Brocket Hall. One of them is in memory of SIR JOHN BROCKET, Knt. who died in 1598; and near it is another, in commemoration of his two ladies, *Helen* and *Elizabeth*; both of whose effigies are lying on the tomb, one above the other. In the chancel lies buried SIR FRANCIS BOTELER, Knt. of Watton Wood-Hall, with others of his family. Various charitable benefactions have been made for the poor of this town: and here are several small *Alms-Houses*. The population of Hatfield, as returned under the late Act, amounted to 2442; the number of houses to 482.

HATFIELD HOUSE, the principal residence of James Cecil, Marquis of Salisbury, and Viscount Cranbourn, occupies a beautiful situation in a finely diversified park, watered on the north side by the river Lea, and including an area of several miles in circumference. This mansion is of brick, and of vast extent: it was erected by Robert Cecil, first Earl of Salisbury, between the years 1605, when the manor came into his possession by exchange with King James, and 1611; the latter date appearing in front of a lofty tower, which rises near the centre of the building. Its form is that of an half H: many improvements have been made here of late years, particularly by the last Earl, who restored the ancient magnificence of this venerable edifice, which had been suffered to fall into decay, and again rendered it an habitation worthy of the Cecils. Many of the apartments are very large; and most of them are decorated with pictures of considerable merit and curiosity. The following are among the most valuable.

The LORD TREASURER BURLEIGH, and his son, ROBERT CECIL, the first Earl; both of whom are depicted in their robes, with white wands.

WILLIAM, second Earl of Salisbury; represented in black, with long hair; wearing the George, a star on his cloak, and near him a dog; Sir Peter Lely.

LORD VISCOUNT CRANBOURN, son of the above; Sir Peter Lely.

JAMES, the third Earl of Salisbury; a full length, in his robes; Sir Peter Lely.

JAMES, fourth Earl; Sir Godfrey Kneller.

LADY LATIMER; Sir Peter Lely.

ALGERNON, Earl of Northumberland; and the LADY ANNE, his wife, daughter of William, second Earl of Salisbury; half lengths; Vandyck.

QUEEN ELIZABETH; a very curious picture, in which that Princess is depicted in a close-bodied gown, with a long distended gauze veil. On her head is a coronet and aigret; her neck is adorned with a necklace of pearl, and her arms with bracelets. Her hair is yellow, depending in two long tresses; and her face young, and tolerably handsome. The lining of her robe is wrought with eyes and ears; and on her left sleeve is embroidered a serpent: in the other hand is a rainbow, with the adulating motto *non sine sole Iris.*

MARY, Queen of Scots, a whole length on board; with the inscription MARIA D. G. *Scotiæ piissima regina, Franciæ dotaria Anno aetatis regnique* 36. *Anglicæ captivitatis* 10. *S. H.* 1573. The dress consists of a long black mantle, bordered with white lace; at her girdle is a cross and rosary.

ROBERT DUDLEY, Earl of Leicester.

RICHARD THE THIRD, a head.

MARGARET, Countess of Richmond, on board, veiled as a nun; to which her having taken a vow of celibacy, at the age of sixty-four, is considered to have given her a title. This Lady was the noble foundress of the Colleges of Christ and St. John, Cambridge.

LAURA, the far-famed object of the sonnets of Petrarch, with the inscription: *Lauri fui. Viridem Raphael fecit. atque Petrarcha.* She died at Avignon in April, 1348.

HENRY THE SIXTH, a head, on board.

CATHERINE DE CORNARA, Queen of Cyprus.

Among the other pictures is a very singular representation, on board, of HENRY THE EIGHTH, and his Queen ANN BOLEYN,

at

at a country wake, or fair, at some place in Surrey, within sight of the Tower of London. In this piece is a great number and variety of figures, the dress and occupations of which are particularly curious.

The Park and grounds, belonging to this mansion, contain some of the finest timber in the county, oak, elm, ash, &c. and the scenery is very beautiful, the great diversity of the surface, combined with the accompaniments of wood and water, giving birth to many fine picturesque views. Robert, the first Earl, originally laid out two parks here, for red and fallow deer; and in one of them he planted a vineyard, which was in existence at the time that Charles the First was a prisoner at Hatfield: the deer are still numerous.

The Marchioness of Salisbury has particularly exerted herself in the promotion of agriculture; and has a very interesting *Experiment Ground,* including about seventeen acres, well fenced, and crossed by walks, for the convenience of inspecting the crops. This ground was first prepared in the year 1795, and has been chiefly confined to the production of vegetables, lucerne, and coleseed. The air of neatness and liberality which pervades this little establishment excites considerable interest.

The greatness of the Cecils was derived from the consummate talents in state affairs, of William, Lord Burleigh, who, according to the *Fragmenta Regalia* of Sir Robert Naunton, was the son of a "younger brother of the Cecills of Hertfordshire, a family of my own knowledge, though now private, yet of no mean antiquity; who, being exposed and sent to the city, as poor gentlemen used to do their sons, became to be a rich man on London Bridge, and purchased (estates) in Lincolnshire, where this man was born." He first became Secretary to the Protector, Somerset; and, on the accession of Elizabeth, was appointed Secretary of State. His application to public business, and devotion to his country's interests, rendered him a deserved favorite with his Royal mistress; and, in January, 1561, he was made President of the Court of Wards. Two years afterwards, on the twenty-fifth of February, 1570, 1, he was created Lord Burleigh; and he continued to main-

tain his supremacy in state affairs till the termination of his life, in August, 1598.

Robert, the youngest son of Lord Burleigh, was the inheritor of a great portion of his father's wisdom, blended, perhaps, with a more subtle policy, and a superior capacity for state intrigue. During the life of Elizabeth, he maintained a secret correspondence with King James, by whom, in May, 1603, he was advanced to the peerage. In the ensuing year, he was created Viscount Cranbourn; and in the next, made Earl of Salisbury. These honors were not bestowed on an undeserving object: on the accession of James, he had been appointed sole Secretary of State, and the duties of this office he filled with the utmost ability; as he afterwards did those of the Lord Treasurer, to which he was appointed on the death of the Earl of Dorset, in April, 1608. Shrewd, subtle, and penetrating, he neglected not his own interests, while attending to those of his country; and, by various methods, increased his inheritance to a very ample extent. At length, worn out with the cares of business, he lingered a few months, and expired in 1612, greatly to the loss of the nation, in which scarcely a man of equal talents as a statesman could then be found.

William, his only son and successor, was more remarkable for his passion for hawking and hunting, and for a versatility of disposition, which rendered him a willing agent to all the varying measures of his time, than for any superior abilities. He died in December, 1668, at the age of seventy-eight; and was succeeded by James, the third Earl, who was a strenuous supporter of the bill for excluding the Duke of York from the Throne. James, the fourth Earl, was suspected of engaging in a project for restoring James the Second: he died in 1694. James, his great-grandson, the Seventh Earl, who succeeded his father in September, 1780, was created Marquis of Salisbury by his present Majesty, in August, 1789, and is now in possession of the family estates and honours.

CAMFIELD PLACE, or *Wild Hall*, in Essenden Parish, was sold by the Priestley family, its former owners, to Thomas Brown, Esq.

Esq. late Garter King at Arms, whose third son, the Rev. William Brown, cousin-german to Henry Brown, Esq. of North Mims, is now owner.

BROOKMANS, in the Parish of North Mims, was formerly the property of the Great Lord Somers, from whom it passed to the descendants of his eldest sister, who married Charles Cocks, Esq. whose family have been since advanced to the peerage. It now belongs to S. R. Gaussen, Esq. The House is a respectable building, standing in a pleasant Park.

GOBIONS, another estate in North Mims Parish, had its name from the ancient family of Gobion, of whom Sir Richard Gobion, Knt. was seated here in the time of King Stephen. In Henry the Seventh's time, it was the property of Sir John More, father of the illustrious Sir Thomas More, whose family had possessed it for several generations, and who settled it in jointure upon his second wife, of the same name as himself. It was afterwards seized, with the other estates of Sir Thomas More, by Henry the Eighth, and was settled on the Princess Elizabeth, who retained it till her death, after which it was again the property of the Mores; but has since passed through various hands, by purchase and otherwise: it was lately the property of John Hunter, Esq. who acquired considerable affluence in the East Indies, and was a Director of the East India Company. The gardens were formerly celebrated for their splendor in the ancient taste.

NORTH MIMS, anciently the inheritance of the *Magnavilles*, was, in the time of Edward the Third, the property of the celebrated warrior Sir Robert Knolles. It afterwards passed to the *Coningsbys*, by the marriage of a female and co-heiress, and from them, by sale, to Sir Nicholas Hyde, Bart. whose grand-daughter, Bridget, conveyed it in marriage to Peregrine Osborne, Duke of Leeds. Since the death of the late Duke, in 1799, the manor has been sold to Henry Brown, Esq. whose seat, in NORTH MIMS PARK, is a very handsome building, and its situation, and the surrounding scenery, is extremely fine.

The *Church* is dedicated to St. Mary, and consists of a nave, side aisles, and chancel, with an embattled tower at the west end.

Among

Among the monuments is a grand one in the chancel, in memory of JOHN, Lord Somers, "Baron of Evesham, and Lord High Chancellor in the time of William the Third, who died the twentieth of April, 1716," and to whose memory this was erected by Dame Eliza Jekyll. On the north side of the chancel is the Chapel or Burial-place of the *Coningsbys*, whose arms, impaling several other families, are depicted on glass in the windows. Several of the *Botelers*, of Watton Wood-Hall, with whom the Coningsbys intermarried, have memorials here; and several other ancient tombs, in different parts of the Church, have been erected to different families.

TITTENHANGER, or TYTTENHANGER, in the parish of Ridge, was an ancient seat of the Abbots of St. Alban's, who frequently resided here, though their Manor-House was but a mean building, till a new and stately Mansion was founded by Abbot John de la Moote, about the end of the fourteenth century. This was afterwards enlarged, and much adorned, by the munificent Abbot John of Whethamsted, in the time of Henry the Sixth; and it continued to belong to the Abbey till after the Dissolution. Henry the Eighth, in the last year of his reign, anno 1547, granted the manor and estate to Sir Thomas Pope, founder of Trinity College, Oxford, who had been enriched by many grants of the lands of the dissolved Monasteries. He made Tittenhanger his principal residence; and dying without issue, in 1559, devised it to his widow, Elizabeth, daughter of William Blount, Esq. of Blount Hall, in Staffordshire. This lady was succeeded by her nephew and heir, Thomas Pope Blount, Esq. and from him this estate has descended to the present Earl of Hardwicke, in right of his mother, Catherine, first wife of the Honorable Charles Yorke, Lord Chancellor of Great Britain; she being the sole heiress of the ancient Hertfordshire families of Pope, Blount, and Freman. The Blounts became extinct by the death of Sir Henry Pope Blount, about the middle of the last century: several of them were men of talents, and considerable literary reputation.* The

* In the Cæsar manuscripts, to which a reference has before been given under Bennington, is the following remarkable entry, after the date

COLNEY HOUSE.
Seat of George Anderson, Esq.
Hertfordshire.

The present Mansion at Tittenhanger was built by the first Sir H[illegible] Pope Blount, in 1654, and is now inhabited by the Right H[illegible]able Charles Yorke, next brother to the Earl of Hardwicke. C[illegible]ncy describes it "as a fair structure of brick, with fair walks a[illegible]gardens." Since his time, the house has been very little altered, but the gardens have been long destroyed, and the Park is converted into a farm. The House, which is large and convenient, contains several family pictures of the Blounts, but none of them deserving of much notice, except a three-quarter length of CATHERINE, Lady Blount, by Sir Godfrey Kneller. A fine picture of SIR THOMAS POPE, which was in one of the rooms, has been removed to Wimpole, the seat of Lord Hardwicke, in Cambridgeshire. *Sir Thomas Pope Blount*, Knt. with his father, *William Blount*, Esq. and his Lady, *Frances Blount*, lie buried under an altar-tomb in the neighbouring Church at Ridge.

COLNEY HOUSE, the seat of George Anderson, Esq. is situated in the Parish of Shenley, about one mile south-west from London Colney. This estate was formerly part of the extensive Manor of the *Weald*, or *Wild*, and had the name of *Colney Chapel*, as supposed, from a religious edifice thought to have stood on a small piece of land in the Park, which is still surrounded by a moat, though now planted, and laid out into walks. The present Mansion is built with Tottenhoe stone, and was erected about twenty-five years ago, by Governor Bouchier, at an expense of about 53,000l. including the charges for laying out the pleasure-grounds, and making other improvements in the Park, which includes about 150 acres. It is a handsome and regular structure, with wings, and has two fronts; the principal of which faces the east, and has a semi-circular portico at the entrance, surmounted by a half dome. The west front is diversified by a uniform projection

date 'August 31, 1693—Mr. Charles Blount, of Tittenhanger, in Hartfordshire, died in London, *Felo de se*, five weeks after he had shot himself into the belly with a pistoll: for love of Mrs. Hobby, (his wives sister) who was a rich widow.'

jection on each side the door-way, finished by a balustrade.* The principal apartments are fitted up with taste and elegance, a sort of classic air pervading the whole. The chimney-pieces are all of marble, and the doors of mahogany, jointed with great care, and of excellent workmanship: the Dining and Drawing-Rooms are each thirty-one feet long, twenty-one broad, and fifteen high. The Offices are connected with the House by an underground passage; and though nearly as large as the body of the Mansion, are completely enveloped by a plantation of evergreens, and other hardy trees. The Park contains some fine oak and elm timber. The Pleasure-grounds are extensive, and well stocked with fruit-trees. The Green House, a very large range of building, is full of choice plants, both indigenous and exotic. This estate was sold by Governor Bouchier to the late Margrave of Anspach, who resided here about three years, and then disposed of it to the Earl of Kingston; of whom it was bought by the present owner in August, 1804.

SHENLEY principally consists of a few buildings near the *Church*, which is constructed of squared flint and brick, and dedicated to St. Botolph. It consists only of an oblong body, without either aisles or tower; unless a square formal projection of wood, which has been recently built at the south entrance, can deserve that name: the windows are large, and pointed; the casings are of Tottenhoe stone. Among the Sepulchral memorials is one in memory of the REV. PHILIP FALLE, the historian of Guernsey and Jersey, who was Rector of this Parish about the beginning of the last century. The *Parsonage*, or *Rectory-House*, is delightfully situated about two miles southward from the Church, on a commanding eminence, from which the view to the north is particularly extensive, and fine. The present Rector was nephew to the late *Rev. Peter Newcome*, the historian of St. Alban's Abbey, who was also Rector here, and to whose family the patronage belongs.

PORTERS,

* This front is represented in the annexed View, which has been liberally contributed to this work by Mr. Anderson. The Trees on the north conceal the Offices.

PORTERS, the beautifully situated residence of the Marchioness of Sligo, daughter to the late gallant officer, Richard Lord Howe, is an irregular Mansion, standing in a small, but pleasant Park, and commanding some bold and extensive prospects to the west and north; towards which the grounds rapidly decline from the House. This estate also, like that of Colney, was formerly part of the Manor of the Weald, and has had numerous possessors.

ABBOTS LANGLEY, called *Langelai* in the Domesday Book, and deriving the prefix of *Abbots*, from having belonged to the Abbey of St. Alban, to which it was given by Egelwine the Black, and his wife Wincelfled, in the time of Edward the Confessor, continued in the Crown from the period of the Dissolution till the latter end of the reign of James the First. That Sovereign granted it to Francis Combe, Esq. of a family of that name at Hemel-Hemsted, who married Ann, daughter of Thomas Greenhill, Esq. but dying without issue, in 1641, bequeathed this manor, with other lands, &c. to the Colleges of Sidney, at Cambridge, and Trinity, at Oxford, for the purpose of educating his own and his wife's relations.

The *Church* is a spacious and handsome fabric, dedicated to St. Lawrence, and having a Chapel adjoining to the chancel on the south. It contains several good monuments; among which is one erected in memory of 'DAME ANN RAYMOND, daughter of Sir Edward Fish, formerly of Southill, in Bedfordshire, Bart. and widow of Sir Thomas Raymond, Knt. one of the Judges of the King's Bench to Charles the Second.' She died in March, 1714, in her eighty-third year, and lies interred with her three grandchildren, sons of Sir Robert Raymond, Knt. of Langley Bury, her son, 'who all died within a few weeks of their birth.' The monument displays the figure of an aged woman, sitting, with three children in cradles beneath.

NICHOLAS DE BREAKSPEAR, the only Englishman that ever attained the honor of filling the Pontifical chair, and of wielding the thunders of the Vatican over a crouching and superstitious world, is generally reputed to have been born in this Parish; yet

the place called *Breakspears*, from which his name was evidently assumed, is in the adjoining parish of St. Michael's, at about three miles to the north from the village of Abbots Langley. His early years were not distinguished for any superior talents; but, on the contrary, his intellects appeared so dull and clouded, that he was refused the habit of a monk in St. Alban's Abbey, in which he had been placed. On this rejection he went to France, and became a canon in the Abbey of St. Rufus, in Provence, where he was afterwards chosen Abbot: but the monks disliking his administration, complained to the then Pope, Eugenius the Third, with whom he had afterwards an interview; and contrived to ingratiate himself so highly, that he was made Bishop of Alba, and sent on a mission to convert the Pagan nations of Denmark and Norway. After the decease of the Pope, in 1154, he was chosen to fill the vacant seat; and on this promotion, assumed the title of Adrian the Fourth. He governed with a haughty and strong hand; of which may be instanced, his refusal to invest the Emperor Frederic with the Imperial diadem, till he had pros'rated himself before him, and held the stirrup of his palfrey, while he mounted upon its back. He died in September, 1159, not without suspicion of poison, though generally said to have been choaked by a fly; and was buried in St. Peter's Church, near his predecessor, Eugenius. His father became a monk in St. Alban's Abbey, where he lived fifty years; and, on his death, was interred among the Abbots in the Chapter House.

KING's LANGLEY is a small irregular village, situated on the high road to Ailesbury and Buckingham, and nearly opposite to Abbots Langley, but on the other side of the Gade River. Though now of little importance, it was formerly a residence of the English Sovereigns, who were owners of the manor; and one of whom, Henry the Third, built a PALACE here, in which Edmond of Langley, fifth son of Edward the Third, was born. Very few traces of this building remain; and they are principally confined to a line of foundation wall, which includes a considerable plot of ground, and evinces the building to have been of a square form. Part of the site is now occupied by a mean farm-house, which exhibits

hibits the ancient bake-house, and some other vestiges of the domestic offices of the Palace: its situation is high and pleasant. The estate, which consists of between six and seven acres, and has been recently let to a respectable brewer in the village, is the property of Mrs. Mary King, daughter and heiress of Mr. Thomas King, who died in January, 1805. While the Palace continued in the Crown, it was frequently the abode of the Sovereign: and Stow informs us, that Richard the Second, in the fifteenth of his reign, passed his Christmas here, in company with his Queen, four Bishops, four Earls, the Duke of York, many Lords, and fifteen Ladies. That unfortunate Prince was also buried in the Church at Langley, after his death at Pontefract: but Henry the Fifth removed his body to Westminster.

A PRIORY of Dominican, or Preaching Friars, was founded here by Roger, son of Robert *Helle*,* an English Baron, supposed to be Roger Lucy, who lived at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and was 'so called because he *played the Devil* with the Welsh; *a Vallensibus ita cognominatus eo quod eosdem Wallicos regi Angliæ rebelles tanquam inferni undique devastavit.*'† The buildings were afterwards enlarged, and the revenues greatly increased, by the munificence of Edward the First, (who granted the Manor of Langley to the Friars,) and his three successors of the same name; so that this became the most splendid of all the establishments of the same Order in England, its annual revenues being valued, at the time of the Suppression, at 122l. 4s. according to Dugdale; and according to Speed, at 150l. 14s. 8d. Queen Mary restored this house to a Prioress and Nuns; but it was again dissolved in the first of Elizabeth.‡ The Priory buildings are destroyed. Great part of the manor is now the property of the Earl of Essex, by inheritance from the Morisons.

The *Church* consists of a nave, chancel, and aisles, with a massive embattled tower at the west end, which was originally open to

* Weever's Fun. Mon. edit. 1631, p. 588.

† Gough, Vol. I. p. 349. from Salmon.

‡ Tanner's Notitia.

to the nave by a pointed arch, rising from clustered columns. About the middle is another large pointed arch, dividing the nave and chancel, which are separated from the aisles by five plain-pointed arches on each side, mostly supported on octagonal columns; but varied on the north by clustered columns. The east window consists of three lights; the centre light terminates in a trefoil, the others in quatrefoils. The windows of the nave are small, and of a square form, though divided into trefoil-headed lights.

Among the ancient monuments in this edifice, is a very large altar-tomb of free-stone, in the east angle of the north aisle, having recumbent, but greatly mutilated, effigies of a *Knight* and a *Lady*: the latter on the right hand. The Knight is in armour, with a shirt of chain-work: his hands folded across his body, as in prayer. On his left breast is a crescent; and on each shoulder, his arms, on a cross, five mullets, with a crescent for difference: the legs and thighs are broken off, and gone; and the head is loose, and much defaced. The Lady has on a flowered robe, and over it a long cloak, fastened across the neck, from which is pendant a chain, and small cross. On her left side is a crescent; and on her right, a saltire engrailed; below which, on the folds of the cloak, are the same arms as on the Knight's shoulder. The hands, which have been raised as in prayer, are broken off; and the countenance is much defaced. The head-dress is of an angular form, of the time of Henry the Seventh. On the west and south sides of the tomb, are shields of the above arms, in square compartments, with trefoils in the angles: on one of the shields, the arms are impaled. This is probably the tomb of SIR JOHN VERNEY, of Pendley; who was Sheriff of Herts and Essex in the fourteenth of Henry the Seventh. Salmon seems to intimate that this was the tomb of *Piers Gaveston*, the haughty favorite of Edward the Second; but the arms are those of *Verney*. Gaveston, as appears from Stowe, was first buried among the Friars Preachers at Oxford; but two years afterwards, his body was removed by the King with great pomp, and re-interred in this Church.

Within

Interior of
KINGS LANGLEY CHURCH,
Herts.

Within the altar-rails, on the north side, is the tomb of EDMOND OF LANGLEY, son of Edward the Third, who was buried here, near the remains of his first wife, ISABEL, younger daughter of Pedro, King of Castile. This tomb was originally differently situated, as appears from its sides being surrounded with shields of arms; though, from its present position, those only on the west and south can now be seen. The arms on the west side, are those of Westminster, England, and Mercia: the shields on the south, display the arms of Edmond, &c. All the shields are in the centres of ornamented square compartments: below them, under plain mouldings, is a range of quatrefoils, apparently surrounding the whole tomb. The top is now covered with a broken slab of Purbeck marble; the other parts are of free-stone.

Opposite to the above, on the south side of the altar, is a plain tomb of white marble; over which is a tablet, in memory of the HONORABLE WILLIAM GLASCOCKS, of Adamhowe, in Essex, who was Judge of the Admiralty in Ireland in the time of Charles the Second: he died in July, 1688, at the age of seventy-three. Several slabs, with *Brasses*, are yet remaining here: one of them, in the north aisle, has small, but neat figures of a male in a long cloak; and two females, with large hats and ruffs, of the time of Elizabeth. Below them, and over two smaller brasses, containing groups of children, nine in each, is this inscription:

> Here lyeth the Body of John Carter, late of Gifres, who had two Wives: by the first he had issue 4 sonnes, and 5 daughters; and by ye second, he had issue 5 Sones and 4 daughters. He was buried ye 9. of August, 1588.

On another slab, close to the former, is a small *Brass* of a female, with an indent for a male figure, which is now gone: the inscription records the name William Carter, and Alys his Wyfe:' the former died the eleventh of April, 1528. Some fragments of painted glass, with the arms of Sanky, Dalamar, &c. remain in a window of the north aisle. The Church-yard is extensive, and contains many tombs and sepulchral memorials: the most remarkable of

these is within a space inclosed by iron rails, at the end of the south aisle. It displays an elegant sarcophagus, having a circle in front, surrounding a section of a Saxon building, with the motto, *Stabilior Amicitia:* above this, on a circular marble tablet, is a bas-relief of an infant Hymen, weeping, his torch inverted. This was executed in memory of MRS. ELIZABETH CRAWFORD, of King's Langley, who died in April, 1793, at the age of forty-two.

LANGLEY BURY, the seat of Long Kinsman, Esq. was built by the Lord Chief Justice Raymond, about the time of Charles the Second. It stands on elevated ground, rising from the west bank of the Gade River, and nearly opposite to Hunton Bridge.

RUSSEL FARM, a pleasant seat about two miles north from Watford, was the residence of Lady Anne Capel, on whose death it became the property of the Earl of Essex, and has been let to General Ross, who was in the East Indies with the late brave and much-lamented Marquis Cornwallis.

About two miles north from Watford is the GROVE, now the property and chief residence of Thomas Villiers, Earl of Clarendon: it was formerly the estate of the *Heydons*, as appears from an inscription preserved by Weever,* in memory of John Heydon, Esq. who died in 1400; and Francis, one of whose descendants was Sheriff of Herts in the twenty-fifth of Elizabeth: of this family, also, which the same writer mentions as of "singular note and demerit in other parts of this kingdome," was Sir William Heydon, who lost his life in the ill-concerted expedition to the Isle of Rhè, in 1627. The Grove was afterwards possessed by the *Hamptons*, of Buckinghamshire, and from them it passed through several families, by purchase and otherwise, to the Hydes, Earls of Clarendon, the descendants of the great Lord Chancellor Hyde, the Historian of the Civil Wars.

The mansion inhabited by Lord Clarendon is an irregular structure of brick, standing on the west side the Gade, in a Park about three miles in circumference, and through which the river flows in a divided stream. The principal apartments contain a very valuable

* Fun. Mon. p. 591. Edit. 1631.

ble collection of original portraits, chiefly of the times of James the First and Charles the First; as well as a few fine copies from the first masters. Many of these paintings were brought from Cornbury, the seat of the Earls of Clarendon, in Oxfordshire.

In the *Hall* is a whole length, in black, of FRANCIS, Lord Cottington, by Vandyck. This Nobleman was Chancellor and under Treasurer of the Exchequer in the reign of Charles the First: he was, also, Master of the Court of Wards, the revenues of which he greatly increased. He died at Valladolid, in Spain, whither he had retired during the Civil Wars, about the year 1651, in his seventy-seventh year.

EARL OF KINNOUL; Vandyck; whole length, in armour.

ELIZABETH, Queen of Bohemia; Corn. Jansen: ditto, in black.

MARQUIS OF HERTFORD; Vandyck: ditto, in armour.

JEROME WESTON, Earl of Portland, son of the Lord Treasurer Portland; whole length, in black. This Nobleman was a person of graceful accomplishments, and well skilled in naval affairs: he died in March, 1662, 3.

The other portraits in the Hall are those of QUEEN ELIZABETH; JAMES THE FIRST; CECIL, Lord Burleigh; ROBERT, Earl of Salisbury, his son; LORD CHANCELLOR CLARENDON; EDWARD, Earl of Jersey; and JOHN, Earl of Rochester: artists unknown. Here, also, are copies, from Vandyck, of *Algernon*, Earl of Northumberland; the *Prince of Parma;* and *Henry Cary*, Lord Falkland.

In the *Saloon* is a curious head of ANNE HYDE, Duchess of York, by Sir Peter Lely; and half lengths of her daughters, QUEEN MARY, and QUEEN ANNE.

WILLIAM THE THIRD; small whole length, in armour.

JAMES THE SECOND; portrayed in a large wig.

EDWARD HYDE, Earl of Clarendon; Sir Peter Lely. "The virtue of the Earl of Clarendon," says Granger, "was of too stubborn a nature for the age of Charles the Second. Could he have been content to enslave millions, he might have been more a monarch than that unprincely King; but he did not only look upon himself as the guardian of the laws and liberties of his country, but

had a pride in his nature that was above vice, and chose rather to be a victim himself, than to sacrifice his integrity. He had only one part to act, which was that of an honest man; and he was a much greater, perhaps a happier man, alone, and in exile, than Charles the Second upon his throne."

HENRY, Earl of Clarendon, son of the Lord Chancellor, when a youth; LAWRENCE, Earl of Rochester, his brother, Lord High Treasurer in the reign of James the Second; and LADY ROCHESTER, first wife of Lawrence; a head.

LADY CHARLOTTE HYDE, delineated as in the dress of Mary, Queen of Scots.

DUCHESS OF QUEENSBURY.

JANE, Countess of Essex.

CATHERINE of Braganza, in the dress in which she arrived in England. Her hair is disposed in formal curls: her gown is black, with slashed sleeves, point ruffles, and handkerchief. Her farthingale is large, with a laced petticoat; and in her left hand are gloves.

Besides the above portraits, the Saloon contains two small, but very beautiful pictures, by Stubbs, of a *Bull* of the small India breed, bred by Lord Clarendon; and a *Horse*, also the property of his Lordship: the latter, for drawing, anatomy, and coloring, is hardly to be surpassed.

In the *Drawing-Room*, among others, are portraits of LADY CLARENDON, daughter of Sir Thomas Ailesbury, and second wife to the Lord Chancellor Clarendon; SIR THOMAS AILESBURY, and LADY AILESBURY: all by Vandyck.

JAMES STUART, Duke of Richmond; Vandyck: whole length, in black.

MARY, Duchess of Beaufort, daughter to Arthur, Lord Capel; Sir Peter Lely.

THOMAS HOWARD, Earl of Arundel, "the father of the *Virtu* in England:" whole length; Vandyck.

LADY NEWPORT; SIR HENRY CAPEL; the Poet WALLER, represented sitting; and SIR GEOFFREY PALMER; all by Sir Peter Lely: the two last are very fine. Sir Geoffrey was an eminent Lawyer, and a firm friend to the Lord Chancellor Clarendon.

He

He was imprisoned in the Tower by Cromwell; but, after the Restoration, was made Attorney General, and Chief Justice of Chester.

The LORD KEEPER COVENTRY; Corn. Jansen: one of the finest pictures ever executed by that artist. In this Room are also two *Bacchanalian* Pieces, by Lanerst.

In the *Dining-Room* is a whole-length of WILLIAM VILLIERS, Viscount Grandison, in scarlet; Vandyck. This Nobleman was a very active supporter of the Royal Cause, and died at Oxford, in 1643, of the wounds which he received at the siege of Bristol.

GEORGE VILLIERS, Duke of Buckingham; whole-length, in a curious worked dress; Corn. Jansen.

WILLIAM, Earl of Pembroke; and PHILIP, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery; both whole-lengths; by Vandyck.

LORD and LADY CORNBURY; Sir Peter Lely: the former in a purplish brown; the latter in yellow.

LADY D'AUBIGNY; Vandyck; in pink.

COUNT DE BORGHE; a head in armour; Vandyck.

JAMES STANLEY, Earl of Derby, with his COUNTESS, and *Child;* whole-lengths; Vandyck: this is a very noble picture. The Earl is portrayed in black; the Countess in white satin; and the Child in a dusky red. The Earl was beheaded after the battle of Worcester, in 1651, in violation of a promise of quarter. This picture is mentioned both by Walpole and Granger.

SIR JOHN MINNS; very fine, in crimson; in one hand a glove; Vandyck.

LORD GORING; an admirable head, in armour; Vandyck.

LADY BARBARA VILLIERS, youngest daughter of the Duchess of Cleveland, in a Nun's dress.

PHILIP VILLIERS, de L'Isle Adam, Great Prior of France, and Grand Master of Malta; with the date 1521.

Over the *Stair-case* is a curious picture of the DUKE OF SAXONY and the *Reformers:* and on the *Landing-place,* half-lengths of JOHN SELDON, Esq. and SIR HENRY SPELMAN.

In the *Library* is a fine full-length picture of the DUKE OF MONMOUTH, in armour, accompanied by a man, who appears

like a foreign seaman, pointing to the Netherlands on a globe; and another fine picture of a *Lawyer*, name unknown, apparently of the time of Cromwell, with a book, papers, &c.

It greatly redounds to the honor of Hertfordshire, that most of its resident nobility consider the promotion of agriculture as a primary object of pursuit, and hence almost every park, or pleasure-ground, is connected with a farm. Among those whose ardour is most alive in the furtherance of this truly patriotic system, must be ranked the Earl of Clarendon, whose knowledge of the science being founded on the basis of experiment, has rendered his endeavours eminently successful. The quantity of land which his Lordship has now in cultivation, includes about 600 acres; and as the prevailing soil is a sharp gravel, the skill and industry necessary to render it productive, must be of a superior description.

On this farm, about 100 acres are every year laid down in artificial grasses, which remain for feeding and for cutting during three years; in which time, from live stock, particularly sheep, being kept upon them, they are so well dressed, that, on breaking them up at the expiration of that period, three good crops of corn are taken from them in succession, without any other dressing, provided the seasons are favorable. The rotation is generally oats, wheat, and barley; but this is sometimes varied by the introduction of pease. By pursuing this system, the other parts of the land can be dressed more highly; and a greater number of sheep is admitted to be kept.

In the management of the sheep stock, his Lordship generally purchases the best Ryeland ewes that can be procured, about Michaelmas, or sometimes sooner; to these a large-sized ram is put, sometimes a Leicester, and sometimes a ram of a crossed breed, but always a well-shaped animal. The ewes commonly cost from twenty-five to twenty-seven shillings a-head; the lamb sells for at least the prime cost of the ewe; and the ewe fattens at the same time, and is sold within the year, for not less than thirty shillings. The mutton is not inferior to any, and the fleece is of a very superior description. Sometimes Dorsetshire ewes are purchased, for the sake of having early lambs; and occasionally some western

ewes

ewes, for the purpose of weight in the lambs, which facilitates the dealing with the country butchers. If the prices are anywise fair, the lambs and ewes are sold as soon as they are fit for the market. His Lordship's stock of deer is generally from 350 to 400; and of these a few brace are annually fattened for sale. Considerable attention is also given to the poultry; and geese, turkies, guinea-fowls, ducks, &c. are bred here in abundance. A complete carpenter's yard forms part of the farming establishment; and the whole is conducted with the greatest liberality and judgment.

CASHIOBURY, one of the beautiful seats of George Capel Coningsby, Earl of Essex, was formerly parcel of the lands of St. Alban's Abbey, to which it had been given by the Mercian King Offa. After the Dissolution, this Manor was granted, by Henry the Eighth, to Richard Morison, Esq. who was employed in many State affairs by that Sovereign, and died at Strasburgh, in 1556. His grandson, Sir Charles Morison, Bart. who was created Knight of the Bath at the Coronation of Charles the First, married Mary, second daughter to Baptist Hicks, Viscount Campden, by whom he had an only daughter, Elizabeth, who conveyed the inheritance of the Morisons, in marriage, to Arthur, Lord Capel, of Hadham, in this county, from whom the present Earl is descended.

The Capel family were long seated at Stoke Neyland, in Suffolk, on a manor of their own name. Sir William Capel, who had attained considerable affluence by trade, was Lord Mayor of London in 1503: his riches having rendered him a fit object for plunder in the estimation of Empsom and Dudley, the miscreant minions of Henry the Seventh, he was obliged to pay a fine of 2000l. and some years afterwards was again called on for a similar sum; but refusing to submit to this second imposition, he was imprisoned in the Tower till the King's death. He died in 1509, and was succeeded by his son George, who was knighted in the seventh of Henry the Eighth, and accompanied that Monarch to France, where, with other Knights, he challenged all comers to exercises in arms during thirty days. In the twentieth of the same reign, he was Sheriff of Herts and Essex; and four years afterwards, he again attended the King in an excursion to Calais and Boulogne.

Edward, his successor, was knighted in the second of Elizabeth, and was also Sheriff of both counties. Henry, his son and heir, was knighted in the twenty-seventh of the same Sovereign, and was Sheriff of Herts; as was also his successor, Arthur, who was knighted in 1603. His grandson, and successor, Arthur, was Member for Herts in two Parliaments, in 1639, and 1640. In the ensuing year, he was created Baron Capel of Hadham, by Charles the First, to whose cause he was zealously attached, and in whose service he lost his life, being beheaded by order of the Parliament, for his obstinate defence of Colchester, in March, 1648-9. Arthur, his son, was, after the Restoration, restored to the family possessions, and created Viscount Malden, and Earl of Essex, by Charles the Second, in April, 1661. In 1670, he was sent Ambassador to Denmark, where he bravely supported the honor of his country, and refused to lower his colours, though fired on by the Governor of Croningberg Castle to oblige him to comply; and for which act the Governor was afterwards compelled to beg pardon on his knees. In 1672, he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; and in 1680, made first Commissioner of the Treasury. Algernon, his son, the second Earl, married Mary, daughter of William Bentinct, Earl of Portland. William, the third Earl, his successor, died in January, 1743, leaving one son, (by his second wife, daughter of Wriothesley, Duke of Bedford,) William Anne Holles, the late Earl, who died in March, 1799. George, his eldest son, and successor, the present Earl, assumed the name of Coningsby, on succeeding to the estates of his grandmother, Frances, daughter of Thomas, Earl Coningsby.

The family Mansion at Cashiobury is a spacious edifice, pleasantly situated in an extensive and well-wooded Park, through which flows the river Gade; and across which, by the generous consent of the Earl, has been carried the Grand Junction Canal. The House was originally begun in the time of Henry the Eighth, by Richard Morison, Esq. and completed in the style of that age, by his son, Sir Charles Morison. It has since been greatly altered and improved, particularly under the direction of the present noble owner, and contains a number of elegant apartments, together with

with a kind of cloister, the windows of which have been very recently ornamented with painted glass, executed in a very superior style. In its general appearance, the whole Mansion, with its offices, has the character of a castellated dwelling.

Many of the pictures, which ornament the rooms, are of the first degree of merit: the following are among the most eminent. In the *Dining-Room* is ALGERNON, Earl of Northumberland; his daughter, ELIZABETH, widow of Arthur, first Lord Capel, with a son and a daughter; Sir Peter Lely; and ALGERNON, second Earl of Essex, in armour, standing near a table, on which is his helmet: the two latter pictures are very fine.

In the *Library* are portraits of MRS. STRANGEWAYS, youngest daughter to Arthur, second Lord Capel; Sir Peter Lely: LADY ANN, and LORD PERCY; half lengths; by Vandyck: the EARL and COUNTESS OF CLARENDON, very fine, in one piece; Sir Peter Lely: and several others of the family. The chimney-piece is ornamented with fine carving, by Gibbons; as is that also of an adjoining apartment, where there is a very fine representation of Dead Game and Flowers, with Fruit and Shells in festoons, &c. by the same excellent artist. In this latter room are also the following pictures,

SIR CHARLES HANBURY WILLIAMS, Knight of the Bath, father of Frances, first wife to William, late Earl of Essex, whose portrait, with that of his Lady, are also in this apartment: the two last are small three-quarter lengths, by Sir Joshua Reynolds. ARTHUR, first Lord Capel, with his Lady, ELIZABETH, daughter to Sir Charles Morison, Bart. and their children; a long picture: GEORGE, the fifth and present Earl of Essex, and his COUNTESS, full lengths, small, by Edridge.

In the *Drawing-Room*, a very superb apartment, are four frames, containing a considerable number of very beautiful *Miniatures* by the present Countess of Essex, from originals by the first masters: many of these are extremely fine, possessing the greatest delicacy and harmony of coloring, combined with strength, expression, and brilliancy. In a smaller Drawing-Room is a sweet picture of the Virgin and Child, by Carlo Maratti; a Monk's Head, by Carlo Dolci,

Dolci, very fine; two small Views, by Canaletti; a small Sea-piece, by Vander Velde; a Landscape, by Gainsborough, chiefly composed of a willow tree or two, and an oak, with a couple of cows, yet forming a very beautiful picture; and a Landscape, by Wouvermans.

The *State Bed-Room* is decorated with blue and white furniture, and hung with Gobelin tapestry, displaying a Village Feast, from Teniers; Making Wine, &c. This apartment has a low roof, painted of a fine azure; the upper part gilt, with a coronet: over the door is a well-executed Fruit and Flower Piece. In *King Charles's Room* is a full-length of CHARLES THE FIRST, standing against a pillar, by Vandyck: COUNTESS OF RANELAGH, three-quarters; Sir Godfrey Kneller: Three Children of Charles the First, by Vandyck: CHARLES THE SECOND, a head, by Sir Peter Lely: and two beautiful Female Portraits, by the same artist, names unknown.

The Park is between three and four miles in circumference, and affords some rich scenery, and noble timber. The walks are said to have been originally laid out, and the woods planted, by the famous Le Notre; but they have since been greatly improved and enlarged. The pleasure-grounds are extensive, and have recently undergone some judicious alterations.

WATFORD.

PREVIOUS to the Conquest, Watford formed part of *Caishoe*, or *Cashio*, and, included under that appellation, was given by King Offa to the Abbey of St. Alban, to which it continued attached till the time of the Dissolution, when the Stewardship of this, and other adjacent manors, was given to John, Lord Russel, of Chenies, in Buckinghamshire. James the First, in the seventh of his reign,* granted Watford to the Lord Chancellor Egerton, Baron of Ellesmere, in whose descendants, the Dukes of Bridgewater, it remained vested till about the year 1760, when it was sold to the then

* Salmon's Herts, p. 105.

then Earl of Essex, and is now the property of his descendant, the present Earl.

The Abbots of St Alban's had various privileges granted to them for this manor, by different Sovereigns: the charter of the market was bestowed by Henry the First; and Edward the Fourth gave them liberty to hold two fairs annually. The *Market-House* is a long building, rough-cast above, and supported on wooden pillars beneath. The quantity of corn sold here is very great; and the number of sheep, cows, calves, hogs, &c. is proportionable. The police of the town is under the direction of resident and neighbouring magistrates.

The *Church* is a very spacious building, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and consists of a nave, aisles, and chancel, with a massive embattled tower at the west end, about eighty feet high, terminated by a small spire, rising to the height of about twenty more. The nave is divided from the aisles by six pointed arches on each side, with plain mouldings, resting on octagonal columns; above the arches are the same number of obtuse-headed windows. The roof is of a circular form; the supporters rest on half figures, sustaining shields. The chancel, which appears of a more recent date than the nave, opens from the latter by a large pointed arch. The east window is divided by mullions into several compartments; but the light is obscured by a large altar-piece of oak, carved in the style of James the Second's time.

On the north side of the chancel is the Chapel, or Cemetary, of the *Morisons,* and now of the Essex family. This contains, among others of inferior execution, two very fine monuments, by Nicholas Stone. The first, which is erected against the south wall, is a stately fabric, in memory of SIR CHARLES MORISON, Knt. of Cashiobury, who died in his fifty-first year, in March, 1599. The upper and central part consists of a pediment and canopy, resting on Corinthian pillars: below the canopy is the effigies of Sir Charles in white marble. He is represented as a Knight in armour, in a recumbent position, with his elbow resting on a cushion, and one hand on the pommel of his sword. His beard is in the Vandyke fashion; whiskers on his upper lip; and about his

his neck, a large ruff. Loose, but standing behind his legs, is a helmet, with a plume of feathers; and above him is a Latin inscription in two compartments. In front of the tomb is another inscription, similarly disposed; and under the cornice of the canopy are the words, *Non Humi serpit alata Virtus.* At each end, under a canopy of flowing drapery, dependant from a ring, is a figure kneeling on a cushion. These represent the son and daughter of Sir Charles: the former is habited as a Knight, with a sash, ruff, peaked beard, and whiskers: the lady has a ruff also, and has on a long cloak, fastened over the breast by a cordon, which is tied across the middle, and hangs down in tassels.*

The other monument of Stone's workmanship, is on the opposite side, against the north wall: this was erected in memory of SIR CHARLES MORISON, Bart. and Knight of the Bath, son of the above Sir Charles, by MARY his lady, second daughter of Baptist Hicks, Viscount Campden. In its general form it is similar to the former: the canopy is supported by Corinthian pillars of black marble,

* This monument, as appears from the pocket-book of Nicholas Stone, quoted by Walpole, cost 260l. besides "four pieces," says the sculptor, "given me to drink. The Latin inscriptions are to the following import.—To the virtue, honour, and immortal memory, of the dearest and most respected man SIR CHARLES MORISON, Knt. hereditary Impropriator of this Church, and Founder of this Chapel, the most beloved and best of Fathers; *Charles Morison,* Knt. and Bart. a most affectionate Son, piously and reverently dedicated this Monument, the last duty of love and devotion, to a very deserving and accomplished Parent, in the most certain hope of a glorious and blessed Resurrection. He married Dorothy, the daughter of Nicholas Clark, Esq. by whom he had two children, now living; Charles, above mentioned, an only son; and Bridget, an only daughter, betrothed to the most noble Robert, Earl of Sussex. He died on the 30th of March, 1599, in the Fifty-first Year of his Age.—His Father, *Sir Richard Morison,* Knt. the most generous of Men, was skilled in all the more noble branches of Literature; and in many Embassies to the German Emperors, and other Christian Princes, he executed his trust with the greatest renown.—His Mother, the illustrious *Lady Bridget,* daughter of John, Lord Hussey, became by marriage Countess of Rutland, and afterwards of Bedford."

marble, with wreaths of flowers below the capitals. On the tomb beneath, are the figures of the Baronet and his Lady, in white marble, most exquisitely sculptured. The former, who is represented in armour, is reclining on his side, his right elbow resting on a cushion, and his hand placed on a skull: he has a peaked beard, and whiskers. His lady is lying recumbent, with her head on a double cushion, and has on a veil, turned back over her forehead: round her neck is a ruff. Her sleeves are purfled; and one hand holds an outward robe, which is fastened to her boddice by a diamond-headed pin. The folds of the drapery, which envelopes her feet, are very finely managed. She has a smiling countenance; that of the Baronet is more composed and thoughtful. At the east side, on a lower base, are the figures of a youth, and a boy, kneeling on cushions: both have ruffs; and the former an outward cloak, and a sword. At the west side is a young lady, also kneeling on a cushion, with flowing drapery, extending behind her head, and brought up and fastened over her left breast by a diamond broach; round her neck, a ruff: her hands are broken off, but have been raised as in prayer. The inscriptions are in Latin, and very long. Sir Charles died in April, 1628, about a week after he had completed his forty-first year. The expense of executing this monument was 400l.*

In the middle of the cemetary are two large tombs with effigies, both deserving notice, though not so finely wrought as those that have been described. That towards the east was erected in memory of the Lady BRIDGET, Countess Dowager of Bedford, who died at the age of seventy-five, in January, 1600. Her figure, well sculptured in alabaster, lies on the tomb; the head resting on an ornamented cushion; and between the feet a fruit-tree, with a rein-deer below. Round her neck is a ruff; on her head a close cap, and coronet. She has on a large loose cloak, reaching to her feet, and fastened across her bosom: the hands are broken off, but have been raised as in prayer. From the sides of the tomb, the base is carried out in a square projection; and on each is a half-sized

* Walpole's Anecdotes, Edit. 1786. Vol. II. p. 48.

half-sized male figure in armour, kneeling on a cushion. Round the tomb are various shields of arms; and at the east end a long inscription in memory of the Countess.*

The westernmost tomb commemorates the virtues of "The Right Honorable Lady DAME ELIZABETH RUSSELL, daughter and sole heire of *Henrie Longe*, of Shingay," in Cambridgeshire, and wife of *William*, Lord Russell, of Thornhaugh, son of Francis, Earl of Bedford: she died at the age of forty-three, in June, 1611. Her figure is represented in a very heavy long cloak and petticoat, with a close boddice buttoned down the middle. Her head rests on a cushion, which, as well as the face, and the whole dress, has been painted: at her feet is a coronet and lion.

Among the other memorials here, are two *Tablets* against the south wall; one of these records the character and memory of 'The HONORABLE JOHN FORBES, second son of George, third Earl of Granard, Admiral of the Fleet, and General of Marines, who died at the age of eighty-two, in March, 1769:' the other is in commemoration of his Lady, 'the Right Honorable MARY FORBES, daughter of *William*, third Earl of Essex, by the Lady *Jane Hyde*, daughter of *Henry*, fourth Earl of Clarendon, and second Earl of Rochester.' WILLIAM ANNE-HOLLES CAPEL, son of the above William, and fourth Earl of Essex, was also buried in this cemetary in March, 1799, as appears by the Register; though no memorial

* Part of this is as follows. "She was daughter of John, Lord Hussey, and was thrice married: first to Sir Richard Morizon, Knt. then to Edward Manners, Earl of Rutland: thirdly, to Francys Russel, Earl of Bedford: she had issue only by her first husband, one son, Sr. Charles Morizon, Knt. and two daughters; the one named Jane Sibilla, first married to Edward, Lord Russel, eldest son to her last husband, the Earl of Bedford; and afterwards married to Arthur, Lord Grey of Wilton, father to Thomas, Lord Grey: the other daughter, named Elizabeth, was first married to William Norreys, Esq. son and heir apparent to Henry, Lord Norreys, and father to Francys the nowe Lord Norreys, at whose charges this Monument was erected, being her sole executor and nephewe; who hath married the Lady Bridget Vere, daughter to Edward, Earl of Oxford;—afterwards Elizabeth, the second daughter, married Henry Clinton, Earl of Lincoln.

morial has been erected to his memory. On a slab of breccia, in the pavement, are figures in *Brass* of three servants to the Morisons, in dresses of the time of James the First.

In the nave and aisles of the Church, are many other Sepulchral memorials: several of the *Ewers*, of the Lea, in this parish, are interred below the altar steps; and in the south aisle are slabs in memory of Sir *William Buck*, Bart. who died in August, 1717, aged sixty-two; *Frances*, his daughter, who died at the age of thirty-one, in November, 1713; and Sir *Charles Buck*, Bart. his son, who died in June, 1729, at the age of thirty-seven. The following epitaph, which appears on a tablet of white marble on the south wall of the nave, was written by Dr. Johnson.

In the Vault below are deposited the Remains of
JANE BELL, Wife of JOHN BELL, Esq.
Who, in the Fifty-third Year of her Age,
Surrounded with many worldly Blessings,
Heard with Fortitude and Composure truly great,
The horrible Malady which had for some Time began to afflict her,
Pronounced Incurable;
And for more than three Years
Endured with Patience, and concealed with Decency,
The daily Tortures of gradual Death;
Continued to divide the Hours not allotted to Devotion,
Between the Cares of her Family, and the Converse of her Friends;
Rewarded the Attendance of Duty,
And acknowledged the Offices of Affection;
And while she endeavoured to alleviate, by Cheerfulness,
Her Husband's Sufferings and Sorrows,
Encreased them by her Gratitude for his Care,
And her Solicitude for his Quiet:
To the Memory of these Virtues,
More highly honoured as more familiarly known,
This Monument is erected by
JOHN BELL.

This Chuch is crowded with pews and galleries: the organ-gallery is very large, and supported on four Corinthian columns; the organ is well-toned. At the east end of the south aisle, are

tablets, registering numerous benefactions that have been made for the use of the poor, &c. of this parish.

At the south side of the Church-yard is a good *Free School*, of brick, with convenient apartments for a Master and Mistress. This was founded and endowed by MRS. ELIZABETH FULLER, of *Watford Place*, (which nearly adjoins the School,) in the year 1704, for forty boys and twenty girls, who are partly clothed, and taught reading, writing, and arithmetic. The original endowments have been increased by some additional legacies. The government of the School is vested in nine trustees, who are chosen from the most respectable inhabitants of Watford, a preference being given to the kindred of the *Foundress*, a full-length portrait of whom is preserved in the School Room. This was painted by J. Woolaston, and has the date 1708: she is represented in widow's weeds, with the Scriptures lying open by her side, and her right hand pointing to a label, with the words, 'Daily read and practice the Holy Bible.' Her countenance expresses a calm and placid benignity.

Watford is a large, populous, and busy town; the houses are principally of brick; many of them are respectable and handsome buildings; they principally range on the sides of the high road, and extend in a north-westerly direction rather more than a mile. The chief employment of the laboring classes is derived from agriculture; but additional labor is furnished by the *throwing of Silk*, three Silk Mills having been established in and near the town. The largest Mill is worked by the waters of the Colne river; but the others are worked by horses. The population of Watford, as ascertained under the late Act, was 3530; the number of houses was 691.

RICKMANSWORTH, or RICKMERSWORTH,

As it is sometimes called, and with greater propriety, is a small market town, occupying a low moorish situation near the confluence of the rivers Gade and Colne, and a small rivulet, which flows from Chesham and Flaunden, in Buckinghamshire. The manor

was ancient demesne of the Saxon Kings, and was given, by King Offa, to the Abbey at St. Alban's, to which it was confirmed by succeeding Kings, and had the charter of a weekly market, and two annual fairs, granted it by Henry the Third. After the Dissolution, Edward the Sixth gave the manor to Ridley, Bishop of London: but Queen Mary bestowed it on the fell persecutor Bishop Bonner. In Elizabeth's time it reverted to the Crown; and was finally sold by Charles the First, and the Six Clerks in Chancery, to whom he had conveyed it as a security for borrowed money, to Sir Thomas Fotherley, whose son, John, was Sheriff of Herts in the fourth of Charles the Second. This family became extinct by the dreadful event of its possessor, son of the last-mentioned gentleman, being swallowed up, with his only daughter, in the great earthquake at Jamaica, in 1694. He bequeathed the reversion of this manor to his nephew, Temple Whitfield, Esq. whose descendant, Henry Fotherley Whitfield, Esq. is now owner; and whose Mansion, called the BURY, an irregular brick edifice, nearly adjoins the Church-yard on the west side.

The *Church* is a spacious building, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and consisting of a nave, aisles, and chancel, with a handsome embattled tower of hewn flints at the west end: the upper part of the nave is also embattled; and the buttresses are very strong. On each side the nave are five plain pointed arches, rising from round columns, with square windows above, each divided into two trefoil-headed lights. Beyond these, extending across the space that appears to have originally been the chancel, is a large pointed arch; and at the sides, eastward, two other arches, springing from octagonal columns, and reaching to the entrance of the present chancel. This edifice was repaired in the year 1677, and again in the years 1802, and 1803: the large gallery which is at the west end, was probably erected about the former period.

Previous to the late repairs, a large altar-tomb, in memory of HENRY CARY, Baron of Lepington, and Earl of Monmouth, stood against the south wall of the chancel; but being thought to disfigure the place, it has been removed; and the beautiful slab of

black marble that covered it, is now appropriated as the altar-table. A second slab, of black marble, that was affixed on the north side of the tomb, and is inscribed as follows, has been let into the south wall; together with two fine sculptures in white marble, in high relief, of the family arms:

> Here lyes in hopes of a joyfull Resurecc̄on, ye Body of ye Right Hon. HENRY CARY, Baron of Lepinton, Earle of Monmouth, (s̄one to Robert, Earle of Monmouth, and Elizabeth Trevanian, his Wife, which Robert was ye 10th s̄one to Henry Cary, Baron of Hunsdon.) He dyed ye 17th of June, An^o^. Dn̄i. 1661, aged 65 years. He was married 41 years to the Lady Martha Cranfield, eldest davghter to Lionell, Earle of Midlesex; and had by her 10 children, 2 s̄ones, and 8 davghters, viz. *Lionell*, the eldest, (never married,) was slaine An^o^. Dn̄i. 1644, at Marston-Moor fight, in his Ma.^tes^ service; and *Henry*, who died of ye small-pox, An^o^. Dn̄i. 1649, and lyes interred at the Savoye. He left noe issue, but one s̄one, since deceased, also ye last heire male of this Earle's familie. Y^e^ davghters were as follows: Anne, Philadelphia, Elizabeth, Mary, Trevaniana, Martha, Theophila, and Magdaline.—Within this place lyes also buryed ye bodies of ye above-named ROBERT, Earle of Monmouth; ELIZABETH, Countess of Monmouth, his wife; and ye ladies PHILADELPHIA, TREVANIANA, THEOPHILA, and MAGDALINE CARY; and ye bodies of JAMES, Lord Clanoboy, and ye Lady JANE HAMILTON, his sister, being the Children of ye aforesaid Lady *Anne Cary*, which shee had by *James Hamilton*, Viscount Clanoboy, Earl of Clanbrasill, of ye Kingdome of Ireland.

The above James, Viscount Clanoboye, as appears from another inscribed slab in the pavement of the chancel, was born September the seventh, 1642, and died on May the eighth, 1658.

Against the north wall of the chancel is a mural monument in commemoration of SIR THOMAS FOTHERLEY, Knt. a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to Charles the First, and of his son, and grandson. A slab on the floor, also records the memory of several others of this family. In the east part of the south aisle are three very large altar-tombs, inclosing the remains of different in-

dividuals of the families of *Colte*, *Salter*, and *Whitfield*, all of this town. In the north aisle is a very neat mural monument in memory of TIMOTHY EARLE, Esq. of Moor-House, who died at the age of eighty, in May, 1787; and of *Dorothy*, his wife. A marble tablet against the north wall, also records the memory of Admiral WILLIAM BLADWELL, who formerly lived at Money Hill, in this parish, and died in March, 1783, aged eighty.

Various other monumental slabs are inserted in different parts of the pavement; and in the middle of the nave is a stone, that was formerly inlaid with *Brasses*, of a man standing between his two wives; but one of the latter was stolen during the late repairs: beneath is this inscription:

Here lyeth bvried vnder this stone Alice — the 10th of July, 1585.
The Body of THOMAS DAY Joane — Deceased — the 6th of Avgvst, 1598.
And his two wives *Alice* and *Joane*;
The times here see you may. Thomas — the 10th of July, 1613.

These three, no doubt, had faith in Christ, their sins for to forgive,
And they can tell, that knew them well, ye poore they did relieve.*

The situation of Rickmersworth in the vicinity of several streams, renders it very convenient in trades that require the aid of water; and several mills, for various purposes, have been erected in its neighbourhood. At the entrance of the town from the south, is a large cotton and flour-mill: a flock-mill, and a silk-mill, have been recently built at a little distance to the west: and towards the north, on the rivulet that flows from Chesham, are several paper-mills, &c. The manufacture of straw-plat furnishes additional employment, particularly to girls and women. The *Market-House* is a mean wooden fabric, supported on pillars, and open beneath. The market was formerly celebrated for its corn trade,

* Weever, in his Funeral Mon. p. 591, by a strange perversion, has, for this epitaph, given the following lines:

Here ly beried undyr this stone
THOMAS DAVY, and his too Wyfs *Alis* and *Jone*.

but is now little frequented, though toll free. The population of Rickmersworth, as ascertained under the Act of 1800, amounted to 2975; the number of houses to 503.

The Manor of the MOOR, in Rickmersworth Parish, was anciently parcel of the possessions of St. Alban's Abbey, and about 1431, was, with other contiguous manors, held under that foundation by a tenant named Fleete, who had for several years refused either to pay the quit-rents, or to perform the covenanted services claimed by the Abbot; among which was that of finding for his use, and that of his successors, 'one *nag-horse*, to carry him to Tynemouth, whenever he, or they, should visit that cell:' the dispute was at length decided in favor of the Abbot, by Sir William Babyngton, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; and Fleete was compelled to the observance of the accustomed homage and fealty.*

The next possessor on record was Ralph de Boteler, Lord of Sudeley, in Glocestershire, who had a residence here; and who likewise held the manors of 'Asheles, Brittewell, and Baccheworth.' This nobleman, on the solicitation of John of Whethamsted, and his officers, agreed to pay *one penny* yearly, at Michaelmas, for each manor, as an acknowledgment that he held these estates under the Abbots.† How long he continued to possess them is uncertain; but the probability is, that he resigned these manors to Edward the Fourth after his arrest at Sudeley Castle, his attachment to the House of Lancaster having excited the jealousy of the Yorkists.‡ Edward appears to have afterwards granted this manor to George Neville, Archbishop of York, brother to the Great Earl of Warwick, who, according to Godwin, built a house here,§ in which the King was frequently entertained. Here

* Newcome's Hist. St. Alban's, p. 329. † Ibid. p. 350.

‡ See Vol. V. p. 664, for some curious particulars relating to Lord Sudeley.

§ 'De Præsulibus,' Edit. 1615. Godwin also relates the following anecdote as connected with the fall of the Archbishop, and as occurring within a short period after the defeat and death of his brother. "The Archbishop

Here also, in August, 1470, the Archbishop, probably on the rumoured disaffection of his brother, the Earl, was kept in a sort of honorable restraint, under the cognizance of "dyverse off the Kynges s'vantes."* After the battle of Barnet, in 1471, the Archbishop was committed to the Tower; and though once more released, and again received into the King's favor, he was subsequently deprived of his estates and dignities, and died, "as was thought, of grief and anguish of mind," in 1476.

The manor of the Moor, which, during these contentions between the rival houses, seems to have been effectually severed from the possessions of the Abbey, continued in the Crown till the ac-

 cession

Archbishop was hunting with the King at Windsor, when he made relation to him, of some extraordinary kind of game wherewith he was wont to solace himself, at a house which he had built and furnished sumptuously, called the Moore, in Hertfordshire. The King, seeming desirous to be a partaker of this sport, appointed a day when he would come hither and hunt, and make merry with him. Hereupon the Archbishop, taking his leave, got him home, and thinking to entertain the King in the best manner it was possible for him, he sent for much plate that he had hid during the wars, and also borrowed much of his friends. The deer which the King hunted being thus brought into the toils, the day before his appointed time, he sent for the Archbishop, commanding him, all excuses set apart, to repair presently to him at Windsor. As soon as he came, he was arrested of treason; all his money, plate, and moveables, to the value of 20,000l. seized upon for the King, and himself, a long space after, was kept prisoner at Calais, and Guisnes; during which time, the King took upon himself all the profits and temporalities of the Bishopric. Among other things then taken from him, he had a mitre of inestimable value, by reason of many rich stones wherewith it was adorned; that the King broke, and made thereof a crown for himself." Henry, in his Hist. of Great Britain, Vol. IX. p. 203, records, that as Edward was dining one day with the Archbishop, he was privately informed, that he was that day to be put to death; on which he immediately rose, and departed to Windsor. This was probably a state trick to bring the Neville's into disgrace.

* Fenn's Paston Letters, Vol. II. p. 48.

cession of Henry the Seventh, when that Monarch granted it to John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, (who led the van of his army at the Battle of Bosworth Field,) with remainder to the issue of his Countess, Margaret, daughter to the great Earl of Warwick. It afterwards reverted to the Crown, and appears to have been some time in the possession of Cardinal Wolsey, after whose disgrace it again fell to the Crown; but was finally granted, by James the First, in trust for the Earl of Bedford, with remainder to Lucy, his Countess. The next possessor was William, Earl of Pembroke, who sold the manor, in trust, to Sir Charles Harboard; but disposed of the *Moor-Park* estate, which had previously formed part of the manor, to Robert Cary, Earl of Monmouth, third son of Lord Hunsdon;* who, together with Henry, his eldest son and successor, lies buried in Rickmersworth Church. Soon after the decease of the latter, Moor Park was sold to Sir Richard Franklyn, to whom the manor had been previously conveyed; and he disposed of it to Thomas, Earl of Ossory, who was summoned to Parliament by the title of Baron Butler, of Moore Park, in September, 1665. The manor of the Moor was afterwards sold, by Sir R. Franklyn, to Sir William Bucknel, of Oxhey; but the *Moor-House* estate, which lately belonged to the family of the Earles, and has very recently been purchased by Robert Williams, Esq. of Moor Park, was given by the Lady Ann Franklyn, to her grandson, Richard Shales, Esq.

Thomas, Earl of Ossory, married the Lady Amelia, daughter of Louis de Nassau, a descendant of Maurice, Prince of Orange, by whom he had two sons and four daughters. James, the eldest, who succeeded him, sold *Moore Park* to James, the unfortunate Duke of Monmouth, son of Charles the Second, by Lucy Waters: he settled it on Ann, his wife, daughter and sole heir of Francis, Earl of Buccleugh, who sold it, in the year 1720, to Benjamin Hoskins Styles, Esq. after whose decease it was purchased by George, afterwards Lord Anson. His heir again disposed of it to Sir Lawrence

* Salmon's Herts, p. 110. Newcome says, that the House and Park were sold by the Veres to Robert Cary, in 1600. *Hist. of St. Alban's, p.* 519.

Lawrence Dundas, Bart. in 1765; and his son, Sir Thomas, sold it, in 1787, to Thomas Bates Rous, Esq. who dying in February, 1799, it was purchased of his executors in the summer of that year, by Robert Williams, Esq. the present possessor, an eminent banker of London.

MOOR-PARK HOUSE, the splendid residence of this gentleman, is a magnificent building of the Corinthian order, standing in a finely wooded park about five miles in circumference, and having two fronts, facing respectively towards the north and south. The principal or southern front has a very elegant and grand portico, the pediment being supported on four noble columns, each thirty-seven feet high, independent of the base and the capital, the former of which is six feet in height, and the latter, four: a very rich cornice, with a ballustrade above, goes round the house. The height of the ground towards the south, contracts the view; but the northern front commands an extensive prospect; the hill which had previously obstructed the sight, having been purposely lowered, about the years 1725 or 6, at the expense of 5000l.* This was effected through the munificence of B. H. Styles, Esq. who had realized a great fortune by the famous South-Sea scheme; and to him also is the present Mansion indebted for the chief part

* This circumstance is thus alluded to by Pope, in his Moral Essays:

—Or cut wide views through mountains to the plain;
You'll wish your hill, or shelter'd seat again.

"This," he observes in a note, "was done in Hertfordshire, by a wealthy citizen, by which means, merely to overlook a dead plain, he let in the north wind upon his house and parterre, which were before adorned and defended by beautiful woods." Satirists are generally more severe than just, and Pope is not an exception. His 'dead plain' conveys an idea of sterility and loneliness, which the prospect itself effectually belies. It opens rather upon a fertile vale, animated by the meanderings of the Gade and Coln rivers, and rendered beautiful by a luxuriance of verdure, intermingled with noble seats, villages, and farm-houses, together with the towns of Rickmersworth and Watford.

of its grandeur. It was originally constructed of brick, as reputed, at the expense of the Duke of Monmouth; but this gentleman had it entirely new-cased and fronted with Portland stone; and having built the magnificent portico, erected two wings for the Chapel and offices, and connected them with the centre by colonnades of the Tuscan Order. His architect was the celebrated Italian, Giacomo Leoni; but Sir James Thornhill, who painted the Saloon, acted as surveyor of the building. The expense of the carriage of the stone from London, amounted to upwards of 13,800l. and the entire expense, including the improvements in the Park, was more than 150,000l. Further improvements were made by Lord Anson; and others by Sir Lawrence Dundas, who fitted up and ornamented the Ball-Room in a most superb style, at the cost of not less than 10,000l. Mr. Rous, the late possessor, who had been a Director of the East India Company, and had unwisely resigned, from an expectation of becoming one of the Board of Controul under Mr. Fox's famous India Bill, retired hither with an inadequate fortune, and afterwards found it expedient to pull down the wings, for the sake of disposing of the materials.* The central part of the Mansion was, however, left untouched, and now forms one of the most elegant residences in Hertfordshire.

The internal parts of this structure are uncommonly rich, and have an air of grandeur, at once interesting and dignified. The *Hall* is a spacious square apartment, splendidly ornamented with paintings, marble door-ways, military trophies, &c. the latter formed of a composition resembling stone. The chief paintings are contained in four large compartments, below a rich gallery, and represent the principal circumstances in the *Story of Io and Argus*, as detailed by Ovid, in the first book of the Metamorphoses. The subjects commence on the western side: in the first picture Io is delineated naked, and Jove as inclining her to his suit.

Her,

* In the Chapel, which was in the west wing, and had been fitted up in a very elegant manner, Mr. Styles and his wife were buried; and their bodies now lie under the grass-plat contiguous to the west angle of the House.

—Her, just returning from her father's brook,
Jove had beheld with a desiring look;
And, 'Oh, fair daughter of the flood,' he said,
'Worthy alone of Jove's imperial bed,
Happy whoever shall those charms possess!
The King of Gods—nor is thy lover less!
Invites thee to yon cooler shades, to shun
The scorching rays of the meridian sun.'

In the second picture Argus, to whose care Io, now transformed into a beauteous heifer, had been committed by Juno, is represented listening to the syrinx of Mercury, who had been commissioned by Jove to kill the hundred-eyed Argus, and set free the wretched Io.

With pleasure the musician Argus heeds:
But wonders much at those new vocal reeds—
While Hermes pip'd, and sung, and told his tale,
The keeper's winking eyes began to fail,
And drowsy slumber on his lids to creep,
Till all the watchman was at length asleep.

This forms the subject of the third painting, where Mercury appears preparing to cut off the head of Argus;

—Without delay his crooked falchion drew,
And at one fatal stroke the keeper slew.—
And all his hundred eyes, with all their light,
Are clos'd at once in one perpetual night.
These Juno takes, that they no more may fail,
And spreads them in her peacock's gaudy tail:

this is the action represented in the last picture, where Juno is seated in the clouds, with the peacock, and the head of Argus. These paintings are, in general, well executed; and the circumstances of the story are treated with propriety and judgment. The coloring is chaste, but not brilliant: the artist is unknown. The sides of the gallery are ornamented with paintings in fresco, in imitation of several of the most celebrated statues. The ceiling is painted to represent a dome, and has an excellent effect.

The *Saloon* is a well-proportioned and handsome room, wainscotted with oak, and decorated with paintings of the Four Sea-

sons, &c. in pannels, on a grey ground. The ceiling is one of the finest works of Sir James Thornhill; but was copied from one of Guido's, in the Respigliari Palace: Sir James was paid 3,500l. for executing it, yet not till he had established its value by the testimony of some of the most celebrated artists, in a Court of Justice.

The *Ball*, or *Long Drawing-Room*, has a very superb ceiling, decorated in square and circular compartments, with fanciful ornaments, executed with much spirit and taste. The chimney-piece is of fine marble, (as are those of the other apartments,) ornamented above with several small female figures, and at the sides, with two others, as large as life, very beautifully sculptured and polished. The principal *Stair-case* is well painted with various subjects from Ovid, executed in a good style, and with much brilliancy of color. The whole of the internal arrangement evinces the ability, and great judgment of the architect.

The surface of the Park being finely diversified, gives considerable interest to the scenery, which includes a great quantity of timber, particularly oak, elm, and lime; but many of the former are decayed from their tops; a circumstance that may be thought to strengthen the tradition concerning the Duchess of Monmouth, who is said to have resided here at the time of the death of her unfortunate husband; and immediately on hearing of that event, to have ordered the heads of all the trees to be struck off! The grounds at Moor Park were originally laid out by the celebrated Lucy, Countess of Bedford, in the formal style of the age; and though praised by Sir William Temple, as the "perfectest figure of a garden, and "sweetest place," he had ever seen, either "at home or abroad," must have been completely tame, and insipid, from the monotonous recurrence of "fountains, gravel-walks, parterres, and terraces," connected with each other by "descents of many stone steps and ballusters."* This formality has been long destroyed, and the scenery has proportionably improved, as Nature has been unshackled, and true Taste suffered to regain her rights.

These

* See the Description of Moor Park by Sir William Temple, as quoted by Walpole, in his Anecdotes of the Arts, Vol. IV. p. 273—277. It is a current, but erroneous opinion, that Sir W. Temple resided here; his residence was at Moore Park in Sussex.

These improvements were principally made by Lord Anson, who expended about 80,000l. in his different alterations. He destroyed the pleasure garden so much praised by Sir William Temple, and had the present one laid out at a little distance from the house on the south side. Here, in the vicinity of a circular bason, he planted a fine grove, or wilderness, of cypress, laurels, both Portugal and common, firs, &c. The firs are of various kinds; one of them, the cone fir, is uncommonly large and luxuriant in its growth, its long feathery branches giving a remarkable elegance to its appearance. His Lordship also formed the kitchen garden, and planted in it the celebrated *Apricot* called the *Moor-Park*, from which the others of that name are derived. The far-famed Brown was employed by Lord Anson in effecting these alterations.

BUSHEY, called *Bissei* in the Domesday Book, was granted by the Conqueror to Geoffrey de Magnaville; and on failure of male issue, of his family, it reverted to the Crown in the reign of King John. Henry the Third bestowed it on David de Jarpenvil; who, in answer to a writ of *quo warranto*, in the third of Edward the First, claimed, among other privileges, liberty of free-warren, and a weekly market for this manor. Again reverting to the Crown, it was granted by Edward the Second to his brother, Edmond de Woodstock, Earl of Kent, who was beheaded by the influence of Queen Isabella, and her paramour, Mortimer, in the fourth of Edward the Third. From this period, it descended in the same line of ill-fated Princes as possessed the Manor of Ware;* till it once more became vested in the Crown, by the death of Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, in the time of Henry the Eighth. It has since had various possessors, and is now the property of ——— Capper, Esq. who has a pleasant seat here, called WIGGEN HALL; and whose family purchased it about the commencement of the last century.

The *Church* is a small fabric of only one pace, built of flint and rubble, with a tower at the west end, opening to the nave by a pointed arch. In the floor of the chancel is a marble slab, inscribed in memory of "the Right Honorable LADY MARY BARNARD, wife

* See the retrospective survey, inserted in the note, p. 248—250.

wife of Gilbert, Lord Barnard, and daughter of Morgan Randyll, Esq." she died on the fourth of August, 1728, in her forty-ninth year. In the Church-yard are some memorials to the *Cappers;* and the tomb of MRS. ELIZABETH FULLER, of Watford Place, who founded the Free-School in Watford town. She was thrice married, and died a widow, on the eleventh of November, 1709, at the age of sixty-five. The houses in Bushey, are chiefly situated on the sides of the high road; their number, as returned under the late act, was 182; that of the inhabitants, 856.

ELSTREE is an ancient village, situated on elevated ground, on the *Watling Street*, near the site of the Roman Station called SULLONIACÆ. The manor was granted by Offa to St. Alban's Abbey; after the dissolution of which, Henry the Eighth gave it to Anthony Denny, Esq. whose grandson sold that part of the estate, which was within this parish, to Robert Briscoe, Esq. His family continued owners till the year 1748, since which it has been sold to various persons, but is now the property of George Byng, Esq. Member of Parliament for Middlesex. The village, though small, is situated in the four parishes of Elstree, Edgeware, Whitchurch, and Aldenham. The *Church* is a mean structure, dedicated to St. Nicholas; it consists of a nave, chancel, and south aisle, separated by octagonal pillars, and pointed arches: the monuments are but few, and not remarkable. It appears, from an entry in the Parish Register, that *Martha Ray*, the unfortunate victim to the too ardent sensibility of her hapless lover, the Rev. James Hackman, was buried here on the fourteenth of April, 1779. She was shot by Mr. H. while getting into her carriage, after coming out of Covent Garden Theatre, on the evening of the seventh of the same month. Her frantic murderer, who had made an unsuccessful attempt to destroy himself at the same instant, was tried within a few days at the Old Bailey, and was executed at Tyburn on the nineteenth: his behaviour evinced the most perfect resignation to his fate, united with the settled composure of a man, that felt he had survived every thing that was dear to him.

The small village of TOTTERIDGE is supposed, by Chauncy, to have been derived from its situation on the ridge of a hill. The manor was formerly the property of the monks of Ely, and afterwards of

of the Bishops; from one of whom, Bishop Cox, Queen Elizabeth procured its alienation, together with Hatfield, in consideration of the annual sum of 1500l. to be paid to him and his successors in the See of Ely. In 1590, the Queen granted this manor to John Cage; since which period, it has passed through various families, by descent and otherwise, to that of William Lee Antonie, Esq. who has a pleasant seat here, called TOTTERIDGE PARK. The house was originally a small hunting box, belonging to Lord Bateman, of whom it was purchased by Sir William Lee, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, grandfather to the present owner. The Lords *Colerane* had formerly a pleasant residence at Totteridge, which was purchased of Queen Elizabeth, by Hugh Hare, Esq. uncle to the first Lord Colerane: the latter was a zealous adherent to the cause of Charles the First; and was buried here in October, 1667, at the age of sixty-one.*

BARNET, OR CHIPPING BARNET,

Is a small, but busy market-town, occupying an elevated site on the high road from London, and, from that circumstance, occasionally called *High Barnet*. The Manor of Barnet, which includes the whole parish, together with that of East Barnet, anciently belonged to St. Alban's Abbey; but, after the Dissolution, was granted, by Queen Mary, to Anthony Butler, Esq. whose descendants sold it to Sir John Weld, in the year 1619. It has since passed through various families; and is now, or was lately, the property of Edward Beeston Long, Esq. in right of Mary, his wife, grand-daughter, and sole heiress, to John Thomlinson, Esq. who died in 1767.

The *Church* is dedicated to St. John Baptist, and was built, about the year 1400, by John Moot, Abbot of St. Alban's: it consists of a chancel, nave, and side aisles, separated by pointed arches, rising from clustered columns; with a low embattled tower at the west end. In the pavement of the nave is a small stone, inscribed

* Lysons' Environs, Vol. IV. p. 40—48.

inscribed with the words, 'Ora pro anima Johs. Beauchamp hujus operis fundatoris;' from which sentence, Mr. Newcome* supposed Beauchamp to have been the architect of the Church; but Mr. Lysons queries, whether he might not rather have been 'a contributor to the work, or, with Abbot Moot, the joint founder.†' In the chancel is an altar monument, with pointed arches, supported on pillars of the Doric order, in commemoration of THOMAS RAVENSCROFT, Esq. whose effigies, in a recumbent position, is represented on the tomb in veined marble; he died in the year 1630: several others of his family are also buried here; and among these, JAMES, his eldest son, who erected and endowed an *Alms-House*, or *Hospital*, in Barnet, for "six poor ancient women, being widows or maidens," inhabitants of the town, and "neither common beggars, common drunkards, back-biters, tale-bearers, common scolds, thieves, or other like persons of infamous life, or evil name, or repute; or vehemently suspected of socerie, witchcraft, or charming, or guilty of perjury; nor any ideot, or lunatic."‡ The annual value of the original endowments is now about 45l. besides which, the trustees have a further income of about 30l. annually, arising from other sources. Another *Alms-House*, for six poor widows, was built and endowed here, about the year 1723, under the Will of John Garrett, Gent. who bequeathed 800l. for that purpose.

The grant of the weekly market at Barnet, was made to the Abbots of St. Alban's by Henry the Second; it is still held, and is noted for its sale of pigs: an annual fair is also held here in September, principally for the disposal of cattle. The number of houses in this parish, as returned under the Population Act, amounted to 225; that of inhabitantss, to 1258.

Near the *Race Ground*, on Barnet Common, is a *Mineral* spring, of a mild purgative quality, that was discovered about the middle

* Hist. of St. Alban's.

† Environs of London.

‡ 'Statutes,' &c. drawn up by the founder.

middle of the seventeenth century, and was formerly in much repute. It is now but little used; though a subscription has been lately raised by the neighbouring gentlemen, for arching it over, and erecting a pump.

On GLADSMORE HEATH, an open place, immediately to the north of Hadley, which nearly adjoins Barnet, was fought that most decisive battle* between the houses of York and Lancaster, in which the Lancastrians were totally defeated; and RICHARD NEVILLE,† the Great Earl of Warwick and Salisbury, lost his life. This was the man so well known in history by the appellation of the King-maker. He was at one time the most powerful and vigorous supporter of the House of York; in whose cause he was a principal leader in the defeat of the Lancastrians at the first Battle of St. Alban's, and at the Battle of Northampton. In the second Battle of St. Alban's, he was defeated by Queen Margaret; but was again victorious at the overthrow of the Lancastrians, in the Battle of Towton. With the commencement of the reign of Edward the Fourth, he seemed to have attained the enjoyment of every thing he could wish, either of honor or power; but after a few years passed, perhaps, found his prosperity too great for his endurance; and probably might not be without some ground of provocation, in slights offered to him by King Edward, who is said to have been jealous of his potency, and might (to use a vulgar phrase) be desirous to kick away the ladder by which he had ascended to fortune. Warwick then

* Though the more immediate scene of this battle was in Middlesex, just *without* the limits of Hertfordshire, yet the practice of most writers in calling it the *Battle of Barnet*, and the example of the preceding historians of this county, seem to require the insertion of the account here, as being the place where the reader would most naturally expect to meet with it.

† Richard Neville succeeded his father as Earl of Salisbury; but whilst his father was living, and afterwards, had, in right of his wife, the title of Earl of Warwick; and by that title he had summons to Parliament, and precedence of his father.

then became a Lancastrian: he went into Normandy; entered into a league with George, Duke of Clarence, (brother to King Edward,) for the restoration of Henry the Sixth; and, to strengthen this design, gave the Duke his eldest daughter in marriage at Calais. Warwick and Clarence returned to England. The Cambro-Britons, and army of the west, raised by King Edward, being divided in their strength by a foolish dispute between Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, and Stafford, Earl of Devonshire, the Earl of Pembroke, and his followers, were beaten by the northern men under Sir John Conyers, near Banbury, in Oxfordshire: and the Earl of Warwick, having raised a great power in the neighbourhood of Warwick, and being joined by the Duke of Clarence, surprised King Edward at his camp near Wolvey, about four miles from Warwick, slew the centinels, and made the King his prisoner. Edward was committed to the care of George Neville, Archbishop of York, who allowed him so much indulgence in his confinement, that he soon made his escape. The friends of both parties then anxiously endeavoured to promote a reconciliation, and to restore the peace of the country. King Edward, the Duke of Clarence, and the Earl of Warwick, under mutual assurances of safety, met in London; yet the meeting produced nothing but mutual accusation and recrimination. They parted without any diminution of their animosities, and prepared to decide their differences by arms. Soon afterwards, Edward defeated the Lancastrians under Sir Robert Welles, near Stamford, in Lincolnshire: and the Earl of Warwick, who was then at his Castle of Warwick, finding himself unable to make an effectual stand, without further assistance, retired, with the Duke of Clarence, to Dieppe, in Normandy; and from thence solicited the support of Louis, King of France, in behalf of King Henry. Louis invited him to his Castle of Ambois. They were there met by Margaret of Anjou, who had been some time in exile, with her son Edward, Prince of Wales: and Warwick took this opportunity of cementing more closely his connection with the House of Lancaster, by giving his youngest daughter in marriage to Prince Edward. With such succours as he had been able to obtain, he now landed in the west of England; proclaimed

Henry

Henry to be King; proceeded to London; liberated that unfortunate Prince from his confinement in the Tower; and called a Parliament, which recognised the right of Henry to the Crown, and proscribed Edward as a traitor. Edward found the torrent too powerful against him for immediate resistance, and fled. But this reverse, produced by Warwick in favor of King Henry, was of short duration; for in the next year, Edward, landing at Ravenspur, in Holderness, marched from thence to York, and by a circuitous course to Leicester, collecting, in his passage, a great number of followers; and from Leicester advanced to Coventry, which was then in the possession of the Earl of Warwick, and with 6 or 7000 of his soldiers, challenged the Earl to combat. Warwick declined the offer of Edward, and endeavoured to procure a pacification, in hope that he should speedily be joined by the Duke of Clarence, and the army collected under his standard, in the neighbourhood of London. Edward then marched to Warwick: and the Earl, after a wearisome delay, and just suspicion of the Duke's integrity, was at length informed, that Clarence had met his brother Edward near Banbury, and that their forces were united against him: at the same time he received an offer from Clarence, to accommodate his quarrel with King Edward. He rejected the proffered mediation of Clarence with disdain, and placed his hopes on a bolder issue. Edward then proceeded to Daventry; from thence to Northampton and St. Alban's; and, on his arrival in London, Henry was delivered to him a prisoner. Warwick followed to St. Alban's, and there halted his army for refreshment. He was supported by the Dukes of Exeter and Somerset, the Marquis of Montacute, (his brother,) and the Earl of Oxford; and, after counsel taken among these leaders, it was determined to give the Yorkists battle. Warwick continued his march, and on Easter eve, formed his camp on GLADMORE HEATH, about the midway between St. Alban's and London. King Edward came from London to Barnet the same evening; and, under favor of the night, and in strict silence, drew his army, unobserved, almost close to the Lancastrians; who, supposing him to be at a greater distance, kept up an ineffectual discharge of heavy artillery over

the heads of his soldiers as long as the darkness of night continued. At day-break, between four and five o'clock on the Sunday morning, though the mist was so thick, that neither party could well discern the power of the other, Edward drew up his men in order. The Duke of Gloucester had the command of the front; Edward himself, and the Duke of Clarence, (having King Henry captive,) were in the centre; and the Lord Hastings was in the rear, besides a powerful reserve. Thus prepared, Edward unfurled his banners, and ordered his trumpets to sound the battle. Warwick, no less vigilant than Edward, was prepared for his reception. In his right wing he had placed his brother, the Marquis of Montacute, with the Earl of Oxford, and a body of horse; in the centre he appointed the Duke of Somerset, and the archers; and in the left took post himself, with the Duke of Exeter. In numbers the Yorkists had greatly the superiority; but the Lancastrians were better provided with artillery. In personal prowess, and dauntless courage, the chieftains on either side might compare with the greatest heroes of antiquity. If the title to the Crown was governed by laws of inheritance, such as are at present accepted, the right was certainly with Edward. If the rights of the claimants were grounded in power, the right was certainly with the most powerful. But it was not the purpose of this meeting to discuss the rights of the claimants with the subtlety of lawyers: it was an appeal to the sword, in which every noble had every thing near and dear to him to preserve or to lose; and in which the bravest thought it better to perish in the field of battle, than to die on the scaffold by the axe of the executioner. Edward and Warwick have not a Sallust for their historian; or the oration of Warwick, to his followers at Barnet, would neither have wanted the determined courage, nor the fiery valor, of Catiline. He would have told his soldiers, with that daring opponent to sovereign authority, 'When you advance to the charge, remember that you carry in your hands your fortunes, your honors, your glory, your country, and your pardons.' Edward would have been alike in his eloquence, and in his bravery, a Roman. At the blast of the trumpet, the armies advanced towards each other with the best aim in their

their power; but equally misled by the mist, their motion was athwart, and Edward, whose front was to the north, proceeded too far westward; so that the battle commenced between the right of the Lancastrians, under the Earl of Oxford, and the right of the Yorkists, in which the latter, after a tenacious struggle, gave way, and fled to Barnet, and some part of them from thence to London, carrying the report that Warwick was victorious. Oxford pursued his success with more eagerness than prudence, and made a dreadful slaughter of the enemy. But in the meanwhile, the other divisions of the hostile armies saw little of the contest; and the men of Edward were not disheartened by the disasters of their comrades; nor was Warwick enabled to secure the advantages which might have followed the first vigorous and successful effort of his soldiers. The main armies now drew near together, and the contest became more furious and terrible. Warwick had lost more by the absence of Oxford's forces, than he had gained by the partial defeat of the enemy; and Fortune held the balance against him: for, when Oxford returned, the stars on his liveries were mistaken by his comrades for the suns on the liveries of Edward. He received a volley of shot which was designed for the enemy; and suspecting he was betrayed, fled from the field, crying out, "Treason!" It was now that the remembrance of the former glory and renown of Warwick was awakened: and, as he was more closely pressed by an increasing superiority of numbers, it seemed as if the ardour of his soul became more fervid, in proportion as the strength of his body was wasted. He sent away the horse on which he had rode from rank to rank, encouraging his soldiers; rushed on foot into the midst of the enemy; dealt the blows of death around him on every side, determined that his adversaries should pay dearly for the life of so valiant a soldier; and thus manfully fighting, was vanquished, and slain. He was no sooner fallen, than his brother, the Marquis of Montacute, emulating his glorious example, fell also; and victory was declared for King Edward. The Duke of Exeter was left for dead in the field, but recovered, and fled. The Duke of Somerset escaped after the Earl of Oxford. On the King's part were killed the Lords

Cromwell, and Say, with many other men of distinction; and of Yorkists and Lancastrians, nearly 10,000 men lost their lives in this battle. Thus fell George Neville, Earl of Warwick and Salisbury! a man whose hospitality was so abundant, that the ordinary consumption of a breakfast, at his house in London, was six oxen; whose popularity was so great, that his absence was accounted as the absence of the sun from the hemisphere; whose service was so courted, that men of all degrees were proud to wear the badges of his livery; and whose authority was so potent, that Kings were raised, or deposed, as suited his humour.

To commemorate this memorable battle, an OBELISK was erected by the late Sir Jeremy Sambrook, in the year 1740, near the spot where the road divides towards Hatfield and St. Alban's. On this Obelisk, which is represented by the Cut beneath, is a short inscription, recording the date of the battle, and the defeat and death of the Earl of Warwick.

END OF HERTFORDSHIRE.

HUNTINGDONSHIRE.

HUNTINGDONSHIRE, with the adjacent counties of CAMBRIDGE, NORFOLK, and SUFFOLK, composed the extensive territory of the ICENI, a powerful British tribe, whose name, according to Owen,* was derived from *Cyn,* signifying, 'first, a-head, forward, before, or foremost; with the article Y, or *the,* prefixed;' and thence, he continues, 'the people would be called *Cyni, Cyniad, Cynion, Cymwys,* &c. or, with the article, *Y-Cyni,* &c. i. e. the first, or most forward. They were also called *Cenimagni,* or, more properly, *Cenimanni, Cenomanni,* and *Cenomes;* all these appellations being deduced from the British language, and denoting the inhabitants of 'the head-most, or forward, regions.'†

The Iceni formed an alliance with the Romans at a very early period; but the oppressions inflicted during the propraetorship of Ostorius, in the time of the Emperor Claudius, incensed them so highly, that they flew to arms, and, in conjunction with some of the neighbouring states, took the field in great force. Their undisciplined bravery, however, proved of little avail against Roman weapons, and Roman discipline; and, after a sanguinary conflict, they were obliged to submit to the harsh terms proposed by their conquerors. The peace was of short duration. Exasperated by new oppressions, combined with atrocities still more galling, the Iceni had again recourse to arms. The death of Prasutagus, their Sovereign, and the impolitic arrangements of his will, had furnished the Romans with a pretext for coercive measures, and, with the most insulting rapacity, the native chiefs were deprived of their estates, and the people generally inflamed to revenge by

* Cambrian Register, Vol. II.

† Ibid. See also under *Cambridgeshire,* Vol. II. p. 3.

repeated spoliations. The widow of Prasutagus, the brave Boadicea, was ignominiously scourged; and her daughters were violated by the Roman officers. These successive outrages excited a general spirit of resistance; and, under the conduct of Boadicea, the Iceni commenced an exterminating war. The Roman cities at Camalodunum (Colchester) and Verulam (St. Alban's) were reduced to ashes; the infantry of the ninth legion were cut to pieces; and the inhabitants of London were massacred with unsparing fury, from the consideration of their being in alliance with the Romans. Seutonius Paulinus, the Roman General, who was in Anglesea at the commencement of the insurrection, marched hastily to arrest the progress of the exulting foe, whose numbers had now increased to between 200 and 300,000 men. The utmost he could oppose to this immense force, was a body of scarcely 10,000 troops; yet these were veteran soldiers, accustomed to victory, and regardless of every thing but the disgrace of discomfiture. With this intrepid band he awaited the threatened attack in 'a spot encircled with woods, narrow at the entrance, and sheltered in the rear by a thick forest,' the force of the enemy being extended over an open plain which lay before him. The dire conflict terminated in the total defeat of the Britons, who, flushed with their former success, fought in such tumultuous disorder, that their vast superiority of numbers tended only to their own destruction. "The glory of the day," says Tacitus, "was equal to the most splendid victory of ancient times. The waggons in the rear of the Britons obstructed their flight: a dreadful slaughter followed. Neither sex nor age was spared; and the cattle falling in one promiscuous carnage, added to the heaps of slain."* When the pursuit had ceased, the British chiefs endeavoured to collect their scattered troops, and for some time kept the field; but they durst not again contend with the Roman power; and from this period history is silent as to the annals of the Iceni as a separate nation. In the Roman division of the kingdom, their country was included in the district named FLAVIA CÆSARIENSIS.

The

* Ann. B. XIV. S. 37.

The principal Roman stations in Huntingdonshire, were DUROLIPONTE, or *Godmanchester;* and DUROBRIVÆ, near *Dornford Ferry,* about midway between Chesterton in this county, and Castor in Northamptonshire. The principal ancient roads, of which there appear to have been three, intersected each other at Godmanchester: one of them has been called the British *Ermin.* This seems to have entered the county from the neighbourhood of *Cæsar's Camp,* or *Salenæ,* in Bedfordshire, and to have proceeded by Crane Hill, in the track since known by the name of Hell Lane, whence passing through Toseland, Godmanchester, and Huntingdon, it continued by Alconbury, Weston, and Upton; and falling into what is now called the Bullock Road, passed to the east of the spot marked in our maps, the 'Ruins of Ogerston;' and finally, entered Northamptonshire at Wandsford. The Roman *Ermin Street* entered this county from Cambridgeshire, in the vicinity of Papworth St. Agnes, and proceeding to Godmanchester, nearly in the line of the present high road, followed the course of the British Ermin to the neighbourhood of Alconbury; when branching off to the eastward, it again assumed the line of the high road, through Sawtry, St. Andrews, Stilton, and Chesterton, to *Durobrivæ,* whence crossing Northamptonshire, it entered Rutlandshire near Stamford. The *Via Devana,* the third and last of the principal ancient roads in Huntingdonshire, entered from Cambridgeshire, in the neighbourhood of Fenny Stanton, and proceeded to Godmanchester, in the same course as the present turnpike road: thence pursuing the tract of the British Ermin to Alconbury, it passed to the north of Buckworth and Old Weston, and entered Northamptonshire in the vicinity of Clapton. In the early Saxon times, this county formed part of the kingdom of East Anglia, and was then called *Huntedunescyre,* and *Huntandunescyre.* It was afterwards subjugated by the Mercian Sovereigns, and continued under their dominion till the union of the Saxon states into one monarchy by Egbert.

"In the decline of the Saxon government," says Camden,* "this county had an officiary Earl *(named)* Siward; for earldoms

* Brit. Gough's Edit. Vol. II. p. 155.

were not yet hereditary in England, but the governors of shires were, according to the custom of that period, called Earls, with the additional title of the shires they presided over; as this Siward, while Governor here, was called *Earl of Huntingdon;* but afterwards having the government of Northumberland conferred on him, was called *Earl of Northumberland.*"

Waldeof, or Waltheof, son of Siward, a brave and potent English chief, being taken into favor by William the Conqueror, was by him married to Judith, his own niece. He was also made Earl of Huntingdon; and, after the death of Earl Morcar, of Northumberland likewise; and the greater part of the lands in both these counties appears to have belonged to him. Whilst heated with wine at an entertainment given by the Earls of Suffolk and Hereford, (anno 1074,) he was by them persuaded to engage in a conspiracy to depose the King, who was then in Normandy: repenting, however, of his engagement the next morning, he communicated the scheme to Archbishop Lanfranc, who advised him to lay the particulars before his Sovereign, and solicit his pardon. This Waltheof performed, and was readily excused in the moment of confidence excited by the disclosure; but, after William had returned to England, he was basely seized by the King's command, and beheaded at Winchester. His remains were at first buried beneath the scaffold; but being afterwards removed to Croyland Abbey, are asserted, by Ingulphus, and other monkish historians, to 'have worked divers miracles.' Judith, his widow, was afterwards offered in marriage to Simon de St. Liz; but "she disliking his person," says Dugdale, "was turned out of her estate; and Simon married her eldest daughter"* by Waltheof. Her name was Maud, or Matilda: with her Simon received the Earldom of Huntingdon; but dying in the beginning of the reign of Henry the First, his widow was re-married to David, brother to Alexander, King of Scotland, and afterwards his succcessor in the Throne; who, in her right, inherited the possessions of Waltheof, and was made Earl of Huntingdon and Northumberland.

Camden

* Dug. Bar. Vol. I. p. 58.

Camden states, that, after these events, " by the revolutions of fortune, and the King's favor, sometimes the Scots, and another while the St. Lizes, held this honor:" that is, the Earldom of Huntingdon; and with it they possessed the greater part of the lands in this county. Henry, Prince of Scotland, son of David by Matilda, was at first admitted Earl; but on the refusal of his father to acknowledge Stephen, Earl of Blois, as Sovereign of England, to the exclusion of the Empress Matilda, daughter of Henry the First, by the 'good Queen Maud,' who was sister to David, Stephen seized all his possessions in England, and restored this Earldom to the young Simon de Liz. He appears to have retained it during the subsequent war between the two countries, on which both David, and his son Henry, invaded England at the head of a large army, and much blood was spilt on both sides. At length, through the interference of the Empress, a peace was finally concluded on these conditions: " That the counties of Northumberland and Huntingdon should remaine in the government of Henrie, Prince of Scotland, as heire to the same by right of his mother; but Cumberland should be reputed as the inheritance and right of his father, King David: and for these lands and seigniories, the fore-named Prince Henrie and his successors, Princes of Scotland, should doo homage unto King Stephen, and his successors, Kings of England for the time being."*

This agreement was solemnly ratified; yet the jealousies, and opposing interests, of the rival crowns, continuing in full force, the possession of the counties above-named was frequently the occasion of new disputes. Prince Henry died in 1152, and David, his father, in the following year. His successor in the throne of Scotland, was Malcolm, Henry's eldest son by a daughter of the great Earl Warren. This Prince began his reign at the age of thirteen, and was soon afterwards summoned by Henry the Second, 'by counsel of his nobles,' to " come up to London, there to doo his homage unto him, for the lands of Cumberland, Northumberland, and Huntingdon, in maner and forme as his grandfather

* Hol. Chron. Vol. V. p. 290. Edit. 1808.

King David had before doone unto his predecessor, Henrie the First, with certificat, that if he failed, he would take from him all the said lands. King Malcolme obeied this commandement of King Henrie; but yet under condition (as the Scotish writers affirme) that it should in no maner wise preiudice the franchises and liberties of the Scotish kingdome."* Henry being at that period at war with Lewis the Sixth, constrained Malcolm to accompany him to France: in a short time, however, having lost many of his troops by sickness, he returned into England, and Malcolm received license to depart for his own country. No sooner had he got home, than he was strongly reproached by his nobles for his late conduct; and Henry, with intent to widen the breach, again commanded him to repair to York, where he had summoned a Parliament, before which he charged Malcolm with revealing the designs of the English army to the French during the late campaign. Malcolm, though surprised at the charge, offered various substantial arguments against it; "yet by King Henries earnest inforcing of the matter, sentence was given against him, by the generall consent of all the estates there in that Parliament assembled; and moreover, to bring him into further displeasure with the nobles, King Henrie gave notice unto them, before King Malcolme returned backe into his own countrie, how he had of his owne accord renounced all his claime, right, title, and interest, which he had to the foresaid lands, which he held of the Crowne of England, as Cumberland, Northumberland, and Huntingdon."†

Irritated by what they conceived to be the pusillanimous conduct of their King, the Scotch nobles rose in arms, and besieged Malcolm in the 'Castell of Bertha;' but returning to their allegiance, when "it was knowne how evill King Malcolme had been used, and most untrulie slandered," they assisted him "in open warres against the Englishmen. At length, after sundrie harmes doone, as well on the one part as the other, they came to a communication in a certeine appointed place, not far from Carleill, where (to be briefe) it was finallie concluded, that King Malcolme should receive

* Hol. Chron. Vol. V. p. 293. Edit. 1808. † Ibid.

receive againe Cumberland and Huntingdon; but for Northumberland, he should make a plaine release thereof unto King Henrie, and to his successors for ever."*

William, surnamed the Lion, next brother and successor to Malcolm, obtained restitution of the country given up by the above treaty; but in the war which broke out in a few years, he was made prisoner, and all his possessions in England were seized by the English Sovereign. In the following year, 1174, it was agreed that he should pay 100,000l. for his ransom; "the one halfe to be paid in hand; and for sure paiment of the other halfe, the Earldomes of Cumberland, Huntingdon, and Northumberland, should be delivered unto King Henrie, in pledge or mortgage, till the time that the same summe was paid. And for the more suertie of these covenants, and that the Scotch should moove no warre against the Englishmen, foure of the strongest castells within Scotland, that is to saie, Berwike, Edenburgh, Roxburgh, and Striveling, were delivered into the Englishmen's hands."†

The accession of Richard Cœur de Lion, and the determination of that warlike Prince to rescue the Holy Land from the dominion of the Saracens, occasioned him "to make peace with all his neighbours—and hereupon to keep the Scots in friendship, rather by benevolence than by feare," he returned to them all the above castles, except Edinburgh, together "with that part of Northumberland which his father had taken from King William. He also delivered the Earldomes of Huntingdon and Cumberland; but under condition, that all the castels and holds within them, should be in the keeping of his capteins and souldiers, such as he should appoint:" he also remitted 40,000l. of the sum still due for ransom money. "When King William had thus received his lands and castels by surrender, he made his brother David‡ Earl of

* Hol. Chron. Vol. V. p. 299. Edit. 1808. † Ibid.

‡ Isabel, second daughter of Earl David, was married to Robert Bruce, Lord of Anandale, whose son and heir, of the same name, married Martha, daughter to the Earl of Carrick, from which match sprung Robert

Huntingdon, who thereupon dooing his homage unto King Richard, according to the old ordinance devised by King Malcolme the First, went with him also in that voiage."*

It would seem from the Scottish history, that on this occasion, the conferring of the title was not accompanied with the grant of the lands, as at a subsequent period; and whilst David was still living, an assembly was held at York, at which the Kings both of Scotland and England were present, and "in that assemblie, King William surrendered into the hands of King John, the *lands* of Cumberland, Huntingdon, and Northumberland; to the intention he should assigne those lands againe unto his sonne, Prince Alexander, (afterwards Alexander the Second,) and he to do homage for the same, according to the maner and custome in that case provided, for a knowledge and recognition that those lands were holden of the Kings of England, as superior lords of the same."† This Alexander attended the coronation of Edward the First, whose sister, Margaret, he had married; and "at that time, Prince Alexander, King Alexander's sonne, did homage unto King Edward for the Earldome of Huntingdon, as the Scotish writers doo testifie."‡

In

Robert Bruce, who was afterwards King of Scotland, in right of his descent from Earl David. Margery, daughter of King Robert Bruce, married Walter, Lord High *Steward* of Scotland; and their son, Robert, ascended the Scottish throne in right of his mother, on the decease of her brother, David the Second. Such was the origin of the *Royal Line* of the *Stuarts*. The claim of the House of Brunswick to the Throne of Great Britain, was also derived from the Stuart family, through the marriage of Elizabeth, daughter of James the First, with Frederick, the Elector Palatine, and afterwards King of Bohemia. It was on this Princess that Sir Henry Wotton wrote his elegant verses, beginning with, 'You meaner beauties of the night,' &c. See in Kent, Vol. VIII. p. 1213,-14.

* Hol. Chron. Vol. V. p. 302. † Ibid. p. 304,-5.

‡ Ibid. p. 320.

In the subsequent wars, occasioned by the rival claims to the Scottish Crown, of the families of Bruce and Baliol, this Earldom* was seized by the Kings of England; and Edward the Third, in his eleventh year, created William Clinton, Earl of Huntingdon. Some portion of the land, however, was still retained by the Bruces, and from them descended to the knightly family of Cotton.† Guiscard d'Angolesme was the next Earl; and after his death, in 1380, the title was conferred on John Holland, "who was succeeded by his son John, and (he by) his son Henry, who were both likewise Dukes of Exeter. Thomas Gray, afterwards Marquis of Dorset, was the next that had this honour for a little while; for it appears from the Records, that William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, 'brought the charter of creation,' by which his father was made Earl of Pembroke, 'into Chancery to be cancelled;' and that Edward the Fourth, in the seventeenth year of his reign, created him Earl of Huntingdon."‡ Henry the Eighth, in his twenty-first year, bestowed this title on George Hastings, grandson to the Lord Hastings, beheaded by the Duke of Glocester, and in his posterity it continued till the decease of Francis, tenth and last Earl of this family, in 1789, when the title became extinct.

The general form of this county is an irregular square. On the south-east and north-east sides it is bounded by Cambridgeshire, on the north and north-west by Northamptonshire, and on the south-west by Bedfordshire. Its limits are chiefly artificial: the river Nene on the Northamptonshire border, with the King's Delf, the Old West Water, and the Ouse River, on the Cambridgeshire side, being the principal exceptions. The extent of this county, from south to north, is thirty miles; its greatest breadth, from east to west, twenty-three; and its circumference about one hundred:

* "The Scots, as the wars came on," says Camden, "lost this title, and a fine estate in England." *Gough's Edit. Vol. II. p.* 156.

† See under Connington. ‡ Gough's Cam. *ubi supra.*

dred:* its superficial contents has been estimated at from 220,000 to 240,000 acres. It contains six market towns; one hundred and seven parishes, 6976 houses, and 37,568 inhabitants, viz. 18,521 males, and 19,047 females, according to the late returns made under the Population and Poor Acts. It sends four Members to Parliament; two for the shire, and two for the town of Huntingdon. "The government of this county is very peculiar; Cambridgeshire being joined to it under one Sheriff, who is chosen out of that county one year, out of the Isle of Ely the second, and out of this county the third; and in the Isle of Ely alternately out of the north and south parts."† The whole of this county is in the diocese of Lincoln.

Huntingdonshire, says Leland, "in old time, was much more woody than it is now, and the dere resortid to the fennes: it is full long sins it was deforestid."‡ Camden corroborates this, and states, that "the inhabitants say it was once covered with woods; and it appears to have been a forest till Henry the Second, in the beginning of his reign, disforested the whole, as set forth by an old perambulation, 'except Waybridge, Sapple, and Herthei, which were the Lord's woods, and remain forest."§ Sir Robert Cotton says, this country was not completely disafforested till Edward the First's time, when that Sovereign, in his twenty-ninth year, confirmed the great charter granted by Henry the Third, and left no more forest than his own demesne.‖

This

* These numbers result from an attentive admeasurement of the best maps: the extent of the county has been hitherto stated too low.

† Gough's Cam. Vol. II. p. 157, from Mag. Brit. Vol. II. p. 1044.

‡ Itin. Vol. IV. p. 48. § Gough's Edit. Vol. II. p. 153.

‖ Ibid. p. 157. From a presentment made in the twenty-fourth of Edward the First, (anno 1305,) and recorded by Dugdale, (Hist. of Imbanking, &c. p. 367,) it appears, that "the tenants of the Abbots of Ramsey, in the town of Ramsey, and the tenants of the Abbots of Thorney,

This description of forest land cannot be supposed to apply to the *Fens*, of which there are 44,000 acres in this county, exclusive of about 5000 acres of what are called skirty lands.* These constitute nearly a seventh part of what is called the Great Bedford Level, but they belong to that division called the Middle Level,† and are principally found on the north and north-eastern parts of the county. About 8 or 10,000 acres of the fen-lands are productive, yet the expense of keeping them from inundation amounts to almost one third of the rents, through the imperfect state of the drainage. "It may seem paradoxical," says Mr. Maxwell, "that the Fens of Huntingdonshire, whose surface is comparatively high, should be worse drained than those that lie between them and the sea, the surface of which last is considerably lower; the natural supposition being, that water will inevitably fall from the higher to the lower level. But this is the case with all the fens that are upon the skirts of the high land, and proves only, that the general drainage was executed upon principles fundamentally wrong. The fact is, that there was not a proper outfal to the sea, at the time of the general undertaking to drain the fens, nearly a century and a half ago; and ingenious men employed themselves not in obtaining an outfal, as they ought to have done, but in constructing large drains, and high banks, within the boundaries of the fens, expecting the water would force its own passage, in spite of every impediment; though the distance between the fen and the sea, was from ten to fifteen and twenty miles. This not proving to be the case, ingenuity was set to work, to invent engines for the purpose of throwing the water out of the lands

Thorney, in Whittlesea, had wasted all the fen of King's Delf of the alders, hassocks, and rushes, estimated at a thousand acres, so that the King's deer could not have harbour there, as before that perambulation."

* Stone's Gen. View, &c. of Huntingdon, p. 8; and Maxwell's Gen. View, p. 13.

† For various historical and descriptive particulars of the Great Level of the Fens, see in Cambridgeshire, Vol. II. p. 8—18.

lands into the internal rivers. Still it did not find its way to the sea, but overtopped the banks, or broke them down with the weight of its pressure: even to this moment, instead of resorting to the outfal, the engines have been increased in size, and the banks raised still higher, so that the water, which, if there had been an outfal, would have found its way to the sea, and if left to itself, would have rested on the lowest of the land, has been forced in a retrograde motion, over the surface of the higher lands; and hence the deplorable state of the fens in Huntingdonshire."*

The mode of management of the fen-lands has been much improved of late years. Formerly "nothing was thought of but getting as much as possible out of the land, and trusting to a general drowning for restoring its goodness: the common practice now is, first, to set apart some given proportion of the farm, which is held sacred from the plough; then to have one third of the remainder under the plough, and two thirds in grass; keeping the whole of that remainder in a succession of tillage and grass. That portion which is immediately under the plough, is divided either into three or four seasons for occupation, as follows: if into three, first year, pare and burn, after six, seven, or eight, years, grass, and coleseed brushed in upon the first ploughing, but little or none suffered to stand for a crop, it being fed off in the winter with sheep; and then generally after one ploughing, sowed the second year, with oats, which are generally so rank as to make it impracticable to have grass seeds with them: third year, wheat or oats, with seeds, to remain until it comes again into a succession for tillage. If three crops of wheat are taken, oats are sowed, after the wheat, or wheat, after the oats, and sometimes

* Gen. View, &c. of Hunt. p. 11. "The fen is generally unproductive, being constantly either covered with water, or, at least, in too wet a state for cultivation; and considerable parts are very frequently forfeited to the corporation of the Bedford Level, the tax annually charged upon the fen for its drainage, far exceeding any advantages the proprietors can derive from the soil in its present state, so that they rather prefer relinquishing their estates, than to pay the taxes imposed upon them." *Stone's Gen. View, p.* 13.

sometimes oats or barley."* "The fen men are the most expert of any in the world at ploughing,† no such thing as a driver being known, although they frequently plough with three mares, which are always abreast, and guided with a line; and it is incredible how fast the business proceeds.—A fen ploughman has been known to win a considerable wager, by ploughing an acre of high land without a single balk, keeping his mares always in a trot even at the land's ends, those being the two conditions of the bet. The common rate of ploughing is about two statute acres with the paring plough, and about one acre and a half with the seed plough per day."‡ The fen farmers use light waggons instead of carts, one side of the waggon being made of loose boards, for conveniency in the carriage, and distribution of farm-yard manure. The average rent of the cultivated part of the fens, is from ten

* Maxwell's Gen. View, p 8.-9.

† The ploughmen of Norfolk and Suffolk should, perhaps, be excepted from this general statement.

‡ Maxwell's Gen. View, p. 10. "The sort of plough for paring, was originally introduced from Holland, and has only one handle, from the hinder part of which projects a kind of crutch, horizontally disposed, and upon this the holder bears with his left hand, walking upright. From the same handle, another crutch projects at right angles with the former, but considerably lower down; and this the holder uses occasionally with his right hand, for the purpose either of keeping the plough steady, or assisting to turn it at the land's end. Instead of a foot, or wheel, to support the beam of the plough, they use what is called a scaife, which is a circular plate of iron, turning constantly round, the edges of which are steeled, and, together with the edge of the share, are kept as sharp as a penknife, by means of a file, which the ploughman carries with him for that purpose. This they call the whole Dutch: they have likewise what they call the three-quarter Dutch, and the half Dutch plough, differing from the former in the breadth and strength of the share; and these two sorts are used for the seed-furrow, as it is called, which means that ploughing upon which the seed is brushed in, if cole-seed, and harrowed in, if corn. The latter is used with a foot instead of a scaife, and is equally adapted for ploughing strong high land, on which it is frequently used upon the edges of the fens." *Ibid.*

ten to twelve shillings per acre, subject to tithes: in a few instances, the rent is as high as forty shillings per acre. The *Skirty-lands* are those which border on the fens, and partake of the properties of moor, combined with whatever soil, whether clay, gravel, or loam, that may be be prevalent in the adjacent up-lands. In general, these lands afford luxuriant grazing; and the surface being considerably higher than that of the fens, properly so called, would be seldom flooded, were it not for the injudicious contrivances by which the waters from the lower lands are raised up, instead of being drained off by a proper outfal.

The *Meadow Lands*, which are the next in order on the scale of elevation, consist of about twelve or fourteen hundred acres, bordering on the rivers Nene and Ouse, but chiefly on the latter. These are extremely productive, but the produce is frequently damaged by the floods, and the crops sometimes totally carried away: this chiefly happens along the banks of the Ouse, from St. Neot's to Erith; and the numerous water-mills which are placed upon this stream increase the risk of damage.* Though these meadows are in general very favorably situated for the purpose, the art of properly watering them is but little practised. The pasture lands are commonly kept too wet, and are too generally suffered to be overrun with ant-hills.

The *Soils* in the upland parts of the county are various, but principally consist of a strong, deep clay, more or less intermingled with loam; or of a deep gravelly soil, with loam. Of what are called the deep-stapled lands, "great part is still in an open field state, where each particular occupier is necessarily obliged to pursue whatever course of tillage is practised by the parish at large. This on the best of the land is a four years course, viz. first year, fallow; second, wheat or barley; third, beans; fourth, barley or wheat. On the more ordinary land, as in the still less fertile parts of the county, a three years course is pursued; as, first, fallow; second, wheat or barley; third, beans and peas, or oats: where the land is fit for turnips, first, turnips; second, barley or wheat; third,

* Stone's Gen. View, p. 28.

third, wheat, if after barley; or beans, if after wheat. The average produce from the best of the inclosed lands, may be stated at five quarters per acre of barley, four of beans, and three and a half of wheat."* Upwards of one third of the high lands are yet uninclosed. The more ancient inclosed parts, are, generally speaking, in the hands of large proprietors; but in the new inclosures, and in the open fields, property is divided among a much greater number of persons. The rental of many farms in the inclosed parts, amounts from 200l. to 500l. per annum: in the open fields, the farms are mostly under 150l. a year, and downwards to as low as 50l. a year. On some estates, the tenantry have no more than a yearly interest in the lands they occupy. The *Woodlands* are but of inconsiderable extent, and the country is thin of timber: this is attributed to the very great demand for it in the fens; and the underwood is sold at a higher price by the pole, than in most other counties.

The breed of *Sheep* upon the inclosed pastures is of a mixed description, nearly approaching to the Leicestershire and Lincolnshire kinds, with which the native breed has been much crossed. The sheep are of the polled sort, and though profitable, are not distinguished for symmetry of form. The wool is of pretty good quality; the average produce is between seven and eight pounds from

* Maxwell's Gen. View, p. 15 and 17. Mr. Stone says (Gen. View, p. 9) "the common-field land in each respective parish is divided into three parts; one part is annually fallowed: a moiety of this is folded with sheep, and sown with wheat; and the other moiety is dunged, and sown with barley in the succeeding spring. The part which produces wheat, is broken up, and sown with oats; and the part which produces barley, is at the same time generally sown with beans or peas; and then it comes in routine to be again fallowed in the third year. This is the best husbandry of the common fields; but is not invariably pursued, as many farmers attend to their own immediate interests, without a due regard to their future advantage, by a mode of proceeding called *cross*-cropping, which is the sowing of wheat upon part of the land that should produce barley; and oats upon another part of the land which should produce peas or beans."

from each fleece. The sheep bred in the open fields and common lands, are much inferior; and their average produce of wool is scarcely half the above quantity: those bred in the cultivated part of the fens, are mostly of the Lincolnshire sort, though not of the superior kind. The *Neat Cattle* " are the refuse of the Lancashire, Leicestershire, and Derbyshire breeds, or are bred from those sorts without any particular care in selecting them: oxen are purchased for grazing without any particular choice in the breed, and unfortunately are never used in husbandry. From the open state of the country, dairy-farming is not much followed; and the cows are used for suckling calves in the southern parts, to supply the London market."* In the fens, "*Mares* are used for all the purposes of agriculture; and every farmer breeds from them as many as he can, selling the colts off at two years old; and as many of the fillies as can be spared, with proper attention to the filling up of his team. They are also in general use for the same purposes in the other parts of the county; but the high-land farmer does not breed near so many colts as the fen-man; though, in general, they have an eye to the keeping up of their teams without going to fairs."†

The situation of the laborers in husbandry is somewhat differently stated by the respective authors of the agricultural surveys of this county. Mr. Maxwell observes, " that the poor, in general, have dwellings suited to their station; and as almost every one of them may grow his own potatoes, and have constant employment, they are naturally as little disposed to emigrate from Huntingdonshire, as from other counties."‡ On the contrary, Mr. Stone remarks, that " the little employment given to the husbandmen, in respect to constant work throughout the year, the laborers remain with the farmers during the winter season to thrash out their grain, and on the approach of summer, set off for more cultivated counties, where labor is more required." There is " a scarcity," he continues, " of comfortable cottages for the poor of this

* Stone's Gen. View, p. 14.

† Maxwell's Gen. View, p. 9 and 18. ‡ Gen. View, p. 19.

this county; and the farmers are more studious to prevent this very necessary class of men from making settlements amongst them, than to provide them useful and profitable employments: the most distressing circumstance resulting from which is, that, on the approach of harvest, inhabitants of the country cannot be found to reap, gather, and embarn the corn; and were it not from the accidental peregrinations of the Irish, of manufacturers from Leicestershire, and persons of other distant counties, the corn must be spoiled in the fields. Hence it results, that in some parts of the county, in times when labourers are scarce, a guinea and upwards per acre is frequently paid for reaping wheat and oats, which, according to an equal scale in the price of labour, might otherwise be performed for seven shillings; and it has often occurred, that at a critical time in harvest, when labourers have been wanted extremely, that half-a-guinea per day, and even upwards, has been paid them."*

The high roads in Huntingdonshire are in general pretty good: the cross-roads are but indifferent; and in the winter season, many of them become nearly impassable. No Manufactures of note are carried on in this county, and hardly any thing that bears reference to them, except wool-stapling, and spinning yarn:† the latter is the chief

 business

* Gen. View, p. 15,-16. "Comfortable habitations should be provided upon every estate, for the industrious labourers who are employed upon it; and where it is necessary that any new erections shall take place, I would recommend that they should be placed contiguous to each other, and that each labourer should have a portion of land to supply him with esculent roots; and where necessary, with the means of maintaining an hardy cow, of the Scotch or Welsh breeds: provision thus made, for the necessary labourers upon each estate, there would be no doubt of an increase of inhabitants, whose duty, as well as interest, it would be, to exert themselves to the utmost of their power for the farmers, at all seasons of the year, whilst the influence of the neighbouring magistracy would be a barrier against their being oppressed."

Ibid. p, 33.

† As a local exception, perhaps, it should be mentioned here, that the French prisoners in Yaxley Barracks employ themselves in making bone-boxes, and other toys and light articles.

business of the women and children in the winter season; in summer they seek a more profitable employ in the fields. The brewing trade furnishes another means of employment, though to no great extent, the produce being wholly for home consumption. The climate is regarded as very healthy; considering the space occupied by the fens, and that many parts of the county are but badly supplied with pure water, either from springs or rivers.*

The principal RIVERS connected with Huntingdonshire, are the Ouse, and the Nene, or Nen. The *Ouse*, which is sometimes called the Leaser Ouse, to distinguish it from another of the same name in Yorkshire, enters the county from Bedfordshire between St. Neot's and Little Paxton, and in its northern course towards Huntingdon, is increased by a combination of small streams from the north-west. Having passed that town, it assumes an easterly direction, and flowing by the west end of St. Ives, becomes, near Holywell, the boundary between this county and Cambridgeshire, till it finally enters the Great Level of the Fens in the neighbourhood of Erith: this river is navigable along its whole line across this county. The *Nene* rises in Northamptonshire, and flowing through a delightful vale, reaches Huntingdonshire near Elton, where it becomes the boundary between both counties, and meandering to the north, passes Yarwell and Wandsford: soon after, winding to the east through a more level country, it pursues a devious course to Peterborough, below which it sinks into the Fens, and slowly winds onward to the sea. Some smaller streams water the north-east side of this county, together with several large MERES, or pools of water; namely, *Whittlesea Mere, Ramsey Mere, Ugg-Mere*, &c. of these Whittlesea Mere is by far the largest, and covers an area of several miles extent: it affords excellent sailing and fishing, and is in the summer season much frequented by parties of pleasure. Some ideas of draining this Mere have been entertained, and the scheme is not supposed to be impracticable, though many persons object to its being carried into effect, from an unwillingness "to be deprived of so beautiful

* Maxwell's Gen. View, p. 7.

tiful a piece of water, or to lose the excellent fish it produces."* The supporters of the plan argue that the general healthfulness of the neighbourhood would be improved by it; whilst at the same time, a considerable extent of fertile land would be added to the surrounding estates. Most of the Meres are visited by abundance of wild fowl.

The principal *Land-owners* in this county in the Norman times, as recorded in the Domesday Book, were the King; the Bishops of Lincoln and Constance; the Abbots of Ely, Croyland, Ramsey, Thorney, and Peterborough; the Countess Judith, Sheriff Eustace, Earl Eustace, Earl of Ow, Earl Hugh, Walter Giffard, William de Warren, Hugh de Bolebec, Eudo Fitz-Hubert, Swain of Essex, Roger de Iveri, Arnulf de Hesding, Gilbert de Gaunt, Aubery de Ver, Ralph Fitz-Osmund, and Rothais, wife of Richard Fitz-Gilbert.

Richard Cœur de Lion granted a tythe of the Hares, Foxes, &c. caught in this county, to the Abbey at Peterborough, by the following charter. *Richardus Dei Gratia Rex Ange, Dux Norman. Aquit. Comes Audeg. Justic. Vic. Forestariis & omnibus ministris & fidelibus suis Francis & Anglis Salutem. Sciatis nos concessisse & Cartâ istâ confirmasse, Abbati de Burgo, & Monachis ibm. Deo servientibus totam Decimam totius Venationis, quæ capietur in Huntingdonscire quicunq'. eam ceperit, in perpetuum; et quod liceat eis venari Leporem, Vulpem, & Catum: Salva aliâ Venatione nostra. Et Ideo prohibemus ne aliquis eos inde impediat, nec Decimam predictam eis detineat. Et precipimus Forestariis, ut unusquisq'. in Ballivâ suâ, eis Decimam suam habere faciat. T. Waltero Archiepiscopo Rothom. 24 Die Martii, apud Rothom.*

* Stone's Gen. View, p. 8.

The following summary of the *Population*, &c. of Huntingdonshire, is taken from the returns made to the House of Commons, under the Act of 1800.

HUNDREDS.	Houses inhabited.	By what Number of Families occupied.	Houses uninhabited.	Males.	Females.	Number of Persons chiefly employed in Agriculture.	Ditto in Trade, Manufactures, or Handicrafts.	Ditto not included in preceding Classes.	Total Number of Persons.
Hurstingstone	2011	2534	35	5689	5745	2729	1299	6505	11,444
Leightonstone	1273	1530	17	3577	3669	2194	529	4523	7246
Norman-cross	1295	1522	29	3367	3435	2218	797	2586	6802
Toseland	1912	2214	48	4885	5156	2389	980	6575	10,041
Town of Huntingdon	350	350	6	993	1042	6	879	376	2035
Total	6841	8150	135	18,521	19,047	9536	4484	20,565	37,568
Town of Huntingdon: All Saints	46	46		191	179				370
St. Benedict	60	69		225	274		292	207	499
St. John	110	110	5	269	283	6	91	51	552
St. Mary	125	125	1	308	306		496	118	614
Total	350	350	6	993	1042	6	879	376	2035

HUNTINGDON,

HUNTINGDON,

CALLED *Huntandene* in the Saxon Chronicle,* and *Huntantun* in other ancient writings, is the principal town in this county. It is situated on the northern side of the river Ouse, on gently-rising ground, and is nearly connected by three bridges and a causeway with the village of Godmanchester, 'whence it sprung,' according to Camden.† Henry of Huntingdon, the Archdeacon, and Historian, describes it as "surpassing all the neighbouring towns both in pleasantness of situation, beauty of buildings, nearness to the fens, and plenty of game and fish."

Most writers agree with Camden in respect to the origin of this town; and like him, also, have placed the DUROLIPONTE of Antoninus at Godmanchester; yet the nature of the ground affords decisive evidence that the Roman station could not have been at that village, but was rather at Huntingdon, where the entrenchments yet remaining show the works to have been very strong and extensive. It is true that these works are generally referred to times long subsequent to the Roman period; yet even Camden's own testimony may be urged in support of the opinion, that they had a far more remote origin than is commonly assigned. "On the river near the Bridge," he observes, "which is fair built of stone, are to be seen the mount and site of a CASTLE, which, in the year 917, King Edward the Elder *built anew;* and David, the Scot, (to whom, according to an ancient historian, 'King Stephen

 gave

* Chron. p. 107, 109, 119. The "Public Seale" calls it "*Huntersdune*, or *Hunterizdune;* that is, the *Hill* or *Downe* of Hunters, as Henry of Huntingdon interpreteth it; whence it useth in their common seal, an Hunter." Baker's MSS. Vol. XXXVI. from a MS. indorsed *Cotton*, and supposed to have been Sir Robert Cotton's; but 'if it were his,' says the copyist, 'the additions are more than the original manuscript.' Ibid.* In the Domesday Book this town is called *Huntedone.*

† Brit. Vol. II. p. 153. Edit. 1789.

* Whenever this manuscript is again referred to in the ensuing pages, it will be by the words *Cotton MS.* and the extracts will be given from a copy purposely made, and in my possession. E. W. B.

gave the borough of Huntingdon for an augmentation of his estate,') enlarged with many works."* Now the rebuilding of the Castle by the above Sovereign, evinces, in a great measure, its previous antiquity; and its site, as in Camden's time, still remains to prove, that no spot of ground in this neighbourhood could be better adapted for a station or fortress. On the south it is bounded by the river, from which it rises very abruptly to a considerable height, and from its summit commands a fine view over a great expanse of country, particularly to the south; the prospect towards the north must also have been formerly very extensive, but is now impeded by the houses of the town. The outer ramparts inclose an area of several acres, of a square form, with the angles rounded off, and the whole was environed by a deep ditch: the banks on the south, and south-east, are still very bold; the principal entrance was on the east side. Not any vestiges of buildings now remain, but the foundations may in various places be traced from the unevenness of the surface: the artificial mount, on which most probably stood the keep of the Castle, was surrounded by a ditch. Towards the west, the high ground continues for some distance; but on the north and east it more quickly declines. Such are the characteristics of this spot: the situation, and square form of the inclosed area, furnish strong evidence of a Roman origin; and though no coins are known to have been found here, as at Godmanchester, that circumstance alone cannot be admitted as sufficient to invalidate the assumed fact. Both the distance and the ancient name, as recorded in the Itinerary, will suit Huntingdon, equally as well as Godmanchester; and as the latter place, from the lowness of its situation, would never have been selected by the Romans for the site of a fort, in direct contradiction to their acknowledged system of military tactics, while the short distance of half a mile afforded them such a superior and proper choice of ground, and as no vestige of entrenchments can be found,

* "*Ad flumen propè pontem qui è saxo viuo speciosus est, moles & area Castri cernitur, quod anno reparatæ salutis* 917 EDWARDUS *Senior instaurauit, Dauid Scotus, cui, vt antiquus habet historicus, 'Stephanus Rex Burgum Huntingdon in augmentum dederat,' multis operibus adauxit;—.*" Brit. p. 395. Edit. 1590.

found, nor are remembered to exist, at Godmanchester,* the removal of the assigned Roman station from that village to Huntingdon, will not be regarded as an unwarrantable liberty.† That any Roman coins, or other antiquities, have been met with about the *Castle Hills*, has not been recorded; but on that which adjoins the site of the fortress, and on which the windmill stands, was dug up, about two years ago, a human skeleton in a stone trough, or coffin.

Camden supposes the appellation *Duroliponte*, to be a corruption from *Durosiponte*, (more accurately *Dur-osi-ponte*,) "signifying, in British, *the Bridge over the Water Ose;* for all allow that this river is indifferently called *Use, Ise, Ose,* and *Ouse.*" This etymology seems very just; for anciently, as it still does in time of floods, the river must have spread over the low grounds under the Castle Hills, in a broad expansive sheet. He states, also, that the Castle itself was utterly destroyed by Henry the Second, not only from its having become a retreat for 'seditious rebels,' but

 from

* Some conjectures on the name of Godman-*chester*, and on the Roman coins found there, will be inserted under the proper head.

† Baxter, in his '*Glossarium Antiquitatum Britannicarum*,' p. 112, 113, is the only writer that has before placed the *Duroliponte*, or, as he reads it, *Durocinonte*, at Huntingdon; but he offers no other argument than what is derived from the name, as he conjectures it to have been written, in support of his opinion: his words are as follows: "DUROCINONTE: Antonini Libris turpi vitio scribitur *Duroliponte*, & Ravennati etiam Monacho correptè *Durcinate*, vel forsan *Durcinante*. Oppidum hoc est Saxonibus ibridà vcce *Huntandun*, appellatum; cùm, si plenè scriberetur, deberet esse *Durocinontedun*, Siquidem ipsum vetus *Durocindum* possit esse *Garmonceaster*, de Germanis Incolis ita appellatum; *Durocinonte* autem, quod Girviis Britannis cesserat, *Huntedun*, sive magis *Ontedon*. Idem enim *Hunte* vel *Onte* (quod & Britannis *Ante, Unte,* & *Hiint)* quod Saxonibus etiam *Geond* est, Anglisque *Pond*, sive *Ultra* & *Ulterior*. Sit igitur *Durocindum* nostrum GORMANCHESTER, & *Durocinonte Huntendun*, sive HUNTINGTON. De Gormundo sive Guthruno Dano, quærant quibus fabellæ placituræ sunt." Scarcely a shadow of argument, however, can be advanced in support of Durocindum being at Godmanchester.

from the frequent contentions for its possession between the Scots and the St. Lizes, which occasioned him to level it with the ground, he having sworn in his anger, that 'it should no longer be a cause of dispute.' Below the high ground to the south-westward of the entrenchments, is an extensive and fertile meadow, called *Portsholm*, which Camden describes as 'the most fresh and beautiful that the sun ever shone upon.' This meadow is partly surrounded by the Ouse river; and here the Huntingdon *Races* are held: a small part of it, which belonged to the Protector Cromwell, and now to the Earl of Sandwich, still bears the appellation of Cromwell's Acres.

Huntingdon is a borough by prescription, and the only one in the whole shire. In the time of Edward the Confessor, as appears from the Domesday Book, there were in 'this burgh, four ferlings,* in two of which were 116 burgeases paying custom and geld, and under them 100 bordarii,† who help to pay the geld: in the other two ferlings were 140 burgesses, subject to all customs, and the King's geld.'

Scarcely any historical events are recorded as happening in this town. During the Civil Wars in the time of Charles the First, it was pillaged by the King's troops, who, commanded by the King in person, and taking advantage of the absence of the Parliament's army in the west, suddenly entered the 'associated eastern counties,' and committed great ravages. Whitelocke, who notices this under the date of August 25, 1645,‡ after mentioning a skirmish with the

* A *Ferling* is 'the 4th part of a yardland;' Kelham, p. 210. Sir Edward Coke explains a ferling by thirty-two acres; Spelman, by ten acres.

† The *Bordarii*, says Cowel, were distinct from the Servi and Villani, and seem to be those of a less servile condition, who had a *bord*, or cottage, with a small parcel of land, allowed to them.'—"They were drudges, and performed vile services, which were reserved by the Lord upon a poor little house, and a small parcel of land, and might perhaps do domestic works, such as grinding, threshing, drawing water, cutting wood, &c." *Howard*, p. 204. *Brad. Prcf.* p. 56.

‡ Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 153.

the van of the King's army, (which consisted of about 5000 horse and dragoons,) says, "on Sunday last, in the afternoon, the King's forces entered Huntingdon, after some resistance made at the bridge by Captain Bennet, with his foot, till he, his lieutenant, and many of his men, were slain; the King's souldiers miserably plundered the town, and the counties of Bedford and Cambridge, and took away their horses and goods."* A few years before this, in March, 1640-41, Charles stopt here in his way to York, where he kept his court for some months previous to the commencement of hostilities; and from hence he sent a message to the Parliament, acquainting them with his intention of making York his residence, and "desiring them not upon any pretence of an ordinance, to which his assent is not given, as by law it ought, to doe against law, which he was to *keep*, and his subjects to *obey*."†

The Religious Houses, of which there were formerly no less than four of different descriptions in this town, are almost as entirely obliterated as the buildings of the Castle. The most ancient of these was a PRIORY of Austin Canons, founded on the spot where St. Mary's Church now stands, before the year 973, as appears from a charter of that date, granted by King Edgar to Thorney Abbey, and in which he confirms to Thorney, '*duas mansas juxta Huntandune, et Monasteriolum S. Mariæ extra oppidum dedicatum supradictum.*'‡ Here it continued till the time of King Stephen, or Henry the Second, when Eustace de "Luvetote," says Leland, "translated the channons from the place where now St. Maries Church is, to the place without the town, where late it stood."§ It is most probable that on this removal, the number of monks was increased, and the endowments enlarged, as Camden mentions the founders of the Priory, "whose walls," he continues, "I saw below the town to the east," to have been 'the Empress Maud and Eustace Lovetoft;'‖ and in the Monasticon¶ the said Empress is mentioned as a benefactor to this establishment.

At

* Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 154. † Ibid. p. 54.

‡ See Dug. Mon. Vol. I. p. 244, a. § Lel. Itin. Vol. IV. p. 49.

‖ Brit. Gough's Edit. Vol. II. p. 153. ¶ Vol. II. p. 25.

At the period of the Dissolution, its inmates were a Prior, eleven Canons, and thirty-four servants; and its annual revenues were valued at 187l. 13s. 8¼d. according to Dugdale; or, according to Speed, at 232l. 7s. 0½d. Soon afterwards, in 1542, the dissolved Monastery was granted, by Henry the Eighth, to Sir Richard Cromwell, alias Williams, great grandfather to the Protector Oliver Cromwell, and at that time one of the King's chief favorites. His son, Sir Henry Cromwell, bequeathed it to his second son, Robert Cromwell, Esq. the father of the Protector Cromwell, by the latter of whom it was sold, with other estates, in and near Huntingdon, to two of his own family, who soon afterwards conveyed the whole to Sir Sidney Montagu, ancestor to the present Earl of Sandwich. The buildings have long been demolished; but the 'lanes which sever the closes from each other, still retain their ancient appellation. In the Priory Close, two stone coffins were dug up in the course of the last century."* In this Priory, David Bruce, the Scotch Earl of Huntingdon, and brother to King William, was buried; and "there was also an elegant monument, with the figure of a knight on horseback *(eques)* in his hunting dress, ascribed by the town's-people to another Earl of Huntingdon."†

The next foundation in order of time, was an HOSPITAL dedicated to St. Margaret, 'for a Master and Brethren, and several leprous and infirm People,' to which Malcolm the Fourth, King of Scotland, and Earl of Huntingdon, was a great benefactor, and most probably the founder.‡ Its possessions were afterwards increased by several of the Bruces, and various privileges were conferred also by them upon the Brethren; all which were confirmed by Edward the Third in the twelfth of his reign. In the twenty-fourth of Henry the Sixth, either 'by the death or cession of the master,' this Hospital was annexed to Trinity Hall, in Cambridge, and confirmed to that foundation by Edward the Fourth

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* MS. Inform. *penes me.* † Gough's Cam. Vol. II. p. 158.

‡ Tanner's Notitia.

in his first year. Another HOSPITAL, for leprous and poor people, was founded in the north part of the town, by David, Earl of Huntingdon, in the time of Henry the Second, and dedicated to St. John Baptist. On its dissolution, among the Lesser Monasteries, in the twenty-sixth of Henry the Eighth, its annual revenues were estimated at 9l. 4s. in the gross, or at the nett sum of 6l. 7s. 8d. Almost the only vestiges of this Hospital now standing, are some fragments of the garden wall.† The Mastership was in the gift of the Bailiffs and Commonalty of Huntingdon. At the north end of the town, also, was a *House* of AUGUSTINE FRIARS, established before the nineteenth of Edward the First;‡ probably about 1285, as "Johannes Romanus, Archbishop of York, granted an indulgence in that year to such as should contribute toward the fabric."§ This Friary was suppressed in the thirty-second of Henry the Eighth, and granted to Thomas Ardern.‖

Huntingdon is generally stated to have been once much larger than at present; and Sir Robert Cotton, as quoted by Speed, ascribes its decay to some alterations made in the river by one Grey, 'a minion of the time,' which impeded its navigation. Leland says, that 'some ages before it had fifteen Churches, though in his time reduced to four; the rest fallen through time and neglect, but traces of their walls and yards remaining.'¶ Twelve of these Churches, as appears from Cole's Manuscripts in the British Museum, were dedicated to St. Botolph, St. Martin, St. Edmund, St. John, St. Benet, All Saints, St. Mary, St. Andrew, St. Nicholas, St. George, and St. Germain. The first seven are mentioned in

* Sancroft's MS. Valor.

† For additional particulars, see in the account of the Cromwells, p. 364, and p. 450.

‡ Tanner's Not. § Ibid.

‖ Prynne's Papal Usurpations, Vol. III. p. 451.

¶ Lel. Coll. Vol. III. p. 11.

in the Monasticon,* to have been granted to St. Mary's Priory, in the time of Henry the Third: St. Andrew's belonged to Ramsey Abbey:† St. John's was pulled down between the years 1651 and 1660, by 'one Silvester Bedell, whose family is extinct, and come to poverty;' and St. Benet's has been since entirely demolished, the tower, which alone remained standing during the last century, having been taken down about four years ago, to prevent the danger of its expected fall. The only churches that now remain, are those of St. Mary and All Saints.

St. Mary's, which is the Corporation Church, was rebuilt in the reign of James the First, between the years 1608 and 1620, as appears from those dates over the north door-way: on the tower is the date 1613. It consists of a nave, chancel, and aisles, with an handsome embattled tower at the west end, having strong buttresses with ornamental niches at the angles: the nave is separated from the chancel by a high pointed arch, and from the aisles by pointed arches rising from round and octagonal columns. The area is well pewed; and across the west end runs a large gallery, in which is a good organ. On the north side of the chancel are seveal monuments of the *Sayers;* one of whom, George Sayer, Gent. contributed largely towards the internal repairs of this edifice, and, besides several other donations, gave 500l. to purchase lands, the rents to be appropriated to the ministers of the two Parishes, for reading prayers alternately in their respective churches. Against the south wall, within the altar-rails, is a neat tablet in commemoration of *Mary Elizabeth,* wife of Rear Admiral Montagu, who was born August, 13, 1774; married April 24, 1792; and died May 29, 1805. Another monument against the south wall records the memory of NICHOLAS PEDLEY, Knt. and is thus inscribed:

> *Proxime hoc Marmor est Nichlaus Pedley, Miles. Juris et Legum patriarum Scientium professus, et in eâ Vitæ ac Studiorum ratione honestis muneribus functus. Quo neque Fide erga Patriam constantior quisquam, nec Pietate in Deum sanctior*

* Vol. II. p. 27. † *Sprotti Chron. Hern.* p. 191.

ALL SAINTS CHURCH,
Huntingdon

sanctior aut diligentior. Ob singularem Humanitatem Hospitalitatem, Beneficentiam apud hanc Provinciam carissimus. Cujus olim liberis et inemptis Suffragiis plus una Vice, in Senatorium Ordinem est cooptatus. In Matrimonio habuit Luciam, Patrĕ Rob^to Bernard, Baronetto diuturnâ felicitate usus et xv liberis auctus, et in defunctæ loco annam Laur°. Torkington Arm°. ante nuptam ex quâ nihil liberorum tulit. Obiit pridie Nonas Jul. 1685 *annum agens ætatis* 71. *Superstitibus uxore Anna et utriusq^z Sexus Liberis* 15.

Among the other monuments is a large one for the family of "*Elis. de Carcassonett,* widow of John Francis de Carcassonett, Esq. and formerly the wife of the Honorable Remigius Birmingham, second son to Francis Lord Athunry, in the Kingdom of Ireland." She died in June, 1799, aged eighty-five. "She was daughter of Mr. William Lysons, late of Bristol, merchant, and Anne, his wife; which Anne afterwards married Sir Edward Gardner, Knt." and was buried with him near this spot. The *Font* consists of an octagonal base, supported by a central column, surrounded by small pillars. On the outside of the Church are various sculptures of rude heads, both human and animal. Nearly opposite to this edifice is a respectable MANSION, now the property and seat of Sir John Arundel.

All Saints Church, which stands on the north side of the market-place, appears, from the character of its architecture and ornaments, to have been built in the time of Henry the Seventh. It is an embattled edifice, consisting of a nave, chancel, and aisles, with a small tower at the north-west angle, ornamented with pinnacles. Below the battlements is a continued frieze, charged with a multiplicity of sculptures, representing human and animal heads, flowers, &c. and among them the Tudor rose and the portcullis. The water-spouts are discharged through the mouths of grotesque and monstrous animal figures; some of them with the most strange and whimsical countenances that can well be conceived.* In the east wall of the south porch are the remains of a broken piscina. The

* These sort of sculptures are common to almost all the Churches in the southern part of this county.

The nave is divided from the aisles by three pointed arches on each side, rising from clustered columns, and from the chancel by a high pointed arch. The roof is of timber: that of the nave is curiously ornamented with whole-length carved figures, placed at the ends of the principal rafters, and at the rise of the knees. The windows are mostly large, and are divided by mullions into several lights; the tracery of some of them is not inelegant. At the sides and west end are large galleries: the organ is now undergoing a repair. Against the north wall of the chancel is a large monument inscribed to 'the *Fullwoods*,' who 'were descended from an ancient family settled soon after the Norman Conquest at Fullwode, (now called Clea Hall,) in the Parish of Tanworth, and county of Warwick;' and 'the first of whom, who came to reside at Huntingdon, married here in 1627: the last, a female, died in 1756.' Dr. William Fullwood, who was some time Mayor of Huntingdon, was an eminent physician, and obtained great praise for his benevolent conduct during 'the *Sickness*,' or *Plague*, which made great havock in this town in the time of Charles the Second. The other monuments are not particularly remarkable. Several of the grave-stones in the nave, and other parts, display the indents of brasses,* but all the latter are gone: on one very large slab were the figures of a knight and his lady. Many of the *Cromwells* of Hinchinbrook, &c. from whom descended the Protector Oliver Cromwell, were buried here; yet not any memorials of them are to be found, excepting the respective entries in the Register. Mr. Noble intimates, that they might have been destroyed during the Civil

* Four of these were inscribed as follows, in Black Letter. Cotton MS.

Hic Jacet Richus Levet alia Oyler de Wisbech, qui obiit Feb. 25°. *Aō Dnī* 1506 *Cujus &* — *Orate pro animabus Robti Newell quondam Burgensis de Huntington & Agnetis Consortis suæ, qui quidem Robertus obiit* 20 *die Mens. Febr. Aō. Dnī.* 1509 *Cujus &c.* — *Hic jacet Rogerus Heyns quondam Burgensis villæ Huntington & Elena uxor ejus. Qui quidem Rogerus obiit* 25 *die mens. Januarii An. Dnī* 1518, *Quoram, &c.*—Ego Thomas Beard Sacræ Theologiæ Professor, in Ecclesiâ omnium Sanctorum Huntingtoniæ. Verbi Divini Prædicator olim. Jam sanus sum. Obiit Januarii 8°. An. 1631.

Civil Wars; and states, that "the outrages Huntingdon then experienced, her townsmen lay to the account of Cromwell; but they suffered much more from the Royal arms, than they did from those of the Parliament, as both Whitelocke, in his 'Memorials,' and the author of the 'Memoirs of a Cavalier,' relate." Huntingdon still consists of four Parishes, that of St. John being connected with All Saints, and that of St. Benet with St. Mary's.

The principal Charitable establishments in this town, are a *Free Grammar School*, well endowed, and now extremely well conducted by the present Master, the Reverend Edward Edwards; and a Green Coat Scool, wherein twenty-four poor boys are cloathed and educated, called *Walden's Charity*, from Lyonel Walden, Esq. who, by will, dated in July, 1719, gave 500l. for the purpose. Among the various other donations made for charitable uses in Huntingdon, was the sum of 2000l. bequeathed by Richard Fishbourn, a citizen of London, who died in 1625, to purchase lands, the rents to be appropriated to the use of the poor: the same person made similar bequests of large sums to other places, the amount of the whole being computed at 11,000l.

The Market-place is tolerably spacious: on the south side stands the *Town Hall*, a good modern brick building, stuccoed, with a sort of piazza in front and at the sides, for the market people; and behind it, the Butchers' shambles. The assizes are held here twice a year; the lower part of the building being divided for the purpose into two courts; one for criminal, and the other for civil causes. Above is a spacious *Assembly Room*, ornamented with full length portraits of their Majesties GEORGE THE SECOND and THIRD, with their respective *Queens;* and also a well painted picture of JOHN, the late *Lord Sandwich*, who died in April, 1792. The market is well supplied with provisions in general, and great quantities of corn are sold here annually.

Huntingdon had its first charter about the year 1206. King John granted it a peculiar Coroner, receipt of tolls and customs, a Recorder, Town-clerk, and two Bailiffs. Charles the Second, by a new charter, granted in 1630, vested its government in a Mayor, twelve Aldermen, and an indefinite number of Burgesses, or Commoa

mon Council, chosen from the principal inhabitants. The rights of returning the two Members to Parliament, is generally understood to be vested in the freemen and inhabitant householders, paying scot and lot; the number of voters is about 200: both the representatives are nominated by the Earl of Sandwich. This borough sent Members to Parliament *ab origine*, or from the twenty-third of Edward the First.

This town principally consists of one street, extending, in a north-westerly direction, from the banks of the Ouse, to nearly the distance of a mile, and having several lanes branching off at right angles. The more ancient town appears to have spread further to the eastward; yet, whatever might formerly have been the extent of Huntingdon, it is probable that its population is now nearly the same as it was a century ago; as Bishop Gibson states the number of families it contained in 1717, at 400, whilst the returns made to the House of Commons in 1801, recorded their then amount at 350. This total includes 993 males, and 1042 females; the number of houses was 356: most of the latter are of brick, and many of them large and respectable buildings, inhabited by genteel families. The streets have been paved, and are lighted in the winter season by a small assessment levied on the householders.

Huntingdon being a principal thoroughfare to the north, has a good road trade, and contains several large inns. The brewing business is still carried on here, though not to so great an extent as formerly; and near the principal bridge is a small vinegar manufactory. The inhabitants are supplied with coals, wood, &c. by barges, and small vessels, which come up the river from Lynn, in Norfolk.

HENRY, surnamed *de Huntingdon*, from his having been born here, was an eminent ecclesiastic and historian. He lived in the reigns of Henry the Third and Edward the First, and wrote a History of the Saxon Heptarchy, and of the succeeding Kings to the reign of Stephen, in eight books, published at Francfort, by Henry Sevil, in 1601: he died in 1280. RICHARD FISHBOURN, Gent. who has been mentioned above for his great charities, was another native of this town.

Huntingdon was also the birth-place of one of the most extraordinary characters that ever lived, the Protector OLIVER CROMWELL, who, though prevented by considerations of policy from assuming the regal title, enjoyed all the essentials of sovereignty, and ruled over this country with regal power. He was born in the Parish of St. John, on the twenty-fifth of April, 1599, and baptized four days afterwards, as appears from the following entry in the Register: '*Anno Dni* 1599. *Oliverius filius Roberti Cromwell, gener. et Elisabethæ, uxoris ejus, natus vicesimo quinto Die Aprilis, et Baptisatus vicesimo nono ejusdem mensis.*'*

The family of Cromwell was of Welsh extraction; and there are pedigrees extant, which trace the descent of his ancestors from the Lords of Powis and Cardigan, who lived about the era of the Norman invasion. Their name, prior to the assumption of that of Cromwell, was *Williams*, which seems to have been first taken by MORGAN AP-WILLIAMS, Esq. who possessed a small estate at New Church, in Glamorganshire, and was Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to Henry the Seventh. He married to a sister of Thomas Cromwell, afterwards Earl of Essex, and Vicar-General, the great favorite of Henry the Eighth; and the Earl himself was married to "Jane, widow of one Williams, of an ancient family of Wales, and daughter and heir of Sir John Prior, Knt."† The Williams here mentioned, was nearly related to Morgan, probably

 a brother;

* Over this entry is written in another hand, '*England's Plague for 5 years:*' these words have been struck through with a pen.

† Noble's Pro. Ho. of Crom. Vol. I. p. 239, from a MS. of Lilly. "The arms of the Vicar-General impaled with the Williams's, alias Cromwells, at Hinchinbrook, their seat, is a proof that an alliance was made between one of Sir Richard's family, and the Cromwells of Putney; and the emblazonry of the Countess's arms given by Milles, who has put the arms of her first husband, and not of her father, shews that her first husband, Thomas Williams, Esq. was of the same name and family as Sir Richard's father; from which it is evident that a double alliance was formed between the families of Cromwell of Putney, and the Williams's of Wales, who assumed the name of Cromwell." *Ibid.*

a brother; and to this double alliance the Protector's family were indebted for that patronage which led the way to their advance in the state, and to the acquisition of possessions so extensive in this county, that their influence here may be said to have been pre-eminent for upwards of a century.

RICHARD WILLIAMS, alias CROMWELL, eldest son of Morgan Williams, Esq. and great-grandfather to Oliver, was born in the Parish of Llanishen, in Glamorganshire.* He was introduced by his uncle, the Earl of Essex, to the notice of Henry the Eighth, whose favor he soon obtained by his active spirit, and various accomplishments. His preferment was forwarded through the zeal with which he engaged in the suppression of the dangerous insurrection that begun in Lincolnshire, when the King's measures first evinced a determined intention to abrogate the institutions of Papacy. In the following year, on the passing of the Act for the Dissolution of Monasteries, &c. he was appointed one of the Visitors of the Religious Houses; and he very quickly obtained a full share in the rich harvest of Abbey lands, which was now divided among the promoters of the Reformation. Previously to this, he had superadded the surname of *Cromwell* to his own, in honor of his relation, the Earl of Essex; and on the recommendation of the King, who had strongly enjoined the adoption of family names to all his Welsh subjects, in preference to the mode which then prevailed. In March, 1537,-8, he had a grant of the Nunnery of Hinchinbrook, near Huntingdon, with its appurtenances; and this was followed by several others, which rendered him one of the richest commoners of his time.†

In

* Lel. Itin. Vol. IV. p. 37,-8.

† The annual value of Hinchinbrook, says Mr. Noble, "as stated in the deed, was 19l. 9s. 2d. but making every possible allowance for the difference in the value of money and land at that time, to what it is at present, yet we must suppose this monastery to have been very much under-rated; for the grant states the lands and premises, given thereby, as lying in the several parishes and hamlets of Hinchinbrook, Huntingdon,

In 1540, the bravery and prowess he displayed in a great 'triumph of justing' at Westminster, 'which justs had been proclaimed in France, Flanders, Scotland, and Spain, for all comers that would, against the challengers of England,'* still further

Huntingdon, Stewkley-Magna, Stewkley-Parva, Turkington, Houghton, Esington, Auconbury, Paxton-Magna, Paxton-Parva, Hale-Weston, Warensley, or Wiresley, and Bawynhoo, all in the county of *Huntingdon;* Eltisley, Botesham, and Boxworth, in *Cambridgeshire;* Staplewe and Bewlow, in *Bedfordshire;* Hamildon-Parva, in *Rutlandshire;* and Stoke-doyle and Okeley, in *Northamptonshire.*" Vol. I. p. 7. The other grants made to this gentleman in *Huntingdonshire,* included the Monastery of Saltry-Judith, valued at 199l. 11s. 1d. lands at Eynsbury, Eton, and Little Paxton, belonging to the late dissolved chantry of Swasey, County of Cambridge; the site of the rich Abbey of Ramsey, with the several meers and lakes belonging to it, and generally all its possessions in this county,* the annual revenue of which was estimated at 1987l. 15s. 3d. St. Mary's Monastery, in Huntingdon, valued at 232l. 7s. per annum; and St. Neot's Monastery, in the town so named, valued at 256l. 1s. 3d. The annual value of these estates, continues Mr. Noble, "were, in Fuller's time, estimated at from 20,000l. to 30,000l. and upwards; and from what they now let for, in and near Ramsey, and Huntingdon, (which are only a part of them,) I should presume that Sir Richard's possessions in this county only, would now bring in as large a revenue as any Peer at this time enjoys; and yet it is evident that he had considerable property in several other counties." The other grants, referred to above, included the Abbey of Grey Friars at Yarmouth, in Norfolk; the Priory of St. Helen, in Bishopsgate Street, London; the Castles, Lordships, and Manors, of Manerbere, or Maverbere, and Penalle, both in Pembrokeshire, of the value of 100l. and also by exchange for other lands, the Abbey of Neath, in Glamorganshire.

* 'It is expressed in the grant, that it passed in consideration of his good service, and the payment of 4963l. 4s. 8d. to be held in capite by knight's service.'

* Stow's Chron. The Challengers were "Sir John Dudley, Sir T. Seymour, Sir T. Poynings, Sir George Carew, Knts. Anthony Kingston,

advanced him in the King's favor, and he received the honor of knighthood on the field. Henry was so much delighted with his skill and courage, that, according to a family tradition preserved by Fuller,* he exclaimed, "Formerly thou wast my Dick, but hereafter shall be my Diamond," and thereupon "let fall his *Diamond Ring* unto him: in avowance whereof, these Cromwells have ever

ston, and Richard Cromwell, Esqs. which said challengers came into the lists on May-day, richly apparelled, and their horses trapped all in white velvet, with certain knights and gentlemen riding afore them, apparelled all with velvet and white sarsnet, and all their servants in white doublets, and hosen cut all in the Burgonian fashion:—and there came to just against them the said day, of defendants 16, the Earl of Surrey being the foremost, &c. and that day Sir John Dudley was overthrowne in the field by mischance of his horse, by one Andrew Breme; nevertheless, he brake divers spears valiantly after that; and after the said justs done, the said Challengers rode to Durham-place, where they kept open household, and feasted the King and Queen, with their ladies, and all the court. The 2d. of May, Anthony Kingstone and Richard Cromwell were made knights at the same place. The 3rd of May, the said challengers did tourney on horseback, with swords; against them came 29 defendants: Sir John Dudley and the Earl of Surrey running first, which in the first course lost their gauntlets; and that day Sir Richard Cromwell overthrew Master Palmer in the fielde off his horse, to the great honour of the challengers. The 5th of May, the said challengers fought on foot, at the barriers, and against them came 30 defendants, which fought valiantly; but Sir Richard Cromwell overthrew that day at the barriers, Master Culpepper in the field; and the sixt of May the said challengers brake up their household. In the which time of their housekeeping, they had not only feasted the King, Queen, ladies, and the whole court, as was aforesaid, but on the Tuesday in the Rogation weeke, they feasted all the Knights and Burgesses of the Common House in the Parliament; and on the morrow after, they had the Mayor of London, the Aldermen, and all their wives, to dinner; and on the Friday they brake it up as aforesaid." *Ibid.*

* Church Hist. B. VI. p. 370. Sir Richard's arms were, sable, a lion rampant, argent; the crest, a demi lion rampant, double tailed, argent; in his dexter gamb, a gem ring, Or.

ever since given for their crest, a lyon holding a diamond ring in his fore-paw." In 1541, Sir Richard was appointed High Sheriff of the counties of Huntingdon and Cambridge: he was also returned a Member for Huntingdonshire in the Parliament which met in January, 1542: in this year likewise he was made one of the Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, or, as he is styled in some grants, Gentleman *Huisher*, or Usher of the Chamber. On the recommencement of the war with France in 1543, Sir Richard was appointed 'Capteine of the Horssemen'* in the expedition sent into that country under Sir John Wallop, and Sir Thomas Seymour, and which consisted of 6000 men, 'right hardie, and valiant,' including the 'flower of the English chivalry.' While in France, they assisted the Emperor Charles the Fifth, in his attempt to retake Landrecy; but the French King, Francis the First, having approached with a large army, and "making countenance as if he meant presentlie to give battell," drew off the attention of the allies, till he had both victualled and reinforced that town, so that all their efforts proved unavailing. Francis then retreated in good order, placing his rear-guard in ambuscade, by which means 'divers of the English,' who followed close in the pursuit, were taken prisoners, and among them, Sir George Carew, (Sir Richard's Lieutenant,) Sir Thomas Palmer, Knt. and Sir Edward Bellingham: "but neverthelesse, a great number of such Frenchmen as could not make waie, and keepe pase with their maine troops, were snapped up, slaine, and taken in no small numbers by their enemies, who followed them as egre as tigers."† Soon afterwards, "by reason the winter was farre entred, and the weather waxing extreame foule, and contrarie to an armie that should lie in the fields, the Emperour brake vp his campe," and the English forces returned home. In the following year, Sir Richard was made Constable of Berkeley Castle: he had also "given him the office of Steward of the Lordship of Archenfield, with the Constableship of the Castle of Goderyche, in the March of Wales, with the power of appointing the Master, Serjeant, and Porter,

* Hol. Chron. Vol. III. p. 832. Edit. 1808. † Ibid. p. 833.

belonging to those offices, during the nonage of the Earl of Shrewsbury." He died about November, 1546, leaving issue two sons by his wife Frances, daughter to Sir Thomas Murfyn, Lord Mayor of London in 1518.

Sir Henry Williams, alias Cromwell, Knt. "eldest son and heir of Sir Richard, was highly esteemed by Queen Elizabeth, who knighted him in 1563, and did him the honor of sleeping at his seat of Hinchinbrook, August, 18, 1564, upon her return from visiting the University of Cambridge. He was in the House of Commons in 1563, as one of the Knights for the county of Huntingdon; and was four times appointed Sheriff of the Shires of Huntingdon and Cambridge by that Sovereign, viz. in the 7th, 13th, 22nd. and 34th. years of her reign; and in the twentieth, she nominated him a Commissioner, with others, to enquire concerning the Draining of the Fens through Cloughs Cross, and so to the sea. He made Huntingdonshire the intire place of his country residence, living at Ramsey in the summer, and at Hinchinbrook in the winter: he repaired, if not rebuilt, the Manor-House at Ramsey, and made it one of his seats. He also built a house adjoining to the Nunnery at Hinchinbrook, and upon the bow-windows there put the arms of his family, with those of several others to whom he was allied. He lived to a good old age, but dying in the beginning of the year 1603,-4, was buried in All Saints Church, Huntingdon. We may judge of the funeral pomp used at his interment, by the charges of the heralds, which were the same as those incurred by some of the greatest knights, his contemporaries. He was called, from his liberality, 'the Golden Knight.' The report at Ramsey is, that whenever he came from Hinchinbrook to that place, he threw considerable sums of money to the poor townsmen."*

Sir Henry was twice married: by his first wife, Joan, daughter of Sir Ralph Warren, Knt. Lord Mayor of London in 1536, and again in 1543, he had eleven children, of whom six were sons and five daughters. By his second lady, whose surname was Weeks, he

* Noble's Crom. Vol. I. p. 20,-21.

he had no issue: she died in July, 1592, of a lingering illness, which the senseless but popular superstition of the age attributed to *Witchcraft;* and three persons, of the name of Samwell, who were then inhabitants of Warboys, (a village between Huntingdon and Ramsey,) were committed to prison, and afterwards tried, and executed, as the authors of her death.* This judicial murder was accompanied by the forfeiture to Sir Henry, as Lord of the Manor of Warboys, of all the goods of the much-injured sufferers, which amounted in value to about forty pounds; "but he, unwilling to possess himself of the supposed felons' goods, gave them to the Corporation (of Huntingdon) conditionally, that they procured from the Queen's College, in Cambridge, a Doctor, or Bachelor of Divinity, to preach on every anniversary of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, a sermon against the sin of Witchcraft."† The bulk of Sir Henry's fortune went to Sir Oliver, his

 eldest

* See more particulars under the head *Warboys.*

† Noble's Crom. Vol. I. p. 25,-6. "It is with real concern," continues this gentleman, "that I acquaint the reader, that there is still an annual sermon preached against witchcraft in Huntingdon, by a divine sent from Queen's College, for which he receives 2l. but is obliged to distribute ten shillings to the poor; and by custom to treat part of the corporation with a dinner. This is the more extraordinary, as all the penal statutes against this supposed crime of witchcraft, have been repealed by an Act of Parliament, which is tacitly declaring that there are no such beings as witches, nor crime as witchcraft: it would be therefore highly commendable in the Corporation of Huntingdon, and Queen's College, to agree, that if a sermon must be preached, the subject of it should, instead of being levelled at the pretended sin of witchcraft, be an address to the people, cautioning them against falling into such errors and prejudices, as made their forefathers involve the unhappy and immeasurably injured Samwells in ruin and destruction.—In the last trial for witchcraft in England, the Judge asked a clergyman, who had the folly to appear against the supposed witch, whether he really from his heart thought the poor old creature before them guilty of the crime of which she was accused; and he answering in the affirmative, the humane magistrate replied, pointing to the prisoner, 'It is not such a poor wrinkled wretch as this that I should take for a witch, but such beautiful ladies as those,' bowing to some very handsome females who were near him.

eldest son;* to each of his other sons were given estates of about the annual value, at that period, of 300l. each.

ROBERT CROMWELL, Esq. second son to Sir Henry, and father of the Protector Oliver, settled at Huntingdon, his estate consisting chiefly of possessions in and near that town, and which had previously belonged to the Monastery of Augustine Friars. His principal residence, however, was in a house that formed part of the dissolved Hospital of St. John, or had been erected upon its site. He was a gentleman of good sense, and competent learning, and was one of the Members for Huntingdon in the Parliament held in the thirty-fifth of Elizabeth. So different was his character from that of the aspiring Oliver, that this situation, and 'a place upon the bench as a Justice of the Peace,' are thought to have marked the utmost extent of his wishes. He married ELIZABETH, daughter of William Steward, Esq. of the city of Ely, a descendant from a younger branch of the Royal House of Scotland, and widow of William Lynne, Gent. of Bassingbourne. By her he had ten children; and, "to ease the expenses incident on such a numerous progeny, and so much felt where the fortune is small, and the descent ancient, Mr. Cromwell carried on a large brewing business, but which was chiefly conducted by servants, whose accounts were intirely inspected by Mrs. Cromwell herself. She was a careful prudent mother, and brought up her family after her husband's decease in June, 1617, in a very handsome, though frugal manner, chiefly from the profits arising from the brew-house, which she continued to carry on upon her own account; and by that means gave each of her daughters a fortune sufficient to marry them to persons of genteel families. Her greatest fondness was lavished upon her only (surviving) son, Oliver, whom she ever partially loved; and to her he was every way deserving of it, as he behaved always in the most filial and tender manner; and upon exalting himself to sovereign greatness, he gave her apartments in the Palace at Whitehall, where she continued until her death, which happened on the eighteenth of November, 1654.

death,

* Some particulars of this gentleman, will be given under Hinchinbrook; and of his younger brothers, under Upwood and Ramsey.

As it was with reluctance she partook of the pageantry of sovereignty, so she continued undazzled with its splendour; and the regard she possessed for Oliver, rendered her constantly wretched from the apprehension she had of his danger."* Ludlow says, that "by reason of her great age, she very much mistrusted the issue of affairs, and would be often afraid, when she heard the noise of a musquet, that her son was shot; and was exceedingly dissatisfied, unless she might see him once a day, at least."† She was buried with much pomp in Westminster Abbey; but "at the Restoration her body was taken up, and indecently thrown (with others) into a hole made before the back door of the lodgings belonging to one of the Canons or Prebendaries in St. Margaret's Church-yard."‡

The above particulars of the Cromwells render it evident, that the descent of the Protector Oliver was not so ignoble as some party writers have represented. They fully justify, however, the assertion of Father Orleans, who, in his 'History of the Revolutions of England,' says, that he was 'well enough born not to be contemptible; and yet not so well as to be suspected of aspiring to sovereignty.' The mention which he made of himself in his speech to the Parliament in September, 1654, is, indeed, perfectly characteristic of his true condition. "I was by birth," said he, "a gentleman; neither living in any considerable height, nor yet in obscurity."—What he subsequently added, will not, perhaps, be generally admitted as equally valid. "I have been called to several employments in the nation, and to serve in Parliaments, and I did endeavour to discharge the duties of an *honest man* in those services."

OLIVER CROMWELL received his baptismal name from his uncle and god-father, Sir Oliver, of Hinchinbrook.§ His father paid

* Noble's Crom. Vol. I. p. 85. † Ludlow's Mem. p. 186, fo.

‡ Noble, from Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, and Wood's Fasti.

§ "His very infancy," says Mr. Noble, "if we believe what Mr. Audley, brother to the famous civilian, says he had heard some old men tell

paid great attention to his education, and after placing him for a short time under the tuition of the Rev. Mr. Long, of Huntingdon, he removed him to the care of the learned Dr. Beard, Master of the Free Grammar School in that town. The activity of his disposition suited not with the severity of scholastic discipline; and his character at this early period, may be described as more addicted to mischievous daring, than prone to studious contemplations. Heath, who, though seldom to be credited, may on this point be admitted to speak truly, as his testimony has been corroborated by others, says in his Flagellum, that 'Oliver, when at school, had fits of learning; now a hard student for a week or two, then a truant, or otioso, for twice as many months, of no settled constancy.' His youthful pranks sometimes led him into danger; and he is said to have been once saved from drowning by a clergyman named Johnson, (some time Curate of Connington,) who many years afterwards was recognised by Oliver when the latter was marching at the head of his troops through Huntingdon, and asked by him, 'whether he did not remember having saved his life?' "Yes," replied the other, "I do; but I wish I had put you in, rather than see you thus in arms against your King."*

Several circumstances are related as occurring during the time that Oliver continued at the Grammar School, which have been considered by some as omens of his future greatness. "They have

tell his grandfather, was marked with a peculiar accident, that seemed to threaten the existence of the future Protector: for his grandfather, Sir Henry Cromwell, having sent for him to Hinchinbrook, when an infant in arms, a monkey took him from his cradle, and ran with him upon the lead that covered the roofing of the house. Alarmed at the danger Oliver was in, the family brought beds to catch him upon, fearing the creature's dropping him; but the sagacious animal brought the 'Fortune of England' down in safety; so narrow an escape had he, who was doomed to be the Conqueror and Sovereign Magistrate of three mighty nations, from the paws of a monkey."

Vol. I. p. 92, from Dr. Lort's MSS.

* Ibid. p. 93,-4, from Lort's MSS.

have a tradition at Huntingdon," says Mr. Noble, "that when the Duke of York, afterwards Charles the First, in his journey from Scotland to London,* in 1604, rested in his way at Hinchinbrook, Sir Oliver Cromwell, to divert the young Prince, sent for his nephew Oliver, that he, with his own sons, might play with his Royal Highness; but they had not been long together, before Charles and Oliver disagreed; and the former being then as weakly as the latter was strong, it was no wonder that the Royal visitant was worsted; and Oliver, even at this age, so little regarded dignity, that he made the blood flow in copious streams from the Prince's nose. I give this only as the report of the place.—It is more certain that Oliver averred (and mentioned it often, when he was in the height of his glory) that he saw a gigantic figure, which came and opened the curtains of his bed, and told him that he should be 'the greatest person in the kingdom,' but did not mention the word King. Though informed of the folly of such an assertion, he persisted in it, for which he was flogged by Dr. Beard, at the particular desire of his father; yet, notwithstanding this, he would sometimes repeat it to his uncle Steward, who told him it was traitorous to relate it."† Additional evidence of the early ambition, and aspiring mind, of Oliver, is inferred from the enthusiasm and fire with which he performed the character of *Tactus,* in the comedy of 'Lingua, or the Combat of the Tongue and the Five Senses for the Superiority,' when it was acted at the Free Grammar

* When James's Queen, and Henry, and Elizabeth, his two elder children, came to England in 1603, Charles, being indisposed, was left behind, and remained in Scotland till September in the following year. Rapin, Vol. II. p. 161. Sandford says, that Charles was born on the nineteenth of November, 1600; consequently at the time of the transaction mentioned above, he had not completed his fourth year; and Oliver was then about five years and a half old.

† Noble's Crom. Vol. I. p. 94. 'Some pretend that the vision was seen by Oliver when he was walking: the Flagellum gives it as a dream: it certainly is a proof of the warmth of his imagination, and his early ambition." *Ibid.*

mar School at Huntingdon.* No other part would satisfy him. The scene that more particularly fixed his attention, was the fourth of the first act, wherein Tactus is represented stumbling over a crown and robe, and afterwards, putting them on, as thus giving utterance to his delight at his good fortune.

> Tactus, thy sneezing somewhat did portend:
> Was ever man *so fortunate* as I,
> To break his shins at such a stumbling block?
> Roses and bayes, back hence; this *Crown* and *Robe*,
> My brows and body circles and invests.—
> How gallantly it fits me! Sure the slave
> Measured *my head* that wrought this coronet.
> They lie who say complexions cannot change:
> My blood's ennobled, and I am transform'd
> Unto the *sacred* temper of a KING.
> Methinks I hear my noble parasites
> Styling me Cæsar, or great Alexander;
> Licking my feet, and wond'ring where I got
> This precious ointment: how my pace is mended!
> How princely do I speak, how sharp I threaten!
> Peasants, I'll curb your headstrong impudence,
> And make you tremble when the lion roars:
> Ye earth-bred worms! O for a looking-glass!
> Poets will write whole volumes of this change!
> Where's my attendants? Hither, sirrah, quickly come,
> Or by the wings of Hermes—

In April, 1616, Oliver was removed from the Huntingdon Grammar School, and entered of Sydney-Sussex College, in the University of Cambridge:† he was then seventeen years of age within

* 'This comedy was printed in 1607, and in that impression is said to have been first acted at Trinity College, Cambridge, and afterwards at the Free Grammar School in Huntingdon.—The plot of the play is, that Lingua gives a crown and robe to be contested for by the senses.'

† The time of his admisson to the College is thus noticed in the Register. '*A festo Annunciationis* 1616. OLIVERIUS CROMWELL *Huntingdoniensis*

within two days. He continued at College only fourteen months; for, on the decease of his father in June, 1617, Mrs. Cromwell sent for him home; to which probably she was partly induced by that turn for extravagance and dissipation, which at this period seemed to govern his conduct. Dugdale says, that, while at Cambridge, "he made no great proficiency in any kind of learning; but then, and afterwards, sorting himself with drinking companions, and the under sort of people, being of a rough and blustering disposition, he had the name of a royster amongst most that knew him."* Though this character is admitted to be, in general, correct, it is certain, that Oliver was well acquainted with the Latin language; and that he had also a good knowledge of the Greek and Latin historians.

"The death of a prudent father," says Mr. Noble, "was a severe loss to young Oliver; for the necessary severity of the parent restrained, though it could not conquer, the levity of a youth of strong, ungovernable passions; which bar being taken away, he fell into all the dissipation of a young heir, unheedful of the tender intreaties of a good mother. The juice of the grape, and the charms of the fair, with an habit of gaming, are said to have engrossed his mind, instead of attending to Coke upon Lyttleton, and Law Reports, which he was sent to study at Lincoln's Inn, soon after his return from Cambridge; and thus, says Sir Philip Warwick, 'the first years of his manhood were spent in a dissolute course of life, and good fellowship, and gaming.' From the gay capital, he returned a finished rake to the place of his nativity;* and for some time continued to pursue an unhallowed and boisterous

tingdoniensis admissus ad commeatum Sociorum Aprilis vicessimo tertio; Tutore Mr°. Ricardo Howlet.' Between this and the next entry, is the following remarkable character of the Protector, crowded in, in a different hand-writing. *'Hic fuit grandis ille Impostor, carnifex perditissimus, qui pientissimo rege Carolo I° nefaria cæde sublato, ipsum usurpavit thronum, et tria regna, per 5 ferme annorum spatium, sub protectoris nomine indomita tyrannide vexavit.'*

* Short View of the late Troubles in England, p. 459.

rous line of conduct, which ultimately led to his exclusion from respectable society, and to the total estrangement of the affections of his godfather and uncle, Sir Oliver, who had assisted in his education, and had him taught the polite accomplishments of music, dancing, &c. with his own sons. His extravagance in expenditure, soon produced its concomitant, want; and the pressure of necessity, aided by the remonstrances of maternal tenderness, and strengthened, perhaps, by the admonitions of the 'God, that dwells within us,' at length operated to produce a complete change in his behaviour; and he became by degrees a rigid sectarian. "He now took to a stricter course of life, which he daily increased, till his mind seemed wholly bent upon religious subjects: his house became the retreat of the persecuted Non-conformist teachers; and they shew a building behind it, which, they say, he erected for a chapel, where many of the disaffected had their religious rites performed, and in which he himself sometimes gave them edifying sermons."* He also warmly interested himself in behalf of such of the Non-conformist preachers as were persecuted for their opinions. Through this conduct, he obtained the confidence of a large party, and he was returned a Member for the Borough of Huntingdon to the Parliament which met in January, 1628. He had, indeed, been once before chosen for the same place, (anno 1625;) but on this latter occasion, he was elected as a kind of champion against the measures of the court, which had now become particularly obnoxious to the nation. "Upon the very impolitic dissolution of this Parliament, he retired to Huntingdon, and more than ever espoused the cause of the disaffected. His over-heated enthusiasm disturbed his mind; and Dr. Simcott, his physician, assured Sir Philip Warwick, that Mr. Cromwell 'was quite a splenetic, and had fancies about the cross in that town; and that he had been called up to him at midnight, and such unseasonable hours, many times, upon a strange phantasy, which made him believe he was then dying."†

In

* Noble's Crom. Vol. I. p. 101. † Ibid.

In the new charter that was granted to the Corporation of Huntingdon, in July 1630, he was appointed a Justice of Peace, jointly with his former preceptor, Dr. Beard, and Robert Bernard, Esq. afterwards created a Baronet by Charles the Second. "Huntingdon, however, soon became disagreeable to him: his uncle, Sir Oliver Cromwell, was eminently loyal, and he had influence enough to keep the corporation of that town so likewise, which, with his quarrel with Dr. Beard for precedency, (and, as most say, his embarrassed fortune,) made him determine to leave the place. Whether he was at this, or any former period, concerned in the brewing business, is difficult to determine: many of his enemies lampooned him for it in his life-time; but as Heath, one of his bitterest foes, assures us that he never was a brewer, we may, I think, take his word."* In

* Noble's Crom. Vol. I. p. 102. Worm, in Colman's Cutter of Coleman Street, has a reference to Cromwell, when speaking in derision of the Cutter's learning, he asks him, 'What parts hast thou? Hast thou scholarship enough to make a brewer's clerk?'—One of the best pieces written under the impression of Oliver having been concerned in the brewing business, is styled '*The Protecting Brewer*,' and is as follows: it contains a sort of epitome of his life.

A Brewer may be a Burgess grave,
And carry the matter so fine, and so brave,
That he the better may play the Knave,
Which nobody can deny.

A Brewer may be a Parliament-man,
For there the knavery first began,
And brew most cunning plots he can,
Which nobody can deny.

A Brewer may put on a Nabal face,
And march to the wars with such a grace,
That he may get a Captain's place,
Which nobody can deny.

A Brewer may speak so wond'rous well,
That he may rise, (strange things to tell,)
And so be made a Colonel,
Which nobody can deny.

A Brewer

In May, 1631, Oliver, with his mother, and his uncle Sir Oliver, (whose favor he had partially regained, from the alteration in his conduct,) joined in the sale of his paternal estates at Huntingdon, &c. the sum they produced was 1800l. with this he removed to St.

A Brewer may make his foes to flee,
And raise his fortunes, so that he
Lieutenant-General may be,
Which nobody can deny.

A Brewer may be all in all,
And raise his powers both great and small,
That he may be a Lord General,
Which nobody can deny.

A Brewer may be like a fox in a cub,
And teach a lecture out of a tub,
And give the wicked world a rub,
Which nobody can deny.

A Brewer, by's excise and rate,
Will promise his army he knows what,
And sit upon the College gate,
Which nobody can deny.

Methinks I hear one say to me,
Pray why may not a Brewer be
Lord Chancellor o' th' University?
Which nobody can deny.

A Brewer may be as bold as Hector
When as he drank his cup of nectar,
And a Brewer may be a Lord Protector,
Which nobody can deny.

Now here remains the strangest thing,
How this Brewer about his liquor did bring,
To be an Emperor, or a King,
Which nobody can deny.

A Brewer may do what he will,
And rob the Church and State, to sell
His soul unto the Devil in Hell,
Which nobody can deny.

St. Ives, and stocked a grazing farm in the skirts of that town, where he remained till the death of his maternal uncle, Sir Thomas Steward, in January, 1635-6, leading a very strict and devout life; so much so, indeed, that his success in his new business was altogether impeded through the loss of the time which he and his servants daily consumed in prayer, and other devotional exercises. By the decease of his uncle without issue, he became possessed of a considerable estate in Ely and its neighbourhood; and he soon afterwards went to reside at the Glebe-house in that city. Here he still continued, from principle, to oppose the measures which Charles and his infatuated advisers were still pursuing, and greatly increased his interest among the puritanical party, by the fervour and rigidness of his religious practice. "In 1638, he so strenuously opposed the scheme of draining the Fens of Lincolnshire, and the Isle of Ely, which was undertaken by the Earl of Bedford, and others, under the Royal sanction, that, by his plausibility, activity, and interest, at the meeting held at Huntingdon, he obliged the projectors to drop their intention; and though the scheme promised to be vastly beneficial to the country, and had been recommended by his father, yet, as it was extremely unpopular, (particularly amongst the commonalty, because they had a custom of commoning and fishing in dry times,) it gained him a great accession of friends, and procured him the title of *Lord of the Fens.*"*

It was about this period that Oliver, with many of his friends, including his cousin, the patriot Hampden, and Sir Arthur Hasilrigge, proposed immediately to emigrate to America, in order to enjoy that liberty of conscience in a foreign country, which the arbitrary proceedings of the government, and the intolerance of Archbishop Laud, prevented them exercising in their native land. With this design, Cromwell arranged his affairs, and had actually embarked with his family for New England,† when the fatal interference of

 the

* Noble's Crom. Vol. I. p. 108.

† Lord Warwick had obtained a grant of the sea-coast of that province; this, in 1631, he assigned to the Lords Brooke, Say and Sele, and

the court prevented him from accomplishing his intention; and in its ultimate effects proved the very cause of the beheading of the King, and of the subversion and overthrow of the monarchy. A proclamation was first issued, forbidding any persons to leave the kingdom without a Royal license; but this being found insufficient, an order of Council was directed to the Lord Treasurer, commanding him "to take speedy and effectual course for the stay of eight ships, then in the river of Thames, prepared to go to New England;" and "for putting on land all the passengers and provisions therein, intended for the voyage." On board of these vessels were Cromwell and his friends: the disappointment still further exasperated them against the government; and the state of public affairs but too powerfully contributed to heighten their disgust. As yet, however, the unconstitutional measures which Charles and his ministers were pursuing, though they every hour increased the number of the disaffected, had not had that decided influence on popular opinion, which eventually prepared the way for all the accumulated horrors of civil warfare. Little did the ill-fated Monarch imagine, that the persons whom he, and his chief advisers, Archbishop Laud, and Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, had thus prevented from sailing to America, would in a very few years be the principal means of bringing them all to the scaffold.

Oliver returned to Ely. His mind, agitated both by religious gloom, and political discontent, knew no rest. The errors of his early life seem at this period, to have occupied much of his reflections; and in a letter to his cousin, Mrs. St. John, bearing date in October, 1639, he thus intimates his sorrow for the offences of his youth. 'You know what my manner of life hath been; O! I lived in, and loved darkness, and hated the light; I was a chief; the

and Richard Charles Fiennes, Sir Nathaniel Rich, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Richard Knightley, John Pym, John Hampden, John Humphrey, and Herbert Pelham, Esqs. These noblemen, knights, and gentlemen, were expected every year by the New Englanders; and several of them had embarked with Cromwell: among others, Hampden, Sir Matthew Boynton, Sir William Constable, Sir A. Hasilrigge, &c.

the chief of sinners. This is true; I hated godliness, yet God had mercy on me."* But the time was approaching, when the melancholy arising from compunctious feelings, was to be chased away by the more active employments of the state, and the 'din of arms.'

Full twelve years had now elapsed, since Charles had dared to govern the nation by his own authority; or, to use the words of Rapin, since "he had freed himself from the yoke of the Parliament, and intended not to resume it!" The situation of affairs, however, obliged him to depart from his purpose. All the arbitrary proceedings of his minions were insufficient to procure that supply which his 'pressing necessities' demanded. The multiplied extortions of the Star Chamber, and High Commission Court, the forced loans and benevolences, the illegal levying of ship money, the granting of patents for monopolies, and the numerous other abuses daily committed against the rights and privileges of the subject, proved too little productive to meet the exigencies which the public service experienced; and which, by a sort of natural reaction, had principally grown out of the very system that had been instituted to give permanence to despotic rule. The attempt to introduce uniformity in religious worship, had occasioned the Scots to take up arms; and though the breach had been partially closed by the Pacification of Berwick, in June, 1639, it was again thrown open within a short twelvemonth, by a rash persistence in arbitrary courses. War was once more determined on; but money being wanted to engage in it, the King consented to summon a new Parliament, and one was accordingly assembled in April, 1640. Instead, however, of immediately agreeing to the Sovereign's demand, of 'a supply to reduce the Scots to their duty by force of arms,' they required, as a condition, that 'their own grievances should be first redressed;' and continuing in this disposition, the King dissolved them in anger, in little more than three weeks from the day they had met.

* Harris's Life of Oliver Crom.

The emergencies of the times proved too powerful for all the sagacity that Charles and his counsellors could exercise, and he was again compelled to summon a Parliament to meet in the November following. To this assembly, since known in history by the memorable appellation of the *Long Parliament*, Oliver was returned as a representative from the town of Cambridge, as he had before been to that which met in the preceding April.* Both Rapin and Hume are mistaken when they assert, that 'he was two years in the House before he was noticed, and that he was never upon more than two committees of any consequence.' The fact is, as appears from the Journals, that within the first eight months, he was on at least twenty committees, and some of them of great importance: and Sir Philip Warwick affirms, that, "from his earnestness and fervour, he was much listened to." This is fully confirmed by the question of Lord Digby,† who, when going down the stairs in the Parliament House with Mr. Hampden, and not knowing Oliver personally, said, 'Pray, Mr. Hampden, who is that man? for I see he is on our side by his speaking so warmly to-day.'

* In the life of the poet Cleveland is this extraordinary passage. He was, at the time of Oliver's nomination, tutor of St. John's College, and then of considerable influence, which he strenuously exerted in opposing him; but on Oliver's election being carried by a single vote, he said, with much fervour, 'That single vote has ruined both church and kingdom.' *Noble's Crom.*

† Welwood, in the brief account of the Long Parliament, given in his Memoirs, says, "It was not a few of either House, but, indeed, all the *great Patriots* that concurred at first, to make enquiry into the *grievances* of this reign. Sir Edward Hide, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, and Lord Chancellor of England; the Lord Digby; the Lord Falkland; the Lord Capell; Mr. Grimstone, who was chosen afterward Speaker of the House of Commons that brought in King Charles the Second, and was Master of the Rolls; Mr. Holles, since Lord Holles; all which suffered afterwards on the King's side; and in general, most of those who took the King's part in the succeeding war, were the men that appeared with the greatest zeal for the redress of grievances, and made the sharpest speeches upon these subjects."

P. 51, *Edit.* 1700.

to-day." "That sloven," replied Hampden, "whom you see before you, hath no ornament in his speech; that sloven, I say, if we should ever come to a breach with the King, which God forbid! in such a case, I say, that sloven will be the greatest man in England." Oliver's 'uncourtly' appearance at this period, is also mentioned by Sir P. Warwick, who says, "The first time that ever I took notice of him (Cromwell) was in the beginning of the Parliament held in November, 1640—I came one morning into the House well clad, (for we courtiers valued ourselves much on our good clothes,) and perceived a gentleman speaking, whom I knew not, very ordinarily apparelled; for it was a plain cloth suite, which seemed to have been made by an ill country taylor: his linen was plain, and not very clean; and I remember a speck or two of blood upon his little band, which was not much larger than his collar: his hat was without a hatband; his stature was of good size, his sword stuck close to his side, his countenance swoln and reddish, his voice sharp and untunable, and his eloquence full of fervour."*

The numerous encroachments that had been made by Charles and his ministry upon national rights, and the multiplied petitions for redress of grievances that were daily pouring in from all parts of the kingdom, combined with the well-known hostility of many of the Members of the House of Commons to the existing oppressions, conferred an importance and character on this Parliament, which have scarcely ever been exceeded; or if at all, only, perhaps, by that memorable assembly that gave effect to the principles of the glorious Revolution of 1688. In the course of its proceedings, the King felt himself compelled, by the conjuncture of affairs, to consent to many acts, which circumscribed his preroga-

* Memoirs. Sir Philip afterwards notices the great alteration in him for the better: "I lived," he says, "to see this very gentleman, whom, out of no ill will to him, I thus describe, by multiplied good successes, having had a better taylor, and more converse amongst good company, in my own age, when for six weeks together I was a prisoner in his serjeant's hands, and daily waited at Whitehall, appear of a great and majestic deportment, and comely presence."

tive, and seemed calculated to restore the blessings of civil liberty.* The persevering energy, and solid reasoning, of Cromwell had considerable influence on these decisions. As "one of the patriotic phalanx under his cousin Hampden," observes Mr. Noble, "he was certainly, at his first entering the House, of great consequence, as that interest was formidable from the abilities and riches of its members, their asperity to the court, under whom they had smarted in the cause of liberty, which endeared them to the people at large, and which, with the near relationship of many of them, bound them together in indissoluble bonds. Abstracted, however, from this, he soon commanded the attention of the House by the depth of his arguments, though delivered without grace, eloquence, or even clearness; and he gradually rose in favor of the House, and overcame all his disadvantages, by his penetration, unwearied diligence, courage, and perseverance; by accommodating himself to the dispositions of the different persons of his own party, and discovering the tempers of all; and by even not neglecting to copy the dress and behaviour of the most graceful and refined." The

* For a very curious summary of the early proceedings of the Long Parliament, see Welwood's Memoirs, p. 50—78. Edit. 1700. The 'necessity of the times' obliged the King, for several months, "to do every thing that was possible for the satisfaction of the Parliament.—He passed the bill for attainting the Earl of Strafford, though with reluctancy, as believing he deserved not such hard measure: he took away monopolies, that had been a great discouragement to trade: he expressed himself to their contentment in the matters of Loan, Ship-money, Tunnage and Poundage, and other unwarrantable methods that had been used in raising money, and showed a settled resolution to comply with them in every thing that might tend to the ease and security of the subject. As in the preceding Parliament he had passed the Petition of Right, so in the beginning of this, he had agreed to the Acts for Triennial Parliaments, and for abolishing the Star Chamber and High Commission Courts, which had been great grievances; and with cheerfulness passed that Act which seemed inconsistent with his own just prerogative, that '*that Parliament* should not be dissolved but by *Act of Parliament*; nor *prorogued*, nor *adjourned*, but *by their own* consent." *Ibid.*

The concessions made by the King did not answer the end proposed; even the facility with which his consent was given to some of the measures, operated as a ground of suspicion as to the real nature of his future views. It was conceived that his apparent accordance with the wishes of the Parliament, was only a mask to prevent the premature disclosure of his determination to re-assume a despotic authority as soon as circumstances permitted. Many things combined to give strength to this opinion; and the breaking out of the Irish Rebellion in the latter end of October, still further contributed to induce a belief of Charles's insincerity. It is most certain that he did not act with that active vigour against the insurgents which their enormous atrocities demanded; and it is equally true, that the rebels themselves justified their proceedings by a pretended commission from the King, empowering them to take up arms, in order to overthrow the Protestant ascendancy.* It appeared also, that 'the Queen, who very much governed his Majesty, kept up a correspondence with Lord Antrim, one of the chief agents in that rebellion.' In this state of affairs, the House instructed their committee in Scotland, where Charles then was, to request the King to change his ministers, as "they had just cause to believe, that the conspiracies and commotions in Ireland, were but the effects of the counsels of those who continued in credit, authority and employment about his Majesty."†

Soon afterwards the King returned to London, and was received with much pomp, and great acclamations: but the spirit of resistance to oppression was now arriving at its height, and the murmer, both 'loud' and 'deep,' resounded through every quarter of the kingdom. On the first of December, the celebrated '*Petition*'

* See Rapin, Vol. II. p. 586,-7. The commission was stated to have been signed by Charles at Edinburgh, October 1, 1641. Ludlow says, "The news of this rebellion (as I have heard from persons of undoubted credit) was not displeasing to the King, though it was attended with the massacre of many thousands of the Protestants there."

Mem. p. 7.

† Rushworth's Coll. Vol. IV. p. 422.

and *'Remonstrance'* of the House of Commons were presented to Charles at Hampton Court. The Remonstrance, which may be considered as the Manifesto of the Parliament, contained a complete detail of the grievances that the nation had endured from the period of the King's accession; and was penned in very strong, though somewhat coarse, terms. Cromwell was extremely active in promoting its progress through the House; though that was not effected till after a debate of many hours, and it was then carried only by a majority of nine. How greatly he felt interested in its success, may be inferred from his saying to Lord Falkland, that if it had not passed, 'he would have sold all he had the next morning, and never have seen England more;' and 'I know,' he continued, 'many honest men of the same principle.'*

Affairs were now advancing to a crisis; and the animosities were aggravated by a most intemperate *'Protestation,'* presented by twelve Bishops to the King and the House of Peers; and which the latter, in a conference with the Commons, described as containing "matters of dangerous consequence, extending to the deep intrenching upon the fundamental privileges and being of Parliaments." The report of this conference was no sooner made, than the Commons accused the Bishops of High Treason; and on the next day (December the thirtieth) ten of them were sent to the Tower: the two others were only committed to the custody of the Black Rod, 'in regard to their great age.' Within a few days afterwards, appeared the King's *'Declaration,'* in reply to the Remonstrance; and on the third of January, 1641, 2, Sir Edward Herbert, Attorney General, by the King's command, accused the Lord Kimbolton, and five Commoners, namely, Sir Anthony Hasilrigge, Denzil Holles, John Pym, John Hampden, and William Stroud, Esqs. of High Treason. He then presented to the Lords, the general articles of impeachment, which had been 'given him by the King with his own hand.' On the same day a Sergeant at Arms presented himself at the bar of the House of Commons, and in the name of his Majesty, required the arrest of the accused Members,

* Cla. Hist. Vol. I. p. 246, 7.

Members. The House replied, that they would 'take his Majesty's message into consideration, and attend him with an answer with as much speed as the greatness of the business would admit.' This reply did not satisfy the King; and on the following day, he went in person to the House of Commons, guarded, says Whitelocke, "with his Pensioners, and followed by about two hundred Courtiers, and *Souldiers of Fortune*, most of them armed with swords and pistols."* Leaving his guard at the door, he entered the House, and taking the Speaker's chair, expressed his determination to have the five accused Members delivered to him. Then looking round, and not seeing them, he asked the Speaker,† "whether any of those persons were in the House? whether he saw any of them? and where they were?" The Speaker, "thus surprised," says Whitelocke, yet with much prudence, falling on his knee, answered the King to this purpose: 'May it please your Majesty, I have neither eyes to see, nor tongue to speak, in this place, but as the House is pleased to direct me, whose servant I am here; and humbly beg your Majestie's pardon that I cannot give any other answer than this, to what your Majesty is pleased to demand of me."—The King then said, "Well, since I see all the birds are flown, I do expect from you, that you do send them to me as soon as they return hither;" and adding a few more words, he left the House, many of the Members exclaiming, *Privilege! Privilege!* as he went out.‡

This

* Memorials, p. 50. Ludlow says, the King "was attended not only with his ordinary guard of Pensioners, but also with those desperadoes that for some time he had entertained at Whitehall, to the number of three or four hundred, armed with partizans, sword, and pistol." *Memoirs, p.* 10.

† William Lenthall, Esq.

‡ Welwood, speaking of this period, says, "Things were now going fast on towards lessening the confidence between the King and Parliament; and yet there were not wanting endeavours on both sides, to accommodate matters by soft and healing methods, when the King's coming

This most remarkable and rash procedure, to which Charles had been principally urged by the Queen, and the Lord Digby, inflamed the Commons to the utmost; and from this time it became evident, that an appeal to arms was contemplated by both parties as the ultimate resource. The prosecution against the accused Members, was, indeed, afterwards abandoned by the King; and the Bill for 'depriving the Bishops of their votes in Parliament, and incapacitating both them, and the rest of the clergy, to exercise any temporal jurisdiction,' was also passed by commission; yet many circumstances united to prove that Charles was silently preparing the means to re-assume by force, whatever the pressure of circumstances had obliged him to relinquish with seeming courtesy. About this period, therefore, both the King and the Parliament begun to make arrangements for the expected but direful event, and in a few short months, the nation was involved in all the calamities incident to civil commotion.

Through

coming to the House of Commons in person to demand five of their Members, whom he had ordered the day before to be impeached of High Treason, did put all into a combustion, and gave occasion to the House to assert their privileges with a greater warmth than ever. This was the most unlucky step King Charles could have made at that juncture; and the indiscretion of some that attended the King to the lobby of the House, was insisted upon as an argument that the King was resolved to use violence upon the Parliament, which it's to be presumed was a thing far from his thoughts. The five Members had hardly time to make their escape just when the King was entering, and upon his going away, the House adjourned in a flame for some days, ordering a Committee to sit at Guildhall in the mean time, as if they were not safe at Westminster." Mem. p. 67,-8. The King's intention of seizing the accused Members, had been communicated to the House, through a private intimation from the Countess of Carlisle, sister to the Earl of Northumberland: upon leaving the House, they took shelter in the City of London; and the King, on the second day following, made another ineffectual attempt to arrest them, by demanding them from the Common Council, who had been convened for the purpose at Guildhall.

Through the interest of Hampden, Cromwell was now appointed a Captain, and commissioned by the Parliament to raise a troop of Horse. Equally convinced, with his intrepid relation, that when the 'sword was once drawn, the scabbard must be thrown away for ever,' he told his recruits, that he would not 'cozen them by the perplexed expression in his commission, to fight for King and Parliament; but that, if the King chanced to be in the body of the enemy, he would as soon discharge his pistol upon him, as any private person; and if their consciences would not permit them to do the like, he advised them not to list themselves under him.'* He very soon evinced activity and zeal, by seizing the plate belonging to the University of Cambridge, and which had been voted to the King's use, but which Cromwell now applied to the service of the Parliament. He also arrested the High Sheriff of Hertfordshire, at the critical moment when the latter was proceeding to St. Alban's, in order to publish the King's Proclamation, declaring 'the Parliament-Commanders all traitors.' In the ensuing month he served at the battle of Edge Hill, (fought October the twenty-third,) under Sir Philip Stapleton, and the Earl of Essex; and early in the following year he was advanced to the dignity of Colonel.

In these successive commands, Cromwell did every thing in his power to increase the respectability of his soldiers; and indeed, generally, to improve the state and character of the Parliament's army. The regular discipline which he introduced, and the spirit of enterprize which his own example and energy infused into the men, rendered them an overmatch for more than an equal number of the King's troops, as was proved in several actions. Whitelocke, speaking of the relief afforded by Oliver to the Lord Willoughby of Parham, at Gainsborough, in Lincolnshire, (October, 1643,) says, "This was the beginning of his great fortunes; and now he began to appear to the world. He had a brave regiment of horse of his countrymen, most of them freeholders, and freeholders' sons; and who, upon matter of conscience, engaged in this quarrel,

* Echard's Hist. p. 579, a.

rel, and under Cromwell: and thus being well armed within, by the satisfaction of their own consciences, and without, by good iron arms, they would, as one man, stand firmly, and charge desperately."* In the fight near Grantham, which preceded that at Gainsborough, Cromwell, says Ludlow, "defeated twenty-four troops of the enemy's horse and dragoons, with seven troops only which he had with him." At Gainsborough, the Royalist horse "were more than thrice his number, and no way to attack them but through a gate, and up-hill; notwithstanding which disadvantages, he adventured to fall upon them, and, after some dispute, totally routed them, killing many of their officers, and amongst them Lieutenant General Cavendish," brother to the Earl of Newcastle,

* Memorials, p. 68. Bate says, (p. 239,) "Cromwell used them daily to look after, feed and dress their horses; and when it was necessary, to lie together on the ground; and besides, taught them to clean and keep their arms bright, and have them ready for service; to chuse the best armour, and arm themselves to the best advantage. Trained up in this kind of military exercise, they excelled all their fellow soldiers in feats of war, and obtained more victories over the enemy. These were afterwards preferred to be commanders and officers in the army, and their places filled up with lusty strong fellows, whom he brought up in the same strictness of discipline." This statement is fully corroborated by Whitelocke, who says, that in a conference held between the Lords and Commons, (February 13, 1644,) about the mutinous conduct of some companies of horse under Sir William Waller, in the west, the former 'offered letters from persons of credit in the army,' mentioning, among other circumstances, that "at the muster, no men appeared so full, and well armed, and civil, as Colonel Cromwell's horse." Memorials, p. 126.

The principles on which Cromwell acted in the selection and disciplining of his troop, were thus narrated by himself, in that remarkable conference which took place on his refusal to take on him the title of King. "I was a person that, from my first employment, was suddenly preferred, and lifted up from lesser trusts to greater. From my first being Captain of a troop of horse, I did labor as well as I could, to discharge my trust; and God blessed me as it pleased him. I had a very worthy friend then, and he was a very noble person, and I know his memory

castle, who commanded the main army. Soon afterwards he joined the Earl of Manchester at Boston, and again signalized himself in Winsby-field, near Horn Castle, where, with thirty-seven troops of horse and dragoons, he defeated Sir John Henderson, an experienced officer, at the head of eighty-seven troops, who 'hearing that Colonel Cromwell was drawn out towards him with the horse, made haste to engage him before the foot could march up.'* The Royalists were pursued almost to Lincoln, a distance of fourteen miles; and upwards of 1500 were killed, wounded, and taken. In this battle Oliver was in much danger; his

memory is very grateful to all—Mr. John Hampden. At my first going out into this engagement, I saw our men were beaten on every hand: I did indeed; and desired him that he would make some additions to my Lord Essex's army, of some new regiments; and I told him 'twould be serviceable to him in bringing such men in, as I thought had *a spirit* that would *do something in the work*. 'Your troops,' said I, 'are most of them old decayed serving-men, and tapsters, and such kind of fellows;—and their troops are gentlemen's sons, younger sons, and persons of quality. 'And do you think that the spirits of such base and mean fellows, will ever be able to encounter gentlemen that have honour, and courage, and resolution, in them? You must get men of a spirit, and (take it not ill what I say) of a spirit that is likely to *go on as far as gentlemen will go*, or else I am sure you will be beaten still.' I told him so: he was a wise and worthy person, and he did think that I talked a *good notion*, but an impracticable one. I told him, 'I could do something in it:' and I raised such men *as had the fear of God before them*, and made *some conscience of what they did*. And from that day forward they were never beaten; but wherever they were engaged against the enemy, they beat continually."—How eminently superior were Cromwell's ideas of the constitution of an army, to those of an ennobled statesman of the present day; who, in a full assembly of his peers, had the unblushing effrontery to state, that "men of *correct moral principles and practice*, were not fit for soldiers;" that the "men *most serviceable*" in an army, were "*thoughtless profligates*, who were *regardless of life*, because they were *insensible* of the *blessings* of existence!"

* Ludlow's Mem. p. 27.

his horse was shot under him at the first shock, and he was again struck down as he attempted to rise.

These rapid successes, with other victories of less importance, so established his military reputation, that the King is stated to have been heard to say, 'I would that some would do me the good fortune to bring Cromwell to me alive or dead.'* Oliver, as appears from Whitelocke, was afterwards appointed Governor of the Isle of Ely, and had "the like power for levying money there for his forces, as the Earl of Manchester had in the associated counties."†

In the following month, April, 1644, the city of York was invested by the forces under Lord Fairfax, and the Scots under General Lesley; but as the garrison consisted of 6 or 7000 men, besides horse, and was commanded by the brave Earl of Newcastle, they made little progress towards reducing it, till they had been joined by the Earl of Manchester and Cromwell, when the siege was pursued with so much vigor, that the Royalists proffered to surrender upon certain terms: these were not agreed to, and others were offered; yet whilst the treaty was pending, the rapid approach of Prince Rupert, with an army of about eighteen or twenty thousand foot and horse, entirely changed the state of affairs, and the besiegers drew off to Marston Moor, a large plain about eight miles from the city.‡ Here, on the third of July, they

* Bishop Hacket's Life of Arch. Williams. † Mem. p. 80.

‡ If Prince Rupert, says Ludlow, "who had acquired honor enough by the relief of York in the view of three Generals, could have contented himself with it, and retreated, as he might have done, without fighting, the reputation he had gained would have caused his army to increase like the rolling of a snow-ball; but he thinking this nothing, unless he might have all, forced his enemies to a battle against the advice of many of those that were with him." Mem. p. 48. It appears from Clarendon, Vol. II. p. 390—96, that Prince Rupert was induced to fight by a letter he had received from the King, in which the latter stated, that 'his affairs were in so very ill a state, that it would not be enough, though his Highness raised the siege of York, if he had not likewise beaten the Scotch army.'

they were attacked by Prince Rupert (who had united his forces to those of the Earl of Newcastle) with such impetuosity, that the right wing, and main body, were completely routed; and "the three Generals, giving all for lost, hasted out of the field; and many of the soldiers fled, and threw down their arms."* So general was the confusion, that "Prince Rupert, concluding all to be his own, sent letters to the King, to acquaint him with the victory:"† but "the King's forces, especially the Prince, too eagerly following the chace, the victory, now almost atchieved by them, was again snatched out of their hands. For Colonel Cromwell, with the *brave regiment of his countrymen*, and Sir Thomas Fairfax, having rallyed some of his horse, fell upon the Prince's right wing, where the Earl of Newcastle was, and routed them; and the rest of their companions rallying, they fell altogether upon the divided bodies of Rupert and Goring, totally dispersed them, and obtained a complete victory after three hours fight."‡ The slaughter was very great; and the Prince narrowly escaped being made

* Whitelocke's Mem. p. 89. † Ludlow's Mem. p. 48.

‡ Whitelocke's Mem. p. 89. "The right wing of the Parliament's army was commanded by Sir Thomas Fairfax, and consisted of all his horse, and three regiments of the Scots' horse: the left wing was commanded by the Earl of Manchester and Colonel Cromwell. One body of their foot was commanded by the Lord Fairfax, and consisted of his foot, and ten brigades of the Scots foot for a reserve; and the main body of the rest of the foot was commanded by General Leven.—The right wing of the Prince's army was commanded by the Earl of Newcastle; the left wing by the Prince himself; and the main body by General Goring, Sir Charles Lucas, and Major General Porter. Both sides were thus drawn up into battalia. From this battle, and the pursuit, some reckon were buried 7000 Englishmen; all agree, that above 3000 of the Prince's men were slain in the battle, besides those in the chace, and 3000 prisoners taken, many of their chief officers, 25 pieces of ordnance, 47 colours, (among which was the Prince's own standard, with the arms of the Palatinate, Lud. Mem. p. 49,) 10,000 arms, two waggons of carbines and pistols, 150 barrels of powder, and all their bag and baggage." *Ibid.*

made a prisoner. Cromwell himself was slightly wounded in the neck, by the 'accidental going off behind him of one of his soldier's pistols."* The Parliament ordered a day of public thanksgiving for this remarkable success; and the investment of York being immediately recommenced, that city surrendered within a fortnight afterwards.

The fame of Cromwell was greatly extended by this victory; and in a few months he was made Lieutenant-General of the Earl of Manchester's army, and was present at the second battle of Newbury, (October the twenty-seventh,) "where, with the same felicity and valour, he had the better on that part of the field where he fought, and contributed mainly to that piece of victory the Parliament forces had there."† The event of the day, however, was not sufficiently decided to satisfy his eager desire of complete success: and in his report to the House, "he seemed (but cautiously enough, says Whitelocke) to lay more blame on the officers of the Lord General's army, than upon any other."‡ This highly offended the Earl of Essex, who, from indisposition, had not been

* Mem. of Denzil, Lord Holles. This nobleman, contrary to all other writers, accuses Cromwell of 'base cowardliness' in the battle of Marston Moor, and affirms that the victory was owing to Major General Crawford, who led the charge himself, after Cromwell had pitifully left the field, to have 'his little burn in the neck dressed' This, Lord Holles, says, he had by relation from Crawford himself, 'who was a man of honour, that was not ashamed nor afraid to publish it in all places;' and that 'he once said it aloud in Westminster Hall, when Cromwell past by him, with a design he might hear him.' Whatever particular circumstance might have occurred at Marston Moor, to give rise to this story, the charge of cowardice against Cromwell *can never be maintained:* he was engaged in so many battles, and on so many occasions changed the aspect of the day by his own personal intrepidity, that not a single doubt of his courage ought to be suffered to remain on the unprejudiced mind.

† Hist. of the Life and Death of O. Crom. in Harl. Miscel. Chap. VII.

‡ Memorials, p. 111.

been present in the battle,* and who "began now to have some jealousies, and was advised to put his strength to rid Cromwell out of the way. The means to be used to effect this, was supposed to be by the Scots Commissioners, who were not well pleased with Cromwell, for some words which he had spoken, as they apprehended, derogatory to the honor of their nation."† It was proposed, therefore, to charge Cromwell with being an *Incendiary* "twixt the twa Kingdoms;" and if "he be proved," continued the Lord Chancellor of Scotland, in the remarkable Consultation held on the occasion at Essex House, "sike an Incendiary, that will clepe his wings from soaring to the prejudice of our cause."‡ The little encouragement given by Maynard and Whitelocke, who were consulted as to the best mode of substantiating the charge, occasioned the whole scheme to be relinquished; and Cromwell, who appears to have had 'timely notice' of the projected accusation from Whitelocke himself,§ "afterwards carried on his design more actively, of making way for his own advancement."‖ He did not scruple, indeed, to charge even the Earl of Manchester with "cowardly betraying the Parliament, for that he might very easily have defeated the King's army, (when the latter drew off his cannon from Donnington Castle, the day after the second

* Ludlow's Mem. p. 50. † Whitelocke's Mem. p. 111.

‡ Ibid. § Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 546.

‖ Whitelocke's Mem. p. 115. The particular passages in the speeches of Whitelocke and Maynard, which induced the Scots Commissioners to forego their intention, were probably the following: W. 'I take Lieutenant General Cromwell to be a gentleman of quick and subtle parts, and one who hath, especially of late, gained no small interest in the House of Commons; nor is he wanting by friends in the House of Peers, nor of abilities in himself to manage his own part or defence to the best advantage.' M. "Lieutenant General Cromwell is a person of great favor and interest with the House of Commons, and with some of the House of Peers likewise; and therefore there must be proofs, and the more clear and evident, to prevail with the Parliament to adjudge him to be an incendiary."

battle of Newbury,) if he would have suffered him with his own brigade to have charged them in their retreat; but that the Earl obstinately opposed all advice and importunity, giving no other reason, than 'that, if he did overthrow the King's army, the King would always have another to keep up the war; but if his army should be overthrown at that nice juncture, they should be all rebels and traitors, and executed and forfeited by the law.' The Earl defended himself, by saying, that, 'had he followed this counsel, it would have exposed the army to an unseasonable hazard.' From that time the breach between these commanders become irreconcileable.

Cromwell had now obtained great influence with the Independents, a sect which had gained strength during the Civil War, and appeared to be aiming at the establishment of a Commonwealth. As yet, however, there were too many officers in the Parliament army who favoured a Regal power, though with proper restrictions, to permit such a design to be openly avowed. It became necessary, therefore, that these should be removed; and that *chef d'œuvre* of political management, the '*Self-denying Ordinance*,' was played off against them. In the House of Commons, the business was opened by Cromwell, (December the 9th,) and, after a long debate, it was resolved, on the motion of Zouch Tate, and Sir Harry Vane, 'that no Member of either House of Parliament should, during the war, enjoy or execute any office or command, Military or Civil.' Two days afterwards, the Ordinance itself was brought in; and on the nineteenth, '*envy and self ends prevailing*,' says Whitelocke, it finally passed, and was sent up to the Lords. Here it met with much opposition, and was at first thrown out; but the Commons persisting in their purpose, and the public voice being decidedly in its favor, it was at length carried on the third of April; two days before which, the Earls of Essex, Manchester, and Denbigh, resigned their commissions. Whilst this measure was pending, another Ordinance was passed for 'new modelling the army,' and the chief command was voted to Sir Thomas Fairfax, with power to appoint his own officers: the commission given to him on this occasion, was in the name of the *Parliament* alone, and

and not in that of 'the King and Parliament,' as all the previous commissions had been worded.

Had the 'Self-denying Ordinance' been enforced according to the letter, Cromwell himself must have been excluded from all command; but he knew too well that the strength of his own party was enough powerful to secure him from this degradation. His commission, therefore, was continued from time to time, till at last, on the tenth of June, the House, after some debate, ordered that "Sir Thomas Fairfax should appoint Cromwell to command the horse under him as Lieutenant General, if he thought fit;" and he was accordingly constituted Lieutenant General of the Horse, with the same full powers that the Earl of Manchester had before enjoyed.*

Within a few days afterwards (June the 14th) was fought the memorable battle of Naseby, in which the superior generalship and bravery of Cromwell were again eminently displayed.† The

* Whitelocke's Mem. p. 149. Thus 'Cromwell began to increase in the favor of the people, and of the army; and to grow great even to the envy of many.' *Ibid.*

† "This battle was won and lost as that of Marston Moor, but proved more destructive to the King and his party; and it was exceeding bloody, both armies being very courageous and numerous, and not 500 odds on either side. It was fought in a large fallow field, on the north-west side of Naseby, (in Leicestershire,) about a mile broad, which space of ground was wholly taken up.—The King commanded the main body of his army; Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice the right wing; Sir Marmaduke Langdale the left; the Earl of Lindsey and the Lord Ashley the right-hand reserve; the Lord Bard and Sir George L'Isle the left reserve.—Of the Parliament's army, Fairfax and Skippon commanded the main body; Cromwell the right wing, with whom was Rosseter, and they both came in a little before the fight; Ireton commanded the left wing. The reserves were brought up by Rainsborough, Hammond, and Pride." Whitelocke's Mem. p. 145. This author has given a particular and very interesting account of the battle, but too long for insertion here: for other particulars, with Cromwell's curious letter to the House of Commons, written after the action, see Beauties, Vol. IX. p. 428—431.

King commanded his own army in person, and the commencement of the action was favorable to him; but the rash impetuosity of Prince Rupert, who, having defeated the left wing of the Parliament's army under Ireton, (afterwards Cromwell's son-in-law,) and pursued them to too great a distance, entirely changed the promise of the day; and his whole army was eventually, completely vanquished by the exertions of Cromwell, and the well-regulated bravery of the Parliament's soldiers. It is said by one author, that "he flew like lightning from one part of the army to the other, and broke through the enemy's squadrons with such rapidity, that nothing either could or durst stop him."* This victory proved decisive of the King's affairs; the loss he sustained was irreparable; and what principally tended to the total ruin of his cause, was the taking of his private cabinet, in which were various letters of the Queen's, and copies of his own to her, with other important papers.† These were afterwards published, with annotations, by the special order of Parliament, and had much effect in convincing the nation of Charles's insincerity in the different attempts that had been made at accommodation: they also proved how greatly the Queen's counsels and influence had operated to produce the dreadful calamities that had so long afflicted the country.

"The

* Rev. of the Life of O. Crom. p. 31. Lord Clarendon says, that "this difference was observed all along in the discipline of the King's troops, and those commanded by *Fairfax* and *Cromwell*, (it having never been remarked under Essex and Waller, but only under them,) that though the King's troops prevailed in the charge, and routed those they charged, they seldom rallied themselves again in order, nor could be brought to make a second charge the same day; whereas the troops under Fairfax and Cromwell, if they prevailed, and though they were beaten and routed, presently rallied again, and stood in good order till they received further directions."

† See Ludlow's Memoirs and Harl. Mis. for copies of these important documents. Ludlow says, that "other letters, of no less consequence, were suppressed, as I have been credibly informed, by some of those that were intrusted with them, who, since the King's return, have been rewarded for it." *Mem. p.* 60.

"The Parliament's army had no sooner gained this wonderful advantage, but, like a torrent, they soon overspread the whole kingdom, bearing down all before them. Leicester, which the King had lately taken from them, was immediately regained: Taunton, which had been closely besieged by Lord Goring, and defended by the valiant Blake, was relieved; Lord Goring was beaten, and pursued almost to Bridgewater. In this latter action the prudence of Cromwell was very conspicuous; he would not suffer part of the horse to pursue the enemy, till they were all come up together; then putting himself at their head, he performed the work with such success, that he took almost all the enemy's foot, and their ordnance. After this victory, the strong garrison of Bridgewater was taken by storm.

"Cromwell's next expedition was against the club-men, a kind of third army, which started up suddenly in several counties, on occasion of the rapines and violences practised by the Royalists in the west. Both parties endeavoured to gain them over, and they were formidable to both, till Cromwell's presence, and judicious conduct, put an end to the insurrection." Soon afterwards Sherbourn Castle was reduced; and "immediately after we find him before Bristol, in company with Fairfax, whom he advised to storm that important city. Prince Rupert held it with about 5000 horse and foot, and had declared he never would surrender it, unless a mutiny happened; but Cromwell's counsel prevailing, an attack was made with so much fury, that the Prince thought not fit to run the hazard of a second assault, but delivered up the place, and with it most of the King's magazines and warlike provisions."*

* For a very full and curious account of the siege and surrender of Bristol, see Sprigge's 'England's Recovery,' p. 87—120. "GOD," says this author, "to shew the watchfulnesse of his Providence over the General and Lieutenant General, brought them into some danger, and delivered them out of the same graciously, during the time of the parley; for while they were both sitting on the top of Pryors Hill Fort (which had been taken in the assault) a peece of ordnance was shot thither from the Castle, and the bullet grazed upon the Fort within two hands breadth of them, but did them no hurt at all." P. 110.

" From Bristol, with a brigade of four regiments, Cromwell flew to the Devizes, and summoned the Castle. The place was so strong, that Sir Charles Lloyd, the governor, returned no other answer, than '*win it, and wear it*;' yet, as if nothing was defensible against our victorious commander, he was soon master of this fortress. Then hastening to Winchester, he by the way disarmed and dispersed the Hampshire rioters; and being come before the city, he fired the gate, and entered; made a breach in the Castle, which held out, and reduced it to the Parliament's obedience. He did the same by the Basing House, which was held by the Marquis of Winchester, its owner, and thought to be almost impregnable; the Colonels Norton and Harvey, and Sir William Waller, having assaulted it in vain. Langford House, near Salisbury, was surrendered to him at the first summons: then marching beyond Exeter, at Bovey-Tracy he fought Lord Wentworth, taking 400 horse, and 100 foot, prisoners, with six standards, one of which was the King's. Next, joining with Fairfax, they, in conjunction, took Dartmouth by storm; defeated the Lord Hopton at Torrington, and pursued the only remains of a royal army into Cornwall, where Prince Charles had a body of about 5000 horse and 1000 foot; but, unable to make head against the victors, he embarked with several noble persons, and fled to the Isles of Scilly. Lord Hopton, who was left to command the forces, was obliged to disband them; soon after which, Exeter surrendered, and Cromwell came to London, where he took his place in Parliament, and received the hearty thanks of the House for his great and many services."*

" So ended," says the author of the History of the Life and Death of Oliver Cromwell, printed in the Harleian Miscellany, " the first war, with the praises and triumphs of this man-of-war, adored and worshipped by his party, who stuck not to blaspheme God and his scriptures, attributing all those hosannas and psalms, and songs of deliverance and victory, to this their champion;

* Rev. of the Life of O. Crom. p. 32—4. Cromwell took his seat in the House on the twenty-third of April, 1646. *Whitelocke's Mem. p.* 207.

pion; in effect, making *a mere idol of him*; which phanatick religious veneration he missed not to improve; though, for the present, he covered his ambition with modesty and humility, ascribing all things, in a canting way of expression, to the goodness and omnipotence of God."

During these continued successes of Fairfax and Cromwell, the King made various overtures to the Parliament, and offered to come in person to Westminster for forty days, to negociate a treaty, provided he had a safe conduct for that purpose.* All his endeavours, however, proved ineffectual; no confidence was reposed in his sincerity, and, 'Necessity being then his Councellor,' he determined to trust to the fidelity of the Scotch army, "having received very good assurance, (as he then believed,) that himself, and all that did adhere to him, should be safe in their persons, honor, and consciences."† He therefore quitted Oxford in the night, and in disguise; and arriving at Southwell, in Nottinghamshire, the then head-quarters of the Scottish army, which was engaged in besieging Newark, he submitted to General Lesley. The alarm which the King's secret departure had occasioned, may be inferred from the declaration issued by the Parliament, and proclaimed throughout London, 'by beat of drum, and sound of trumpet:' it stated, that "what person soever shall harbour or conceal, or know of the harbouring of the King's person, and shall not reveal it immediately to the Speakers of both Houses, shall be proceeded against as a Traitor to the Commonwealth, forfeit his whole estate, and die without mercy."‡

* "The King," says Ludlow, "perceiving judgment to be given against him by that power to which both parties had made their solemn appeal, thought it adviseable to make use of the foxes skin, and for a time to lay aside that of the lion," &c. *Mem. p.* 67.

† Dug. from Charles's Letter to the Marquis of Ormond, 'Short View,' &c. p. 208.

‡ Whitelocke's Mem. p. 209.

In a few days afterwards, the Scots, having sent notice to the English Parliament of the King's coming to their army, marched to Newcastle, taking the King with them; an event which greatly tended to the subsequent war between the two countries. Various negociations were now entered into; and the remainder of the year was spent in the intrigues of parties, and in the endeavours of the House of Commons to prevail on the Scots to deliver the King's person into their hands. At length, after much contention, "it came at last," says Dugdale, "to a meer money business;" and the Scots, for the sum of 400,000l. to be paid to them on the score of arrears of pay, and other losses, "the one half in hand, upon delivery up of the King,"* agreed to surrender the unfortunate Monarch to the Parliament's Commissioners. This was accordingly done in the beginning of February, 1647; and Charles was conveyed to Holmby House, in Northamptonshire, where he remained till June the fourth, when he was seized at midnight, by Colonel Joyce, who acted under secret orders from Cromwell, and conveyed to the army under Fairfax, which then lay encamped about Triplow Heath, in Cambridgeshire.

This unexpected proceeding greatly disconcerted the measures of the Parliament, who were now contending for mastery with the army, the latter "having began professedly to enter into competition with the Parliament, and to claim a share with them in settling the kingdom. To effect this, they made choice of a number of such officers as they approved, which was called the General's Council of Officers; and three or four out of each regiment, mostly soldiers or corporals, were chosen by the common soldiers, and called *Agitators*. These two bodies met separately, and examined all the acts and orders of Parliament towards settling the kingdom, and reforming, dividing, or disbanding, the army; and after some consultations, they unanimously declared that 'they would not be divided, nor disbanded, till their full arrears were paid, and till full provision was made for liberty of conscience, &c.' They added, that, 'as they had voluntarily taken up arms for

* Dug. Short View, &c. 231,-232.

for the liberty and defence of the nation, of which they were a part, before they laid down those arms, they would see all those ends provided for." These measures were principally fomented by Cromwell, who had now openly declared in favor of the Independents; though he still pretended to be incensed against the insolence of the soldiery; yet his designs were not so covertly pursued, but that the leading members of the Presbyterian party became suspicious of him, and it was determined to impeach him of High Treason the very next time that he should attend the House. It had already been attested, according to Bishop Burnet, from the information of Sir Harbottle Grimstone, that Cromwell had said, 'he was sure of the army; but there was another body that had more need of purging, naming the House of Commons, and he thought the army only could do that."* This Cromwell fervently denied, when the charge was made against him, with "solemn prayer to God, attesting his innocence, great vehemence, and many tears;"† but as soon as he quitted the House, he prepared to set out for the army, and joined it the next day. Dugdale, who says he obtained liberty to go to the army, by the artifice of proffering his services to subdue the 'souldiers refractoriness,' states also, that "when he came to the rendevouz at Triplo-Heath, he did not only approve of all that they had done, but openly joined with them in all their bold engagements, declarations, remonstrances, and manifestoes; saying to some in private, that '*now he had got the King into his hands, he had the Parliament in his pocket.*"‡

Though Fairfax had the nominal command of the army, it is evident that Cromwell, by his consummate address, and great interest with that General, was the actual director of all its operations. His grand design, at this period, appears to have been to secure his own advancement, by restoring the King by means of the

* Burnet's Hist. of his own Time, Vol. I. p. 45.

† Ibid.

‡ Short View, &c. p. 242. from Perf. Diurnal, p. 1623; and Hist. Ind. p. 34.

the Independents; thinking that liberty of conscience, and personal rights, would by that means be better secured, than under a Presbyterian hierarchy. To effect this purpose, it was necessary that the Presbyterian interest should be destroyed, or overawed; and soon afterwards, the army, drawing nearer to London, charged eleven of the most active Members among the Presbyterians with High Treason. The accused Members immediately fled; and from this time, the Parliament, though not without making several attempts to recover their lost power, may be considered as generally subservient to the army.

Had Charles learned wisdom from adversity, his subsequent misfortunes would never have happened; for in the revolutions and contentions of parties, the people still found themselves deprived of that peace which every side pretended to be laboring to accomplish. The complete humiliation of the King had, indeed, excited a somewhat popular feeling in his favor; and during the tumults that agitated the metropolis about this time, the Parliament had not only been obliged to revoke an ordinance, which vested the command of the City Militia in Cromwell's friends, but also to vote, that 'the King should come forthwith to London, and be invited thither with honor, freedom, and safety.' The Speakers, however, and many of the Members of both Houses, of the Independent party, repaired in haste to the army, complaining of the violence that had been exercised; and the army, fully sensible of the vantage ground thus obtained, declared that 'they would re-establish the Parliament in their full power, or perish in the attempt.' Nor did they fail of their promise; for though the Houses had chosen new Speakers, and passed several votes, according to the wishes of the citizens, yet all their proceedings were disannulled upon the army's reaching London; the Members were restored, and every thing settled again as the Officers, or rather as Cromwell, who governed all the rest, would have it.*

Cromwell, in his private arrangements with the King, was obliged to proceed with the greatest caution; though there cannot be

* Rev. &c. of the Life of O. Crom. p. 98.

be a doubt but that he would eventually have accomplished his purpose, if Charles could have acted without dissimulation; "yet the unfortunate Monarch, whose mind was unsettled, wavering, distrustful, and insincere, instead of closing with terms which could only save his crown, his life, and the constitution, endeavoured by artifice, first to amuse, and then to ruin him. Cromwell had averred, that 'he would serve the King as long as he could do it without his own ruin; but honestly declared, that it must not be expected that he would perish for his sake.' After this it was, that Oliver discovered the King's insincerity, through an intercepted letter to the Queen, in which he said, 'he was courted by both parties, but would close with those that offered the best terms.'* This was highly ungenerous: but he did worse; he declared, in another letter to her Majesty, that 'it would be easier to take off Cromwell, when he had agreed with the Parliament, than now he was at the head of the army.' All this Oliver knew; and probably it was upon this occasion that he said, 'If it must be my head, or the King's, can I hesitate which to choose?"†

That the wavering conduct of the King was a principal cause of Cromwell's finally deserting him, may be corroborated by the words of Lord Clarendon, who says, that "Cromwell himself expostulated with Mr. Ashburnham, (one of the King's attendants,) and complained that 'the King could not be trusted; that he had no affection or confidence in the army, but was jealous of them, and of all the officers; that he had intrigues in the Parliament, and treaties with the Presbyterians of the city, to raise new troubles; that he had a treaty concluded with the Scotch Commissioners to engage the nation again in blood; and therefore, that he would not be answerable, if any thing fell out amiss, and contrary to expectation." There were yet other reasons, which, doubtless,

* This was the famous letter which, in the 'Memoirs of the Lord Broghill,' is said to have been sewed up in the skirt of a saddle, and to have been intercepted by Cromwell and Ireton, disguised as troopers, at the Blue Boar Inn, in Holborn.

† Noble's Crom. Vol. I. p. 116,-117.

doubtless, operated most powerfully on Oliver's mind. The King had temporized too long; and the army were so thoroughly persuaded of his dissimulation, that it became dangerous to any one of them to be considered as his friend. Cromwell felt the hazard of his situation; and in a conversation with Sir John Berkley and Ashburnham, is stated to have used these words: "If I am an honest man, I have said enough of the sincerity of my intentions; and if I am not, nothing is enough: therefore, I conjure you, as you tender the King's service, not to come so frequently to my quarters, but to send your business in private; the suspicion of me being grown so great, that I am afraid to be in them myself."

Soon afterwards, the Council of Agitators declared openly, 'that, since the King had rejected their proposals, they were no further engaged to him, but were now to consult their own safety, and the public good; and having the power devolved upon them by decision of the sword, and being convinced that Monarchy was inconsistent with the good of the nation, they resolved to use their utmost endeavours to reduce England to a Commonwealth.' They also declared against 'the longer continuance of the Parliament; and required that a new one might be elected by a more equal distribution of the counties, cities, and boroughs.' Cromwell was now in great alarm, the disaffection had extended even to his own regiment; and though, by his daring intrepidity, in seizing several of the soldiers who wore the distinguishing colours of their party, and condemning one of them to die,* at the general rendezvous at Ware, "he did for the present quell this spirit in the army, yet so apprehensive was he of the secret remains of it, and the consequences that might hence ensue, and so weary was he of treating with the King to no purpose, that he soon altered his conduct to both parties, and reconciled himself to the one by abandoning the other."† Shortly

* Ludlow's Mem. p. 86. They were permitted to cast lots, and him whose fate it was to die, was shot to death by the others in sight of the whole army.

† Rev. of the Life of O. Crom. p. 101,-102.

Shortly before the general rendezvous at Ware, the King following the advice of Cromwell,* secretly withdrew from Hampton Court, on the evening of November the tenth, and proceeded to the Isle of Wight, of which Colonel Hammond was then Governor. Soon after this it was, that Cromwell found himself compelled to abandon all intention of serving the King; and having 'perfected his reconciliation' with the army, he attended a private meeting of the General Officers at Windsor, with his son-in-law, Ireton; and, after a long consultation, they determined that 'the King should be prosecuted for his life as a criminal person.' This resolution, however, was studiously kept secret till the complete preponderance of the army, in the following year, rendered concealment no longer necessary.†

When it was known that Charles had sought refuge in the Isle of Wight, negociations were again entered into 'to settle the kingdom;' but they all proved as fruitless as formerly; and on the King's refusal to sign the four famous Bills,‡ that had been sent to him

* See Ludlow's Mem. p. 83—91.

† Ludlow expresses his belief that 'Ireton never intended to close with the King, but only to lay his party asleep, whilst they were contesting with the Presbyterian interest in Parliament: and now,' he continues, 'having secured themselves of the city, subdued the army, and freed themselves from the importunity of the King and his party, they became willing to quit their hands of him, since their transactions with him had procured them so much opposition, and to leave the breach with him upon the Parliament; where they found the Presbyterian party averse to an agreement with him upon any proposals of the army, and the Commonwealth-party resolved not to treat with him upon any at all." *Mem. p.* 88,-9.

‡ These were, 1st. An Act for Settling the Militia of the Kingdom; 2nd. An Act for calling in of all Declarations, Oaths, and Proclamations, against the Parliament, and those who adhered to them; 3rd. An Act to incapacitate those Lords who were made after the Great Seal was carried to Oxford from sitting in the House of Peers; and 4th. An Act to empower the two Houses to adjourn as they should think fit. *Whitelocke's Mem. p.* 282.

him by the Parliament as preliminary to a treaty, it was resolved by the House of Commons, that 'no more addresses or applications should be made to the King, nor any message received from, or sent to him, without the consent of both Houses, under the penalty of High Treason.' This was only carried after 'a debate from morning till late at night, and then principally through the exertions of Cromwell and Ireton: the former declared, that Charles was 'so great a dissembler, and so false a man, that he was not to be trusted;' and, at the conclusion of this speech, is said to have placed his hand upon his sword, for the purpose of intimidating the opposing party.

The disputes between the Parliament and the army greatly strengthened the King's interest; and in the spring and summer of this year, 1648, risings of the people in his favor took place in different parts of the country; and it was also known that the Scots were preparing to assist. The first rising in any force, took place in Wales, where Colonel Poyer, and other Royalist officers, seized the Castles of Pembroke, Tenby, and Chepstow; and increased their forces so much, that it was thought necessary to send Cromwell himself, with a large body of troops, to reduce them. This service he performed with his accustomed gallantry and success; and immediately afterwards, marching to the north, he entirely defeated the Duke of Hamilton, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale, in two battles; the first fought at Preston, in Lancashire; and the last near Warrington. In these actions, he killed, and made prisoners, a much greater number than his whole force, which consisted only of about 8500 men, whilst that of the Scots and Royalists amounted to 21,000. Then pursuing his route, he entered Scotland itself; and having, by his cautious policy, and good conduct, overcome all opposition, he returned in haste to the Metropolis, where his presence was much wanted by his friends.

At this time the Army and the Parliament were at direct variance. After Cromwell's departure for Wales, the Presbyterian interest had again obtained the predominance; and repealing the vote of 'no addresses,' had come to the resolution of treating personally with the King. Even a charge of High Treason had been preferred

preferred in the House of Commons against Cromwell himself; and though not entered into, the proceedings were sufficient to convince him of his danger, should his enemies finally prevail. Whilst absent, therefore, he still laboured to maintain his influence by means of Ireton and Fairfax; who, with the other officers, agreed upon a '*Remonstrance*' to the House of Commons, in which they required that 'the treaty with the King should be broken off; that delinquents be no more partially dealt with; that the King be brought to justice, as the capital cause of all; that Prince Charles, and the Duke of York, should come in by a certain day, or be declared traitors; that public justice should be done upon some capital causers and actors in the war; that the soldiers should be paid their arrears; and that the present Parliament should be dissolved, after provision had been made for a new one, in which the people should be more equally represented.'* This Remonstrance was presented on the 20th of November; within a few days after, the army sent Major General Harrison, with a party of horse, to bring the King from the Isle of Wight; and on learning that the Commons had passed some votes in full opposition to their wishes, they marched to London, and placing guards in all the avenues to the Parliament House, seized forty-one Members, and refused admittance to about 160 others. By this procedure, the House was reduced to about 150 persons, many of whom were officers. The following day (December the 7th) Cromwell arrived from Scotland, and "lay at Whitehall, where, and at other places, he declared that he had not been acquainted with this design; yet since it was done he was glad of it, and would endeavour to maintain it."†

The proceedings against the King were now urged forward with celerity: "The remaining Members that sate after this *Grand Purge*, damned all the votes which the Presbyterians had made either

* Whitelocke's Mem. p. 350.

† Ludlow's Mem. p. 105. Dugdale says, that this exclusion of the Members was called '*Colonel Pride's Purge*,' (Short View, &c. p. 363,) that officer having the command of the guard 'that attended at the Parliament door.'

either in reference to the treaty or to their secluded brethren;* and it was soon afterwards moved to proceed capitally against the King; "whereupon Oliver Cromwell stood up, and said, that 'if any man moved this upon design, he should think him the greatest *Traytor* in the world; but since *Providence* and *Necessity* had cast them upon it, he should pray God to bless their councils, though he was not provided on the sudden to give them counsel.'—But not long after he was: for being a great pretender to *Enthusiasms* and *Revelations*, he told them, that, 'as he was praying for a blessing from God on his undertaking to restore the King to his pristine Majesty, his tongue so cleaved to the roof of his mouth, that he could not speak one word more; which he took as a return of prayer, and that God had rejected him from being King.'† On the following day, December the twenty-eighth, an Ordinance was brought in for the trial of the King: and on the first of January, 1648-9, it was voted, that, 'By the fundamental laws of this realm, it is Treason for the King of England, for the time being, to levy war against the Parliament and Kingdom.' On the next day, the Ordinance, and the declaratory vote, were carried to the Lords, who refused to agree to either, and adjourned for ten days: on which the Commons determined to proceed without their concurrence; and on the fourth of January, they resolved, that 'the People, under God, are the original of all just power; that the Commons of England, assembled in Parliament, being chosen by, and representing the People, have the supreme authority of this nation; and that, whatsoever is enacted and declared for law, by the Commons in Parliament, hath the force of law; and all the people of this nation are included thereby; although the consent and concurrence of the King and House of Peers be not had thereunto.' Two days afterwards, the Ordinance for the King's trial was passed; a special provison being inserted, 'in case the King should refuse to plead to the charge against him.'

On the eighth of January, the 'High Court of Justice' assembled in the Painted Chamber; and all the necessary arrangements being

* Dug. Short View, p. 365. † Ibid. p. 366.

being made, removed, on the twentieth, to Westminster Hall, which had been properly fitted up for the trial. The King, who had been removed from Windsor Castle to St. James's, and thence to Sir Robert Cotton's house, was now placed at the bar, but refusing to acknowledge the legal jurisdiction of the Court during that and the two following days, the Court adjourned to the Painted Chamber, and proceeded to hear witnesses on the charge of 'traitorously levying war against the people.' On the twenty-seventh the Court re-assumed its sittings in Westminster Hall, and the King being again brought up, was sentenced to 'be put to death, as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy, by the severing of his head from his body.' Three days afterwards (January the thirtieth) this sentence was fully executed, on a scaffold erected in the street before Whitehall; the King submitting to his sad fate, with exemplary and truly Christian fortitude.* His whole deportment, indeed, during this last solemn act of his eventful life, was dignified and heroic; and it is not improbable, that, had he bent to the pressure he could not controul, and suffered his trial to proceed, by acknowledging the authority of the Court, the popular voice would have turned so strongly in his favor, that even Cromwell would have judged it expedient to have preserved his life. Once, and only once, he appears to have wavered; this was on the morning of passing sentence, when he earnestly proposed, that, 'in regard he had something to say for the peace of the kingdom, and liberty of the subject, he might be heard before the Lords and Commons in the Painted Chamber." But his request, after an 'hour's debate,' was over-ruled, as tending to delay; and though liberty was given him to speak in open Court, he then declared, 'he had nothing more to say.' Welwood says,† that "it is probable he meant to have resigned his

* "At this scene were many sighs, and weeping eyes; and divers strove to dip their handkerchiefs in his blood."

Whitelocke's Mem. p. 370.

† Memoirs, p. 104. Ludlow says that "he was informed the King meant to propose his own resignation, and the admission of his son to the Throne, upon such terms as should have been agreed upon."

Mem. p. 108.

Crown; which his enemies having some intimation of, and fearing it might be accepted, they were the more forward to proceed to sentence and execution."*

The requisite measures were now taken to settle the government in a Commonwealth; and on the sixth of February it was voted by the Commons, that 'the House of Peers in Parliament is useless and dangerous, and ought to be abolished.' On the following day, they resolved, that 'it hath been found by experience, and this House doth declare, that the office of a King in this nation, and to have the power thereof in any single person, is unnecessary, burthensome, and dangerous to the liberty, safety, and public interest of the people, and therefore ought to be abolished; and that an Act be brought in for that purpose.' A Council of State, consisting

* How greatly the influence of Cromwell was supposed to be decisive of the King's fate, may be illustrated by the following particulars, given by Noble from the Flagellum, and other Lives of the Protector. "*Colonel John Cromwell*, third son of Sir Oliver Cromwell, of Hinchinbrook, happening to be in England whilst his Sovereign, Charles the First, was a prisoner to the Parliament's army, and hearing his relation Oliver (afterwards Lord Protector) say, 'I think the King the most injured Prince in the world; but this,' placing his hand upon his sword, 'shall right him;' he supposed that his zeal was real, and therefore expressed himself satisfied that it was impossible for him to go those lengths which many others wished to do: for these reasons, when the unfortunate, misguided Monarch was condemned to die, and the Princes of Wales and Orange, taking vast pains to save him, or at least to stay the execution, sent over such relations of the leading men in the army, as they thought could influence them, they applied to him, and he very readily undertook the task, with the greatest expectation of succeeding in so desirable a business. Wherefore, taking credential letters from the States of Holland, with letters with the King's and Prince of Wales's own signet, and confirmed by the States, offering Oliver his own terms, in case he would prevent the fatal sentence from being carried into execution, he hastened to England.

"He found his cousin Oliver, the Lieutenant General, at home; but it was with difficulty he gained admittance, as he kept his chamber, and ordered himself to be denied. Upon his introduction to Oliver, after the usual compliments between relations, he began to mention 'the

ing of forty persons, of whom Cromwell was one, was soon afterwards appointed to administer the laws; and it was ordered that all writs, which formerly run in the King's name, should henceforth be issued in the names of 'the Keepers of the Liberty of England.' To these resolutions validity was subsequently given by specific Acts; and it was made 'High Treason for any Person to endeavour to promote Charles Stuart to be King of England, or any other single Person to be Chief Governor thereof.' Among other things also constituted High Treason, was for 'any Soldier to contrive the death of their General, or Lieutenant General; or endeavour to raise mutinies in the army:' this is thought to have been done the more effectually to ensure the safety of Oliver.

Notwithstanding these laws, Prince Charles was proclaimed King both in Scotland and in Ireland: in the latter country, in-

 deed,

'the horrid crime intended to be committed; and, after a very free harrangue upon its atrocity, the indelible stain it would be to the nation, and in what a light it was beheld upon the Continent; adding, that, of all men living, he thought he would never have any hand in it, who, in his hearing, had protested so much to the King;' Oliver replied, 'it was not him, but the army; and though he did once say some such words, yet now times were altered, and Providence seemed to order things otherwise;' adding, that 'he had prayed and fasted for the King, but no return that way was yet made to him.' Upon which the Colonel stepped back a little, and hastily shut the door, which made Oliver suppose he was going to be assassinated; but the other taking out his papers, said to him, 'Cousin, this is no time to trifle with words: See here! it is now in your own power not only to make yourself, but your family, relations, and posterity, happy and honorable for ever; otherwise, as they have changed their name before from Williams to Cromwell, so now they must be forced to change it again; for this fact will bring such an ignominy upon the whole generation of them, as no time will be able to efface.' After a pause, Oliver said, 'Cousin, I desire you will give me till night to consider of it; but do you go to your own inn, and not to bed, till you hear from me.' The Colonel retired; and at one o'clock in the morning, he received a message, informing him, that 'he might go to rest, and expect no other answer to carry to the Prince, for the Council of Officers had been seeking God, as he had also done, and it was resolved by them all, that the King must die!'

Noble's Crom. Vol. I. p. 50—52.

deed, the Parliament's authority had never been generally acknowledged, and Londonderry and Dublin were now the only places that held out for them. Dublin itself was closely besieged by the Marquis of Ormond, and in considerable danger; but the unsettled state of affairs at home, had hitherto prevented the sending of reinforcements. At length, the necessity becoming imminent, it was determined by lot,* what particular regiments should be employed; and the command was given to Cromwell, who professed that 'the difficulty which appeared in the expedition, was his chief motive for engaging in it; and that he hardly expected to prevail over the rebels, but only to preserve to the Commonwealth some footing in that kingdom.' His commission, which passed the Great Seal on the twenty-second of June, gave him 'the command of all the forces that should be sent into Ireland, and invested him with the office of Lord Governor of that kingdom for three years, with full powers in all affairs both civil and military.'

Cromwell, with his usual energy, immediately prepared every thing for his departure, and leaving London in great state on the tenth of July,† joined the army at Milford Haven, which place had been appointed for the general rendezvous. His first care was to dispatch three regiments for the relief of Dublin; and with the assistance of these, the gallant Colonel Jones, who was Governor there, entirely routed the besieging army. Soon afterwards Cromwell went over in person, and advancing against Tredagh, or Drogheda, took it by assault in a few days, and most of the garrison, which consisted of 2500 foot, and 300 horse, were put to the sword; or, to use the words of the time, 'sacrificed to the manes of

* Whitelocke's Mem. p. 384. The lots were drawn out of a hat by a child.

† "At his setting out, he was drawn in a coach with six horses, and attended by many Members of the Parliament and Council of State, with the chief of the army; his life-guard consisting of eighty men, who had formerly been commanders, all bravely mounted and accoutered, both them and their servants." Rev. of the Life of O. Crom. p. 40. In the same work is given a very interesting summary of the victories of Cromwell in Ireland, &c. p. 41—52.

of the massacred English.' The storming party was at first repulsed; but Oliver led on the reserve himself, and bravely mounting the breach at their head, overpowered all opposition.

The severity exercised at Tredagh led to the immediate surrender of many other places; and many more were delivered up after a slight resistance. Those that yet held out, were almost all carried by assault; a mode of attack to which Cromwell appears to have been particularly partial. One of the last places that was thus taken was Clonmell, which was defended by the famous O'Neal, with a garrison of 2000 foot and 120 horse. During the siege, the noted Bishop of Ross, 'who was advancing to relieve the town, was defeated by the Lord Broghill; and afterwards hanged before the walls of one of his own Castles, in retaliation of his cruelties, it being his common expression, that "there was no way of curing the English but by hanging them."* The storming of Clonmell lasted four hours, and was supposed to be the hottest ever known of so long a continuance.† But very few places were now unreduced; and Cromwell having been sent for by the Parliament, constituted Ireton Lord Deputy, and returned to London, where he was received with every demonstration of joy, and had the thanks of the House for his great and faithful services. His continuance in Ireland was only nine months, in which time, as has been justly observed, 'he performed more than any Sovereign of England had been able to do in a much greater number of years.'

The preparations making by the Scots to invade this country, was the cause of Oliver's being recalled from Ireland: the magnitude of the danger was thought to demand an officer of his experience; and within a month after his return, on the refusal of the Lord-General Fairfax to march with the army into Scotland, he was appointed 'Captain General in Chief of all the forces raised, and to be raised, by authority of Parliament, within the Commonwealth of England.' This appointment was made on the twenty-sixth of June, 1650; the Lord Fairfax having laid down his commission on the preceding day, through 'scruples of conscience,'

* Whitelocke's Mem. p. 440. † Ibid. p. 441.

the design of carrying the war into Scotland before the Scots had more openly avowed their intentions, not seeming to him to be lawful.* On the twenty-ninth, Cromwell commenced his march northwards; and about four weeks afterwards, he entered Scotland, where Charles the Second, who had taken the Covenant, and 'given satisfaction to the Scots in all things they desired of him,' was then busily engaged in raising forces to invade England.

Cromwell began his measures by enforcing the most strict discipline in his own army; it having been industriously reported among the Scots, that 'the English intended to cut the throats of all between sixty and sixteen years of age; cut off the right hands of the youths under sixteen, and above six years old; burn the women's breasts with hot irons, and destroy all before them.'† He also ordered proclamation to be made, 'that none, on pain of death, should offer violence to the persons or effects of any in Scotland, not found in arms; or straggle half a mile from their quarters, without special license.' This prudent conduct proved of great service; for so strong an impression had been made of the expected cruelties, that scarcely a Scotchman was to be seen under sixty years of age, and but very few women and children: in

* "The Council of State," says Whitelocke, "somewhat troubled at his Excellency's scruples, appointed Cromwell, Lambert, Harrison, St. John, and Whitelocke, a Committee to confer hereupon with Fairfax, and to endeavour to satisfy him of the justice and lawfulness of this undertaking. The Committee met with the Lieutenant General Fairfax; and being shut up together in a room in Whitehall, they went first to prayer, that God would direct them in this business; and Cromwell begun, and most of the Committee prayed, after which they discoursed to this effect."—Whitelocke then gives the particulars of the conference, and adds, that "none of the Committee were so earnest to persuade the General to continue his commission, as Cromwell and the soldiers; yet there was cause enough to believe that they did not over much desire it." *Memorials, p.* 444—446.

† Ibid. p. 451.

in their whole 'march from Berwick to Edinburgh, the army did not meet with ten men.'*

The Scottish forces were commanded by Lieutenant General Lealey, but under the direction of a Committee of States. This wary officer stood on the defensive: and Cromwell being unable to provoke him to leave his entrenchments, and in great distress for provisions, 'to refresh his wearied soldiers, who had had nothing but bread and water for six days before,' drew off towards Muscleborough. On his retreat, his rear guard was attacked twice, but the Scots were both times repulsed, with considerable loss. Having obtained supplies at Dunbar, he again advanced; yet all his efforts were inadequate to induce the cautious Lesley to fight, unless under great and evident advantages;† and the entire month of August was spent in fruitless stratagems to bring him to action. Hard duty, scanty fare, and the rigour of the weather, had now rendered the English army very sickly, and Cromwell was again compelled to fall back to Dunbar, in search of fresh supplies. His retreat was harrassed by the Scots, who followed him with their whole force, which, according to their own statement, consisted of 27,000 horse and foot, (other accounts say 30,000,) whilst the English scarcely amounted to 12,000: they had also secured the strong pass of Coberspath, which prevented Cromwell from receiving any aid from Berwick, so that his situation became more perilous every hour.‡ In these distressful circumstances, Oliver

* This effect, however, was partly produced by an order of the States of Scotland, who declared, that 'all who did not remove should have their goods sequestered, and be declared enemies.'

† The enemy, says Whitelocke, "kept close between Edenburgh and Leith, having a trench before them, and a river behind them, and a strong Castle on the one hand, and a strong garrison town on the other hand; and it was impossible to fall upon them without the apparent hazard of the whole army." *Mem. p.* 454.

‡ Before the battle, "the English were in a sad posture; very many of their men sick, and wanting provisions; the enemy having made up the passes before them; the whole Scots army on the right hand, and the sea on the left, and the whole nation of Scotland behind them."

Whitelocke's Mem. p. 456.

performed every duty of a great General; and calling a council of war, determined, after some debate, to attack the Scots on the following morning, although 'they hovered upon the adjacent hills like a thick cloud, menacing nothing but ruin and destruction.' The enemy had come to a similar resolution in regard to the English, but much against the wish of Lesley, and other officers, who, fully conscious of the advantages they had obtained by delay, would still have procrastinated the attack, till their vast superiority had become even yet more decided: some of them, indeed, as if under a presentiment of what might arise from the efforts of desperation, advised 'to make rather a bridge of gold for the English to pass home.'* The Committee of States, however, and the Ministers in the Scottish army, were too sanguine of victory to delay the conflict; and believing that the 'army of the Sectaries,' as they insultingly called the English, would be an easy conquest, they urged to battle.

On the morning of the third of September, about an hour before day-break, Cromwell put his troops in motion.† The preceding night had been dreadfully tempestuous and wet, and the 'Lord General took more than ordinary care of himself and his army: he refreshed his men in the town, and paid especial attention to securing his match-locks against the weather, whilst his enemies neglected theirs.' During the night, the Scots advanced; but before they could be put in complete order, Cromwell had engaged the horse of their right wing, and, after a short but severe struggle, made them retire upon their own foot. This threw them into

* Whitelocke's Mem. p. 455.

† Before this, as appears from Bishop Burnet, Cromwell had assembled his officers to 'seek the Lord,' as they termed it, 'in prayer:' after which, he 'bade all about him take heart, for God had certainly heard them, and would appear for them.' After prayer, "they walked in the Earl of Roxburgh's gardens, that lay under the hill, and by perspective glasses they discerned a great motion in the Scottish camp; upon which, Cromwell said, 'God is delivering them into our hands, they are coming down to us.'" *Hist. Vol. I. p.* 54.

into confusion, and Oliver profited by it, so as to render the action general with their whole van, which, after an hour's sharp fighting, was forced to retreat up the hill from whence they had descended in full confidence of victory. Their rear, pressed on by the routed body, was struck with panic, and immediately fled with such "precipitation and disorder, that few of them ventured to look behind them till they arrived at Edinburgh."* Upwards of 4000 Scots were killed, and more than 10,000 made prisoners, with 140 Chief Officers, among whom were many persons of distinction and eminence: all the artillery, ammunition, and baggage, was also taken, together with 200 colours: the loss on the part of the English hardly amounted to 300 men. Soon after the battle, Cromwell sent Colonel Lambert to secure Edinburgh and Leith, of both which he took possession on the same day. The Castle of Edinburgh, which, in the language of the times, 'gloried in its virginity,' it having never yet been taken, still remained in the hands of the Scots; but Cromwell, after a three months siege, had the honor of reducing it. This appeared so extraordinary, from the almost impregnable situation of the fortress, that many affirmed Oliver 'took it only by silver bullets;' a report which does not seem to have had the least origin in truth.

Cromwell's military labours were not yet at an end. The Scots began to form a new army in the neighbourhood of Stirling and Aberdeen; and on the first of January, 1651, they solemnly crowned the King at Scone; a ceremony that had hitherto been delayed, that he might have sufficient time 'to humble himself for his father's sins, and his own transgressions.' In order to raise a powerful army, all persons were now indiscriminately admitted, and great numbers flocked, in consequence, to the King's standard.

Cromwell lost no time in preparing for the coming storm;† and as soon as the weather seemed sufficiently open, he began his march

* Ludlow's Mem. p. 127.

† In the beginning of February, Cromwell ordered an attempt to be made on Hume Castle, and Colonel Fenwick summoned it in his name. The

march northwards towards the King's head quarters; but, by 'reason of the extream snow and storms, was obliged to return to Edinburgh.' Immediately afterwards he fell sick, and continued indisposed, and sometimes dangerously ill, during the four ensuing months; his sickness terminating in an ague. The goodness of his constitution, and the advice of two eminent physicians, whom the Parliament had sent to him from London, at length restored him to health, and he again took the field. The Scots had by this time assembled an army of from 20,000 to 30,000 men: this large body was commanded by the King in person; under him Duke Hamilton was made Lieutenant General; David Lesley, Major General; Middleton, Major General of Horse; and Massey, General of the English. Cromwell exerted himself to bring the Royalists to action; but they either eluded his efforts, or entrenched themselves so strongly, that he could not risk an attack without evident destruction. He next attempted to cut off their supplies from Fife; and so alarmed them by the successes of his detachments, that they quitted their fortified camp at Torwood in such haste as to abandon their sick, and leave behind them a large quantity of military stores. Retreating to Stirling Park, they occupied another position of great strength, and Cromwell still found all his endeavours to force them to give battle ineffectual. He therefore resolved to carry on the war in Fife; and crossing the Forth with the greatest part of his army, compelled St. John's Town to surrender in one day, though the Lord Duffus had

The Governor replied, that 'he knew not Cromwell; and for his Castle, it was built upon a rock: soon afterwards he sent a letter with these words.

I William of the Wastle
Am now in my Castle,
And awe the dogs in the town
Shand garre me gang down.

Within a few days, however, a breach being made in the walls, and every thing ready for a storm, he beat a parley, and surrendered upon promise of quarter for life, the Colonel refusing to accede to any other terms. *Whitelocke's Mem. p.* 464.

had entered it but the day before with 1300 men. This success threw the King into much perplexity, as he could no longer draw supplies from the Highlands; and he at length took the desperate resolution of advancing into England, conceiving strong hopes that his friends would join him in sufficient force to secure him from all danger, in the event of Cromwell's overtaking him, which he knew could not be done for several days, as he had considerably the start of that General. He accordingly entered England on the sixth of August, by the way of Carlisle, and marched towards Cheshire and Lancashire, from which counties he expected considerable aid.

This sudden irruption greatly alarmed the Parliament, who ordered out most of the militia, and directed new levies to be raised: they also declared it High Treason for 'any person to hold correspondence with Charles Stuart, or any of his party; or to give them any encouragement or assistance.' Cromwell himself was not without his share of alarm; though he assured the Parliament by letter, that 'he would overtake the enemy, and give a good account of them, before they came near London.' He therefore dispatched Major General Lambert, with a body of 800 horse, to impede the King's march; and leaving Lieutenant General Monk with a strong party to command in Scotland, hastened into England with the remainder of his army. Lambert was bravely seconded by Major General Harrison, who had collected about 4000 horse and foot, and was of great service in harrassing the King's line, and preventing the junction of small parties. The passage of Warrington Bridge, in Cheshire, was sharply contested with the King by these officers, whose forces were hourly increased by detachments of militia; but he at length carried it, and proceeded with great expedition to Worcester, where he determined to await the coming of the foe. In the mean time, the brave Earl of Derby, who was the only person that made any considerable effort to support the King, was totally defeated at Wigan, in Lancashire, by Colonel Lilburn; and the Earl himself, with only thirty horse out of 1500, did not get to Worcester without great difficulty.

About

About the end of August Cromwell arrived in the neighbourhood of Worcester; and having united his forces to those of Fleetwood, Desborough, Lambert, and Harrison, immediately began to make preparations for attacking the King, whose horse were encamped between Worcester and the Malvern Hills, and his foot quartered within the city, which had been strengthened by new works. After several fierce skirmishes, in which Lambert and Fleetwood displayed the greatest bravery and good conduct, the Scots were driven from most of their out-posts into Worcester itself. The decisive battle was fought on the third of September. Fleetwood had been first engaged; and Cromwell sent a detachment across the Severn to support him, by the assistance of which he compelled the Scots to give ground. Whilst this was acting, the Royalists made an unexpected and gallant attack on Cromwell and Lambert's own quarters; and, at first, with such success, that the General's life guard was obliged to fall back; and even his cannon were, for a time, in the possession of the King's party. After a hard struggle, however, Cromwell became victorious; the Scots were completely routed; and their foot falling back upon the city, were so closely pursued, that very few escaped being either slaughtered, or made prisoners.* The King himself was forced to fly: with great difficulty he made his way through St. Martin's Gate, accompanied by about sixty noblemen and gentlemen, from whom he was compelled to separate the next day; and, after assuming various disguises, becoming literally, a fugitive and a wanderer during five weeks, he thought himself highly fortunate

* "As soon as the Lord General had forced his way through Sudbury gate, whilst his party was slaying all they met with, he with some regiments ran up to the Fort-Royal, commanded by Colonel Drummond; and being just about to storm, he first ventured, through whole showers of shot, to offer the Scots quarter, if they would presently submit, and deliver up the Fort; which they refusing, he soon reduced it by force, and without mercy put them all to the sword, to the number of 1500 men. In the mean time, very considerable parties were sent after the flying enemy, and the country every where rose upon them." *Rev. of the Life of O. Crom. p.* 79.

fortunate in being able to escape to France from the coast of Sussex.

In the letters sent by Cromwell to the Parliament, he says, "This battle was fought with various success for some hours, but still hopeful on your part, and in the end became an absolute victory, and as full a one, as proved a total defeat and ruin of the enemies army, and possession of the town; our men entering at the enemies heels, and fighting with them in the streets with very great courage, took all their baggage and artillery. What the slain are, I can give you no account, because we have not taken an exact view: but they are very many, and must needs be so, because the dispute was long, and very near at hand, and often at push of pike, and from one defence to another. Their army was about 16,000 strong, and fought ours on Worcester side Severne, almost with their whole; whilst we had engaged half our army on the other side, though with parties of theirs. Indeed, it was a stiff business, yet I do not think we have lost 200 men." In the same letter, Oliver employed a most remarkable sentence; which, though it has been much commented on, was probably never intended by the writer to have any covert allusion. "The dimensions of this mercy," he continues, "are above my thoughts; it is, for aught I know, a *crowning mercy*." These words have been supposed to indicate, that his secret aspiring to the throne was of long continuance; and Ludlow expressly remarks, that, "after this action, he took upon him a more stately behaviour, and chose new friends."* In another part of his Memoirs, he says, that Cromwell's "pernicious intentions did not discover themselves openly till after the battle of Worcester, which, in one of his letters to Parliament, he called 'the Crowning Victory.' At the same time, when he dismissed the militia, who had most readily offered themselves to serve the Commonwealth against the Scots, he did it with anger or contempt, which was all the acknowledgment they could obtain from him for their service and affection to the public cause. In a word, so much was he elevated with that success, that Mr. Hugh Peters, as he since told

* Memoirs, p. 141.

covered by this meeting, the inclinations of the persons that spake, for which he fished, and made use of what he then discerned." It appears from the same author, that the 'soldiers were generally for a pure republic, the lawyers for a mixt monarchy, and many for the Duke of Glocester to be made King.'*

There can be no doubt but that Cromwell had now conceived the idea of attaining the Sovereignty; though the issue of this conference convinced him that the time was not yet arrived in which he could disclose his views with safety. Ludlow intimates, that the 'Act of General Pardon and Amnesty,' which passed on the first of March, 1652, was chiefly carried through his particular importunities, "that so he might fortify himself, by the addition of new friends, for the carrying on of his designs."† Whether this be true or not, it is certain that Oliver was now taking every possible step, consistently with his own security, that could lead to the Throne; for though the whole military power was in his hands, and the civil administration almost entirely under his influence, his ambition ascended yet higher; and the "confused state of the Legislature, while it appeared like a body without a head, gave him, at least, a plausible excuse for assuming that authority to himself, which was visibly wanting."‡

In the beginning of November, Cromwell had a remarkable conversation with Whitelocke, (at this time one of the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal,) whom he had met accidentally in St. James's Park, and immediately 'requested to walk aside with him, that they might have some private discourse together.' Cromwell began the conversation by expressing his confidence in the other's judgment, fidelity, and friendship: then expressing his fears of the dangerous situation of the State, from 'private jarrings and animosities,' he adverted to the murmurings of the army,

* It was probably from this circumstance that Cromwell afterwards exerted his influence to have the Duke sent out of the kingdom, which was done in a few months afterwards.

† Memoirs, p. 155.

‡ Rev. of the Life of O. Crom. p. 146.

army, and their 'strange distaste against the Members of Parliament,' and "I wish," he continued, "there were not too much cause for it; and really their pride, and ambition, and self-seeking, ingrossing all places of honour and profit to themselves and their friends, and their daily breaking forth into new and violent parties and factions; their delays of business, and design to perpetuate themselves, and continue the power in their own hands; their meddling in private matters between party and party, contrary to the institution of Parliaments, and their injustice and partiality in those matters, and the scandalous lives of some of the chief of them; these things (my Lord) do give too much ground for people to open their mouths against them, and to dislike them. Nor can they be kept within the bounds of justice, and law, or reason, they themselves being the supreme power of the Nation, liable to no account to any, nor to be controuled or regulated by any other power, there being none superior, or co-ordinate with them. So that unless there be *some authority and power so full, and so high*, as to *restrain* and *keep things* in *better order*, and that may be a check to these exorbitances, it will be impossible in human reason to prevent our ruin."

Whitelocke, who clearly perceived the tendency of this discourse, and could not contradict the danger of those 'extravagancies, and inordinate powers,' though he attempted to palliate them, stated, in substance, 'that as they all acted by the authority, and under the commissions, of Parliament, it would be difficult to find out a way to apply a restraining curb.' This reply was not sufficiently to the point, and Cromwell put the short but pithy question, 'WHAT IF A MAN SHOULD TAKE UPON HIM TO BE KING?' Whitelocke answered, 'I think that remedy would be worse than the disease;' and, after giving his reasons for this inference, was earnestly pressed by Cromwell to 'propound what other thing' might obviate the difficulties which surrounded them. Whitelocke then suggested the expedient of restoring the King of Scots (Charles the Second) by a private treaty, which should 'ensure the spiritual and civil liberties of the subject.' This advice was far from according with Oliver's ideas; and he 'brake off'

the discourse 'till a further time,' seeming, 'by his countenance and carriage, displeased with what had been said."*

Cromwell was not to be deterred from his purpose by the difficulty of its accomplishment: he was now convinced that his ambitious designs would never obtain the concurrence of the leading men in the Parliament, and he therefore more strenuously exerted himself to bring about a Dissolution. New jealousies were infused into the army,† and spread among the people; even religion itself was made the vehicle for exciting the popular indignation against the Members of the House, who were taxed with 'injustice and delays of business, and seeking to prolong their power, and promote their private interest, and to satisfie their own ambition.' The parties, indeed, were now at issue; and Cromwell "had even private information, that a conspiracy was forming against him, in which were engaged not only several Presbyterians and Royalists, but also some considerable Members of the House of the Independent party: affairs, therefore, was in such a situation, that the Parliament was either to be subdued, or himself ruined."‡ In this

* Whitelocke's Mem. p. 523—526. Our author says, that "though he (Cromwell) never objected it against him in any public meeting afterwards, yet his carriage to him from that time was altered, and his advising with him not so frequent and intimate as before; and it was not long after, that he found an occasion, by an honorable employment, (an Embassy to Sweden,) to send him out of the way, (as some of his nearest relations, particularly his daughter Cleypoole, confessed,) that he might be no obstacle or impediment to his ambitious designs." *Ibid.* p. 526.

† One of the officers (Major Streater) declared openly, that 'the General designed to set up for himself:' but Major General Harrison, who was a religious enthusiast, and, at this time, one of Cromwell's most devoted partizans, said, that he believed the contrary, and that 'the General's aim was only to make way for the kingdom of Jesus.'—"Unless Jesus comes very suddenly, then," replied the other, "he will come too late." *Echard's Hist.* p. 703, *a.*

‡ Rapin's Hist. Vol. II. p. 589.

this extremity, a Dissolution was moved for in the House itself by some of Cromwell's friends; but it was resolved in the negative, and a new order made, that 'the Speaker should issue out writs for filling the vacant seats.' It was also voted, that a Committee should be appointed to 'prepare a Bill to forbid all persons, under the pain of High Treason, from presenting any petition similar to what had been lately brought up from the army;' and which stated, that 'though the Parliament had done great things, yet it was a great injury to the rest of the Nation, to be utterly excluded from bearing any part in the service of their country, by their ingrossing the whole power into their hands;' and thereupon besought them 'that they would settle a Council of War for the administration of Government during the interval, and summon a new Parliament, and then dissolve themselves,' which they told them 'would be the most popular act they could perform.'*

These proceedings of the House so exasperated Cromwell's party, that meetings were held at his lodgings in Whitehall, for the express purpose of contriving some expedient for a Dissolution; when Oliver, by one of those daring acts which nothing but imperious necessity can justify, and which, indeed, can never be practised but in a state of high political ferment, put an end to their deliberations by dissolving the Parliament by force. The manner in which this was effected, will be best conceived by throwing into one narrative the most important passages of the different accounts given by Whitelocke, Bate, Dugdale, and Ludlow.

On the twentieth of April, 1653, whilst Cromwell, 'with a few Parliament men, and a few officers of the army,'† was in debate at his lodgings, "Cromwell was informed that the Parliament was sitting: hereupon he broke off the meeting, and the Members of Parliament (that were) with him, left him at his lodgings, and went to the House, and found them in debate of an Act, the which would occasion other meetings of them again, and prolong

* Rapin's Hist. Ibid. from Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 372.

† Whitelocke, p. 529.

their sitting.* Thereupon Colonel Ingoldsby went back to Cromwell, and told him what the House was doing, who was so enraged thereat, (expecting that they should have meddled with no other business, but putting a period to their own sitting without more delay,) that he presently commanded some of the officers to fetch a party of soldiers, with whom he marched to the House, and led a file of musquetiers in with him; the rest he placed at the door of the House, and in the Lobby before it."†

Having 'sat down, and heard the debate for some time,'‡ he "addressed his speech to the Chief Justice, St. John, telling him, that 'he was come to do that which grieved him to the very soul, and that he had earnestly, with tears, prayed to God against. Nay, that he had rather be torn in pieces than do it; but that there was a *necessity* laid upon him therein, in order to the glory of God, and the good of the Nation.' Whereunto St. John answered, that 'he knew not what he meant; but did pray that what it was which must be done, might have a happy issue for the general good."§ Then Cromwell, "calling to Major General Harrison, who was on the other side of the House, to come to him, he told him, that 'he judged the Parliament ripe for a Dissolution, and this to be the time of doing it.' The Major General

* Ludlow says, that the House were then passing the Act for their own Dissolution. *Mem. p.* 173.

† Whitelocke, p. 529. Bate says, 'he ordered ten or twelve soldiers to follow him, and stay for him at the door; he himself, accompanied only by Fleetwood, entering in,' p. 161. Dugdale also states, that he was accompanied by 'Fleetwood, his great confident.' Short View, p. 405; yet these authors must be inaccurate, as Fleetwood was then in Ireland.

‡ Ludlow, p. 173. Dugdale says, that he spoke to St. John, 'without moving his hat, or going to any seat.' Short View, p. 405; yet this cannot be the fact, if what Ludlow states concerning the discourse with Harrison be true.

§ Dug. Short View, p. 405.

ral answered, as he since told me, 'Sir, the work is very great and dangerous, therefore I desire you seriously to consider of it before you engage in it.'—'You say well,' replied the General; and thereupon sat still for about a quarter of an hour; and then the question for passing the Bill being to be put, he said again to Major General Harrison, 'this is the time I must do it;' and suddenly standing up,"* "turning towards the Speaker, told him,† 'you have sufficiently imposed upon the people, and provided for yourselves and relations; you have long cheated the country by your sitting here, under pretext of settling the Commonwealth, reforming the laws, and procuring the common good; whilst, in the mean time, you have only invaded the wealth of the State, screwed yourselves and relations into all places of honor and profit, to feed your own luxury and impiety."‡ 'Which being said, he gave a stamp with his foot,'§ 'as a signal for the soldiers without;'‖ and, "in a furious manner, bid the Speaker 'leave the chair,'¶ and said to the House," 'for shame, get ye gone; give place to honester men, and those that will more faithfully discharge their trust.'** He "told them, that 'the Lord had done with them, and had chosen other instruments for the carrying on his work that were more worthy.'††

"Some of the Members rose up to answer Cromwell's speech; but he would suffer none to speak but himself;"‡‡ yet "one had the boldness to tell him, 'It ill suits your Excellencie's Justice, to brand us all promiscuously, and in general, without the proof of a crime."§§ This was probably "Sir Peter Wentworth, who stood up to answer him, and said, 'this was the first time he ever had heard such unbecoming language given to the Parliament; and that it was the more horrid in that it came from their servant, and

 their

* Ludlow, p. 173,-4. † Dugdale, p. 405.

‡ Bate, p. 161. § Dugdale, Ibid. ‖ Bate, Ibid.

¶ Whitelock, p. 529. ** Bate, Ibid.

†† Ludlow, p. 174. ‡‡ Whitelocke, Ibid.

§§ Bate, Ibid.

their servant whom they had so highly trusted and obliged:' but as he was going on, the General stept into the midst of the House, where, continuing his distracted language, he said, 'Come, come, I will put an end to your prating: you are no Parliament; I say you are no Parliament: I will put an end to your sitting; call them in, call them in.' Whereupon the Serjeant attending the Parliament opened the doors, and Lieutenant Colonel Worsley, with two files of musquetiers, entered the House; which Sir Henry Vane observing from his place, said aloud, 'This is not honest; yea, it is against morality and common honesty.' Then Cromwell fell a railing at him, crying out with a loud voice, 'O Sir Henry Vane, Sir Henry Vane, the Lord deliver me from Sir Henry Vane;'* and 'taking him in wrath by his cloak, said, thou art a juggling fellow.'† Then 'he told Allen, the goldsmith, (and Alderman,) that he had enricht himself by cousening the State, for which he should be called to account,'‡ and 'in a rage committed him to the custody of one of the musquetiers.'§ He next "commanded those of his guard, who at the signal of the stamp were entered the door, immediately to turn them out of the House;"‖ and as "they went out of the House, he pointed at Sir Harry Martin, and Tom Challoner, and said, 'Is it fit that such fellows as these should sit to govern? men of vicious lives; the one a noted whoremaster, the other a drunkard?' Nay, he boldly upbraided them all with 'selling the Cavaliers estates by bundles;' and said, 'they had kept no faith with them."¶

"Having brought all into this disorder, Major General Harrison went to the Speaker as he sat in the chair, and told him, that, 'seeing things were reduced to this pass, it would not be convenient for him to remain there.' The Speaker answered, that 'he would not come down unless he were forced.' 'Sir,' said Harrison, 'I will lend you my hand;' and thereupon, putting his hand within his, the Speaker came down. Then Cromwell, applying himself to the Members of the House, who were in number between eighty and a hundred, said to them, 'It is you that have forced

* Ludlow, p. 174. † Dugdale, p. 405. ‡ Ibid.
§ Ludlow, Ibid. ‖ Dugdale, Ibid. ¶ Ibid.

forced me to this; for I have sought the Lord night and day, that he would rather slay me, than put me upon the doing of this work.' Then he bid one of the soldiers to '*Take away that Fool's bauble,*' the Mace;* and stayed himself to see all the Members out of the House, himself the last of them, and then caused the doors of the House to be shut up."†

"Among all the Parliament men," says Whitelocke, "of whom many wore swords, and would sometimes brag high, not one man offered to draw his sword against Cromwell, or to make the least resistance against him; but all of them tamely departed the House—and thus it pleased God, that this assembly, famous through the world for its undertakings, actions, and successes, having subdued all their enemies, were themselves overthrown and ruined by their servants; and those whom they had raised, now pulled down their masters. An example never to be forgotten, and scarce to be paralleled in any story, by which all persons may be instructed how uncertain, and subject to change, all worldly affairs are; how apt to fall when we think them highest; how God makes use of strange and unexpected means to bring his purposes to pass."‡ That the Dissolution, however, was fully acceptable to the nation, was quickly evinced by the numerous addresses that were sent up to Cromwell from all parts of the country.§

After this extraordinary transaction, which till our own times remained without a parallel,‖ Cromwell felt that his work was still incomplete, whilst the Council of State was suffered to continue in authority. On the same day, therefore, he entered the Council

 Chamber,

* Clarendon says, 'he gave the Mace to an officer to be safely kept.'

† Whitelocke, p. 529. ‡ Ibid.

§ This is said to have been the origin of the practice of addressing, which has since been common in every reign.

‖ When Bonaparte put an end to the sitting of the Council of Five Hundred, he certainly took Cromwell for his model, and his purpose was the same; that is, to usurp the Sovereignty of his country.

Chamber, and, in despite of the opposition of 'honest Bradshaw, the President,' brake up the meeting.*

On the twenty-second of April, "Cromwell, and his Council of Officers, set forth a 'Declaration' of the grounds and reasons for their dissolving of the late Parliament; and that all civil officers do proceed as formerly in the execution of their offices, and all persons to give obedience to them."†

After considerable deliberation as to what was the best mode of 'settling the State,' it was resolved by Cromwell and his officers, that 'select persons should be nominated by themselves out of every county, who should be a *Representative* of the whole nation.' The writs that were issued, run in Cromwell's own name;‡ and on the fourth of July, most of the persons summoned met in the Council Chamber at Whitehall, where Cromwell "produced an Instrument

* For more particulars, see the memoir of Bradshaw given in Beauties, Vol. II. p. 264—7.

† Whitelocke's Mem. p. 530.

‡ The form of the writ was as follows: 'For as much as upon the Dissolution of the late Parliament, it became necessary that the peace, safety and good government of this Commonwealth, should be provided for; and in order thereunto, divers Persons fearing God, and of approved fidelity and honesty, are by myself, with the advice of my Council of Officers, nominated, to whom the great charge and trust of so weighty affairs is to be committed. And having good assurance of your love to, and courage for, God; and the interest of this cause, and of the good people of this Commonwealth: I, OLIVER CROMWELL, Captain General, and Commander in Chief, of all the armies and forces raised, and to be raised, within this Commonwealth, do hereby summon and require you, being one of the persons nominated, personally to appear at the Council Chamber at Whitehall, within the City of Westminster, upon the 4th day of July next ensuing the date hereof, then and there to take upon you the said trust, unto which you are hereby called, and appointed to serve as a Member of the county of ———. And hereof you are not to fail.

Given under my hand and seal the — day of ——— 1653.

O. Cromwell.

Instrument in writing, under his own hand and seal, whereby he did, with the advice of his officers, devolve and entrust the supreme authority and government of the Commonwealth, into the hands of the persons then met."* On the next day they assembled in the House of Commons, and voted themselves to be the 'Parliament of England.'

The formation of this assembly seems to have been intended by Cromwell only as a preparatory step to his assumption of further power. The various interests which divided the people, the jealousies of parties, and the very opposite system that each respectively maintained, forced him to proceed with the most deliberate caution. What he most earnestly desired, he was obliged frequently to reprobate; and even in his acceptance of the dignity to which he attained, he was compelled to conceal his satisfaction under the mask of simple acquiescence in a choice of difficulties. With all his ambition, however, there is sufficient evidence to demonstrate, that he had the national good at heart: he was convinced that the rule of a Dictator was better than the tyranny of a multitude; and who, in the circumstances under which he was then obliged to act, could be more deserving of the supreme authority, or better qualified to direct the Councils of the Nation?

The Parliament continued its sittings but little more than five months, when the majority of the Members resigned their delegated power into Cromwell's hands; and four days afterwards (December the sixteenth) he was chosen 'Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland.' The choice was made by the 'Council of Officers, and other persons of interest in the nation;† and in the Instrument of Government‡ that was then framed, it was declared, that 'Parliaments should be called triennially, and to consist of 400 persons, (including thirty for Scotland, and the same number for Ireland;) that no taxes or levies should be imposed but with the consent of Parliament; that all persons

* Whitelocke's Mem. p. 534. † Ibid. p. 552.

‡ It would seem from Ludlow and Dugdale, that this Instrument was principally drawn up by Cromwell and Major General Lambert.

persons possessing an estate of the value of 200l. should be eligible to elect county members; that a general toleration in matters of religion should be allowed; that the Protectorship should be elective, and that the Protector should be chosen by a Council of State, to consist of not more than twenty-one, nor less than thirteen persons, who should assist the Lord Protector in the exercise of the 'Chief Magistracie, and administration of the government.'* On the same day Cromwell was solemnly sworn in the Chancery Court, at Westminster, to fulfil the above conditions, and to "govern the three Nations according to the laws, statutes, and customs; seeking their peace, and causing justice and law to be equally administered." Soon afterwards the Protector was invited by the Corporation of the City of London to dine at Grocer's Hall, and the entertainment was conducted with regal splendor: on this occasion, Cromwell exercised one of the functions of a Sovereign, by conferring the honor of knighthood on the Lord Mayor.

In the ensuing April, the Protector and his Council concluded a treaty of Peace with the Dutch, in which the latter were obliged to concede to the provisions of the famous Navigation Act, which had been passed by the Parliament, and has been since regarded as the foundation of the naval glory of Great Britain, and of her dignified pre-eminence in maritime affairs. In the same month, also, was passed an Ordinance for the *Union* of Scotland with England, to which the consent of the Scots had been previously obtained by Deputies from the shires and boroughs, convened at Dalkeith, and again at Edinburgh.†

Cromwell's second Parliament assembled on the third of September, 1654, though on a Sunday, and Oliver opened the session in the Painted Chamber, as he considered the anniversary of that day as the most fortunate of his life. On the following day, he went in regal state to Westminster Abbey, and heard a sermon, accompanied by the Members; after which he again attended them in

* Whitelocke's Mem. p. 552—558; where the Instrument of Government is given at large.

† See a copy of the Ordinance of Union in Whitelocke's Mem. p. 570.

in the Painted Chamber, and 'made a large and subtle speech to them,'* in which he took a comprehensive view of the internal state of the country, and of its relative situation to other nations, and concluded with recommending them to 'repair to their own House, and make choice of a Speaker.'

This was scarcely done, however, when Cromwell found that the Parliament were not disposed to such a thorough compliance with his wishes as he had probably expected; for they immediately began scrupulously to examine the articles of Government, and even to debate 'whether the supreme legislative power should be in a single Person and a Parliament, or not.' As this was directly striking at the root of his authority, he in a few days ordered the Members to re-assemble in the Painted Chamber, where he concluded a short, but forcible speech, by telling them, that they must sign 'a test, or recognition, of the Government as then settled, before they went any more into the House.'† Most of the Members agreed to this proposal; but Cromwell's measures were so strongly reprobated by his former most intimate associate, Major General Harrison, that he felt the necessity of giving orders for the Major General's arrest, and he was accordingly secured the next day by a party of horse. Notwithstanding this severity, all the articles of Government, excepting that only to which the recognition applied, were rigorously scrutinized by the Parliament; and so highly was the Protector displeased with their proceedings, that he dissolved them (January the twenty-second, 1654,-5) within five months from the day of their first meeting. He did this by a very tedious and intricate speech, in one part of which he adverts to

* Whitelocke's Mem. p. 583.

† Whitelocke's Mem. p. 587. The Recognition was in the following words: 'I do hereby freely promise and engage myself to be true and faithful to the Lord Protector, and the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and shall not (according to the tenor of the indenture whereby I am returned to serve in this Parliament) propose or give my consent to alter the Government as it is settled in one Person and a Parliament.' *Ibid.*

to a conspiracy that was then forming by the Royalists; and for which shortly afterwards, 'divers of the King's party were apprehended, and committed to prison, and enough was proved against them.—This design the Protector had a jealousy was countenanced by the Parliament, and he affirmed that to have been a chief motive and cause of his dissolving of them.'*

This conspiracy, which has been termed the 'Cavalier Plot,' was "generally laid to bring in the King; and the design so far took effect, that in several counties, small armed parties began to gather into a body."† But the Protector's measures were too prompt to give them even a chance of success; and his means of information too powerful to leave him in ignorance of any part of their designs. Ludlow says, 'he spared not the purse of the Commonwealth to procure intelligence.'‡ Many persons were apprehended before they were prepared for resistance, and among them Major John Wildman, who was arrested in his chamber whilst "dictating to his man, who sat writing by him. His papers were seized; and that which the man was writing, was sent up to the Protector: it was entituled 'The Declaration of the free and well-affected People of England, *now in Arms* against the *Tyrant* Oliver Cromwell, Esq.' and many who viewed it," continues Whitelocke, who has given it at large, "knew there was too much of truth in it; and had not the design been nipt in the bud, it might have caused some disturbance to the Protector, and to the peace of the new government."§ The most considerable rising took place at Salisbury, where Colonel Penruddock, Captain Grove, and some others, seized the Judges, who were then going the western circuit, and proclaimed Charles the Second to be King of England. They were soon, however, forced to fly before some of Cromwell's troops, who overtook and routed them at South-Molton, in Devon, after a sharp conflict: Penruddock and Grove were afterwards beheaded at Exeter. This premature insurrection served only to rivet the Protector's authority, as it furnished him with good

* Whitelocke's Mem. p. 599. † Ibid.

‡ Memoirs, p. 195. § Whitelocke's Mem. p. 607.

good grounds for increasing his army; and he soon afterwards issued an order of council, directing that 'All who had borne arms for the King, and declared themselves of his party, should be *decimated*, or pay a tenth of their estates, to support the charge of such extraordinary forces as their seditious practices obliged them to keep up.'*

As a measure of additional security, the Protector, in the October following, instituted a new order of Deputies, under the title of Major-Generals-Civil, who were a sort of Prefects, or Governors of Districts, and each of whom had the entire command of the forces in his division of the kingdom, (as well as a very great power in civil causes,) which was apportioned for the purpose into eleven parts. They were to have the inspection of the magistracy in every county, to commit suspected persons, and to put into execution whatever directions they should receive from the Protector himself, to whom only could any appeal be made from their authority.†

Cromwell continued to direct the councils of the state during many months without the controul of a Parliament, but he still felt that a more solemn recognition of his power was necessary, before he could assume what had now become the primary object of his desires, the title of KING. He therefore summoned a new Parliament,

* Whitelocke's Mem. p. 617.

† The arbitrary manner in which they exercised the duties of their high offices, occasioned their suppression by the ensuing Parliament, and that on the motion of Claypoole, who had married Oliver's second daughter. He stated, 'that though it had formerly been thought necessary, in respect to the condition in which the nation had been, that the Major Generals should be entrusted with the authority they had exercised, yet, in the present state of affairs, he conceived it inconsistent with the laws of England, and liberties of the people, to continue their power any longer.' "This motion," says Ludlow, "was a clear direction to the sycophants of the court, who being fully persuaded that Cleypole had delivered the sense, if not the very words, of Cromwell in this matter, joined as one man in opposing the Major Generals, and so their authority was abrogated." *Mem. p. 222.*

Parliament, to meet on the seventeenth of September, 1656; and though, according to Ludlow, "he used his utmost endeavours to disable and incapacitate such men from being chosen, whom he thought most likely to obstruct his designs,"* yet 'divers were chosen who were known to be no favourers of his usurpation. Under colour, therefore, of a clause in the instrument of government, that none should be admitted to places of power and trust, but such as were men of sincerity and integrity,'† all the elected Members were required to sign an engagement in favor of the Protector's authority, before he would permit them to take their seats. Many refused to comply, and were, in consequence, excluded from the House: among them were Sir Anthony Haselrigge, Sir Harbottle Grimstone, Thomas Scott, Esq. and several others who had sat in the Long Parliament.

The excluded Members, to the number of ninety-eight, immediately drew up a very forcible remonstrance and protest against Cromwell's proceedings, declaring that 'all his advisers and assistants were capital enemies to the Commonwealth;' and that 'whoever should sit, vote, and act, by the name of the Parliament of England, while to their knowledge many of the chosen Members are by force shut out, ought to be reputed, *Betrayers of the Liberties of England, and adherents to the capital Enemies of the Commonwealth.*' This strong appeal, however, produced little other effect than a message to Cromwell and his council, from those who had taken their seats, inquiring 'wherefore the complainants had been excluded:' to which the Protector replied, that 'if the persons complaining would address themselves to him, they should be relieved, if there was cause.'‡

The first acts passed by Cromwell's new Parliament, were for the 'security of his own person,' and for 'the renouncing and disannulling the pretended title of Charles Stuart.' These were quickly followed by a motion from Colonel Jephson, that 'Cromwell should be made King;' but 'matters not being thoroughly concerted,' says Ludlow, 'it had no other effect then to sound the inclinations

* Memoirs, p. 216. † Ibid. p. 220. ‡ Ibid.

inclinations of the assembly."* In a short time, however, the 'great business of a settlement of the Nation' being again brought forward, a new 'form of government' was presented to the House by Sir Christopher Pack, an Alderman, and Member for the City of London, "which, though at present a blank was left for the title of a single person, appeared to be *a shoe fitted to the foot of a Monarch,* who with two Houses was to have the supreme legislative authority."† The consideration of this new Instrument was most vehemently contested by the officers of the army, and the few friends of the Commonwealth that still sat in the Parliament, who "fell so furiously upon Pack for his great presumption for bringing a business of that nature into the House in such an unparliamentary way, that they bore him down from the Speaker's chair to the bar of the House of Commons."‡ It was, however, afterwards debated, and though strongly opposed in its different stages, was at length carried, 'the blank being filled up with the name of King;' and on the fourth of April, 1657, it was presented to the Protector, by the Speaker, under the style of 'The Humble Petition and Advice of the Parliament, &c. to his Highness.' Cromwell was now arrived at the very threshold of the accomplishment of his every hope; yet his policy led him to hesitate, and he desired that 'a Committee might be appointed to confer with him, and to offer him better knowledge and satisfaction in this great cause.' A Committee was accordingly ordered to attend the Protector, and in the conference that ensued, they endeavoured to prevail on him to gratify the desires of the Parliament, chiefly, on the ground of *expediency;* but Cromwell, in a long reply, in which sophistry and sound reasoning were commingled with no inconsiderable portion of subtle artifice, affected to combat their arguments, and declined his acceptance of the proffered dignity, as he 'was not convinced' that it was either 'necessary or expedient.'§ This

* Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 222. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

§ The substance of the arguments advanced by the Committee is thus given by Rapin. "That the People of England had for many ages been

This answer being reported to the House, it was resolved that, the Committee should again attend the Protector, for the purpose of offering additional arguments in aid of the measure proposed by the Parliament; but all further conference was for some days suspended, through "a plot (discovered by the vigilancy of Thurloe, Cromwell's Secretary) of an intended insurrection by Major General

been accustomed to the government of Kings; that, in changing this government, there had necessarily been an abolition of many laws, customs, and formalities, and an establishment of others, which would never be endured by the people on account of their novelty; that, according to the laws of England, there could be no security for any act concerning the government, without the intervention and authority of a King; that those concerned in the war, therefore, and the late changes, could not be safe, but would remain liable to dangerous inquisitions, agreeable to the (ancient) laws of the land; that the daily conspiracies against the present government, clearly shewed the people were inclined to a King, nor would be satisfied without one:—in a word, that the kingdom would never be in peace till things were brought back to their ancient channel. That it was very true, the Royal family (of the Stuarts) had been rejected on account of their tyrannies, but this was no objection to the choice of a King of another family; nor could any kingdom be produced, where the like had not happened as well as in England. *Hist.* Vol. II. p. 596. The prevailing character of Cromwell's reply, may be judged of from the following passage. "That the title of King is not necessary, how long soever it may have been in use, or what regard soever may have been paid to it, is plain from the very nature of language. Words have not their import from the natural power of particular combinations of characters, or from the real efficacy of certain sounds, but from the consent of those that use them, and arbitrarily annex certain ideas to them, which might have been signified with equal propriety by any others. Whoever originally distinguished the chief Magistrate by the name of King, might have assigned him any other denomination, and the power of the people can never be lost or impaired. If that once might have been done, it may be done now; for surely words are of no other value than their significations; and the name of King can have no other use than any other word of the same import."

Rev. of the Life of O. Crom. p. 291.

General Harrison, and many of the Fifth-Monarchy Men,"* who had held several meetings for the purpose, but whose scheme being now interrupted by the inquiries which Cromwell set on foot, was silently relinquished till a more favorable season.†

During the examinations into this plot, the Protector endeavoured, by "all possible means, to prevail with the officers of the army to approve his design; and knowing that Lieutenant General Fleetwood, and Colonel Desborough, were particularly averse to it, he invited himself to dine personally with the Colonel, and carried the Lieutenant General with him, where he began to droll with them about Monarchy; and speaking slightly of it, said, 'it was but a feather in a man's cap, and therefore wondered that men would not please the children, and permit them to enjoy their rattle.'—But he received from them, as Colonel Desborough since told me, such an answer, as was not at all suitable to his expectations or desires; for they 'assured him, that there was more in this matter than he perceived; that those who put him upon it, were no enemies to Charles Stewart; and that if he accepted it, he would infallibly draw ruin on himself and friends.' Having thus sounded their inclinations, that he might conclude in the manner he had begun, he told them, 'they were a couple of scrupulous fellows, and so departed."‡ Still, however, he continued inclined to accept the proffered title; and soon afterwards meeting Desborough in 'in the great walk of the Park,' acquainted him with his resolution. 'The Colonel made answer, that he then 'gave the cause, and Cromwell's family also, for lost;' adding, that 'though he was resolved never act against him, yet he would not act for him after that time.'§

This determined opposition from his personal friends and relations, made the Protector waver. Though within reach of the prize which had so long pointed his ambition, he begun to perceive

* Whitelocke's Mem. p. 646.

† See additional particulars, p. 443,-4.

‡ Ludlow's Mem. p. 223. § Ibid.

and so turned to another discourse without any emotion, which made his Lordship conclude, that he had often thought of that expedient."*

On Cromwell's refusal of the regal title being reported to the House, it was "so contrived and carried, that the 'Humble Petition and Advice' should be presented to him again, with the sole alteration of the word *King* into that of *Protector*;"† and as the power conferred was essentially the same, he immediately gave his acquiescence, and was solemnly inaugurated in Westminster Hall, on the twenty-sixth of the following month.‡ By the new Instrument of Government, under the above title, which consisted of eighteen

* Burnet's Hist. Vol. I. p. 69. † Ludlow's Mem. p. 225.

‡ On the same day the following *Proclamation* was issued by 'His Highness and the Parliament.'—Whereas the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of the Parliament of England, Scotland and Ireland, taking into their consideration, the duty incumbent upon them to provide for the future peace and settlement of the government of these Nations, according to the laws and customes of the same, by their humble Petition and Advice, have presented their desires unto his Highness OLIVER, Lord Protector, that he would, by and under the name and stile of Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging, hold and exercise the office of Chief Magistrate of these Nations: whereunto the Lord Protector, upon due and mature consideration of the said Petition and Advice, hath consented; and his Highness, the Lord Protector, and the Parliament, judging it necessary that publication be made of the Premises, have thought meet, and do hereby strictly charge and command, all and every Person and Persons, of what quality and condition soever, in any of the said three Nations, to take notice of the Premises, and to conform and submit themselves unto the government so established. And the Lord Mayor of the City of London, and all Sheriffs, Mayors, Bailiffs, and other publique Ministers and Officers, whom this may concern, are required to cause this Proclamation, together with the said Petition and Advice, to be forthwith published in the City of London, and the respective counties, cities, corporations and market towns, to the end that none may have cause to pretend ignorance in this behalf.———Given at Westminster the 26 day of June, 1657.

eighteen articles, he was to 'hold and exercise the office of Chief Magistrate for life; to name his successor; to call a Parliament, consisting of two Houses, once in three years, or oftener; to preserve and maintain the ancient and undoubted liberties and privileges of Parliament, and never to exclude those chosen by a free election; to see that the laws and statutes of the realm be observed; and no laws made, altered, repealed, or suspended, without consent of Parliament; to have a Privy Council of twenty-one persons; to encourage a godly ministry for the assertion of the true Protestant Christian religion; to admit a general tolerance in religious affairs to all those who should agree to a public Confession of Faith, to be framed by himself and the Parliament, according to the rule and warrant of the Scriptures; and to take an oath to govern according to the law.'* An 'Additional and Explanatory Petition and Advice' was afterwards drawn up, which, among other things, prescribed the forms of the oaths to be taken by the Protector and his Council, and by the Members of Parliament: it also gave him the power to summon, by his own writ, whatever persons he thought proper (being duly qualified) not to exceed seventy, to sit in the 'other House of Parliament.'

On the day of the Inauguration, the Parliament adjourned to the twentieth of January, 1657-8; and in the intermediate time, says Ludlow, "Cromwell endeavoured to make up a collection of men of all interests, to fill that which was called the *Other House*. The principal of them were such as had procured their present possessions by their wits, and were resolved to enlarge them by selling their consciences by the purchase of his favor. With these were joined some of the ancient nobility, together with some of the gentry who had considerable estates derived to them from their ancestors."† Ludlow's censure is too general: that most of them were the Protector's immediate friends is certain, and cannot ex-

* See the articles at length in Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 678—660; together with an account of the Inauguration, p. 661,-2; and the 'Humble additional and explanatory Petition and Advice,' p. 662,-4.

† Memoirs, p. 226.

cite surprise; but the list contained many honorable names. Whitelocke says, "they were in all sixty; among whom were divers noblemen, Knights, and gentlemen, of ancient families and good estates, and some colonels and officers in the army."*

On the twentieth of January, 1607-8, the House of Commons met agreeably to their adjournment; and on the same day, *Cromwell's Lords*, as they have been termed, assembled, and "sate in the Lords' House," where the Protector having ordered the attendance of the Commons, opened the Parliament by a short speech in the usual style of sovereigns; after which the Lord Keeper Fiennes, by a long exposition, wherein the language of fanaticism, and the principles of truth, were quaintly blended, endeavoured to justify the late alterations in the mode of government. An event, however, which Cromwell had either not foreseen, or, not weighing its consequences, had neglected to provide against, again threw every thing into confusion. Many of the excluded Members, who, in the previous session of the House of Commons, had refused to subscribe to the recognition of the Protector's authority, now ventured to take their seats, under that article of the 'Petition and Advice,' by which "no Members legally chosen were to be excluded from the performance of their duty, but by the consent of that House of which they were Members." From this circumstance, and through the removal of many of the Protector's best friends from the Lower to the Upper House, such a decided advantage was obtained by those who were wholly in favor of a pure Commonwealth, that they almost immediately began to question the authority and jurisdiction of the 'other House;' and moreover, assumed such a lofty and independent tone, that Cromwell felt that his own power would be of very short duration, if he permitted that of the Parliament to be strengthened by a protracted sitting.† He therefore took the resolution of suddenly dissolving

* Memorials, p. 665.

† Whitelocke, speaking of the debates of the Commons, says, "all those passages tended to their own destruction, which was not difficult

dissolving them, and was confirmed in his purpose by a dangerous conspiracy, which was projected against his safety and government, and which appeared so imminent, that "he took the inspection of the watch at Whitehall for several nights successively, in his own person."* The diligence of his adversaries quickened his own; and on the fourth of February, having obtained fresh information of the intentions of his enemies, he determined to execute his design; and not staying "for one of his own coaches, but taking the first that was at hand, with such guards as he could presently get together, he hurried to the 'other House;' whither being come, he imparted his intentions to dissolve that assembly to Lieutenant General Fleetwood; who earnestly endeavouring to dissuade him from it, he clapped his hand upon his breast, and swore 'by the living God he would do it."† Then sending to the House of Commons by the Usher of the Black Rod, he required the attendance of the Members; but "many of them declined to come:"‡ the others, however, with the Speaker at their head, obeyed the requisition, "when his Highness made a speech to them, declaring several urgent and weighty reasons made it necessary for him, in order to the public peace and safety, to proceed to an immediate dissolution of this Parliament: and accordingly his Highness dissolved the Parliament."§

This bold measure highly exasperated, though it much weakened his enemies; and on the same night, or very soon afterwards, the chief persons engaged in the conspiracy just mentioned, and in which "Major General Harrison," says Whitelocke, "was very deep,"‖ were arrested at their house of rendezvous in Shoreditch,

to foresee. The Protector looked upon himself as aimed at by them, though with a side wind, and testimonies of their envy towards him; and he was the more incensed, because at this time the *Fifth Monarchy Men* began again their enterprizes to overthrow him and his government by force, whereof there were clear discoveries; he therefore took a resolution suddenly to dissolve this Parliament," *Mem. p.* 673.

* Ludlow's Mem. p. 228. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

§ Whitelocke's Mem. p. 673. ‖ Ibid.

ditch, 'as they were consulting about the manner of putting their enterprize into execution.'* Their arms and ammunition were likewise seized, together with a standard, displaying a lion couchant, with the motto, *Who shall rouse him up?* and several copies of a printed declaration, intended to be distributed among the people. On this occasion, Cromwell resorted to no greater severity than imprisonment; but those who had embarked in another plot, which was shortly afterwards discovered, with the avowed design of 'restoring the race of the Stuarts,' were treated with far more harshness; and the two principal of them, Dr. Hewet, and Sir Henry Slingsby, were sent to the scaffold.†

During these transactions, the glory of the English name was strenuously upheld by Cromwell in all his negociations and treaties with foreign states; nor was the result of most of his warlike expeditions to foreign countries less fortunate than those which he had directed in person at home. Having formed an alliance with Louis the Fourteenth against the Spaniards, he assisted the former with a body of 6000 choice troops, whom he had placed under the command of his ambassador, Sir William Lockhart, and Major General Morgan. After some less important services, these forces commenced the siege of Dunkirk, in conjunction with the French army under Marshall Turenne; and the operations were partly superintended by Louis in person, and his favourite minister, Cardinal Mazarine. On the approach, however, of the Spanish General, Don John of Austria, the Prince of Conde, the Prince de Ligny, and the Dukes of York and Gloucester, with 30,000 men, the King and the Cardinal retired to Calais; and the French, in a council of war, resolved to abandon the siege, in case the enemy should advance to the attack. At this council neither Lockhart

* Ludlow's Mem. p. 230.

† Dr. Hewet would certainly have been pardoned, if it had not been for his own pertinacity in denying the jurisdiction of the 'High Court of Justice,' which had been appointed to try the conspirators conformably to an Act of the late Parliament passed for the security of his Highness's Person.

Lockhart nor Morgan was present; but at the succeeding one, their united efforts, conjoined with the assertion, that 'if the siege was raised, the alliance with England would be broken the same hour,' occasioned a new resolution to be taken; and the main body of the French army was drawn out to await the approach of the Spaniards. The English, however, were impatient to engage; and having with some difficulty surmounted the disadvantage of the ground, they attacked the Spanish van with such fury, that it was forced to fall back upon the main army, which was also defeated after a desperate resistance, by the trivial aid of a body of cavalry that had been dispatched by the French to assist their allies. "At the end of the pursuit, Marshall Turenne, with above one hundred officers, came up to the English, alighted from their horses, and embracing the officers, said, 'They never saw a more glorious action in their lives; and that they were so transported with the sight of it, that they had not power to move, or do any thing."* Even the Spanish Generals themselves gave full testimony to the intrepidity of the English; "for Don John exclaimed, that 'he was beaten by wild beasts rather than men;' and the great Conde declared, that he had never seen so gallant an action as that day's performance by the English was."† In the following month,

* Life of O. Crom. p. 374.

† Noble's Crom. Vol. II. p. 251. "The French Monarch," says this gentleman, who derived his information from Lockhart's family, "conscious of the importance of the place, knowing how dangerous it would be in the hands of England when at war with France, and desirous himself to possess it, endeavoured to evade the treaty; and when Turenne took possession with a body of French troops, the King of France and the Cardinal at the same time entered the town, amusing themselves with the idea of having obtained so precious a morsel from Spain at the expense of the blood and treasure of England, and giving nothing but idle apologies to Lockhart, who, in the most pointed manner, expressed the violation of the treaty, and the resentment his master must feel for his wrongs. Oliver, however, disappointed all their gay prospects; for knowing the duplicity of the Cardinal, and how little reliance

month, Dunkirk surrendered by capitulation, and was almost immediately delivered up to Lockhart, agreeably to the treaty, by which the Protector had engaged in the French interest; yet this was not done without the exertion of the most decided firmness both by Cromwell, and by his Ambassador and General.

But the time was now hastening, when the vital spirit of the Protector was about to quit its mortal tenement. He found that the assumption of sovereignty had not added to his happiness; for 'though his power and greatness seemed to be better established than ever, yet he never had that serenity of mind after his refusal of the Crown, that he had before usually enjoyed. His apprehension of personal danger became far greater than formerly, inasmuch as the plots and conspiracies against him increased; and he grew very suspicious, and difficult of access, and was

reliance ought to be placed upon his word, he had opened a secret correspondence with the French Secretary of the Council of War, who, for a bribe, disclosed the resolutions of the cabinet, which, when Cromwell knew, he instantly dispatched a messenger to Sir William, with written instructions for his conduct; and the Ambassador-General immediately, in compliance with them, posted his army upon an eminence detached from the French, and in such a manner that they could not be surprised; then taking his watch in his hand, he repaired to the Cardinal, and demanded, in a peremptory manner, 'a written order for the delivery of Dunkirk, which, if it was not complied with, he had directions to acquaint him, that his master looked upon the terms of the treaty as violated, and consequently made null; and in that case, he should retire to his camp, and dispatch an express to Don John, the Spanish General, to acquaint him that he was ready, and prepared to join his forces to his, to act in conjunction against the arms of France.' The Cardinal thought this only an high mode of expressing himself, and asked my Lord Ambassador in banter, 'whether his Excellence had slept well the preceding evening, or whether he was yet entirely awake?' The Ambassador assured him of both; and coldly drew out his instructions in the hand writing of the Protector. The astonished Cardinal, who knew Oliver's decisive manner of acting, began now to listen with the utmost attention; and endeavoured, but in vain, to soften the peremptory

was more rarely seen abroad."* The death of Elizabeth, his second and favorite daughter, which happened within a month of his own, greatly affected him; and, by co-operating with severe bodily infirmities, proved the more immediate cause of his dissolution.† In her last hours, she is said, by Lord Clarendon, to have

remptory demand of the Ambassador, who, with extreme coolness, replied, that he should be obliged religiously to obey the injunctions of his master. The Cardinal, perceiving his firmness, was obliged to comply, and give up the place within the allotted time. The French troops, therefore, again evacuated the town; and Sir William and his forces took possession in the name of his Highness the Protector; he himself having the honor to receive the keys in person from Louis the Fourteenth." *Ibid.*

Welwood relates this transaction somewhat differently, though still most highly to the honor of the Protector's firmness. He says, that "Cromwell sent one morning for the French Ambassador to Whitehall, and upbraided him publicly for his master's designed breach of promise, in giving secret orders to the French General to keep possession of Dunkirk, in case it was taken, contrary to the treaty between them. The Ambassador protested that he knew nothing of the matter, as indeed he did not, and begged leave to assure him, that there was no such thing thought of. Upon which Cromwell pulling a paper out of his pocket, '*Here* (says he) *is a copy of the Cardinal's order; and I desire you to dispatch immediately an express, to let him know, that I am not to be imposed upon; and that if he deliver not up the keys of the town of Dunkirk within an hour after it shall be taken, I'll come in person, and demand them at the gates of Paris.*" Mem. p. 112.

* Life of O. Crom. p. 378.

† In Thurloe's State Papers is a letter to Henry Cromwell, Lord Deputy of Ireland, from his brother-in-law, Fleetwood, who says, that the Protector's illness 'was contracted by the long sickness of my Lady Elizabeth, which made great impressions upon him:' and in another letter to the same person, from Dr. Thomas Clarges, dated September 1, 1658, the latter remarks, 'his Highness was much distempered by his late grief and melancholy, besides his other infirmities, which

have bitterly reproached her father for those guilty acts which his ambition occasioned, and particularly for the death of Dr. Hewet, with whom she had long lived in habits of strict friendship, and for whose pardon she had importuned with the utmost earnestness. This account is corroborated by Dugdale; and, indeed, most of the historians of that time agree in the statement of the rapid decay of Cromwell after his daughter's decease. For some time he seems not to have entertained any ideas of his approaching end; and this disposition of mind was strengthened by the enthusiasm of his chaplains, who even "kept a solemn Thanksgiving for his recovery at Hampton Court, where he then lay."* Almost immediately afterwards, he was removed to Whitehall, where gradually growing worse, he expired about three in the afternoon, on the third of September, anno 1658, the day which he had long considered as the most auspicious of his life, it being that on which he had gained his two famous victories of Dunbar and Worcester. He was buried in that sepulchre of our Monarchs, Henry the Seventh's

which were a double tertian ague.' Whitelocke, speaking of the Lady Elizabeth, says, "she was a lady of excellent parts, dear to her parents, and civil to all persons, and courtly and friendly to all gentlemen of her acquaintance: her death did much grieve her father."

Mem. p. 675.

* Dug. Short View, p. 457. Burnet says that Tillotson (afterwards Bishop T. who married Cromwell's niece) told him that, "a week after Cromwell's death, he being by accident at Whitehall, and hearing that there was to be a fast that day in the household, he out of curiosity went into the presence chamber where it was held. On the one side of a table, Richard, with the rest of Cromwell's family, were placed, and six of the preachers were on the other side, of whom Goodwin was one. There he heard a good deal of strange stuff, enough to disgust a man for ever of that enthusiastic boldness. God was, as it were, reproached with Cromwell's services, and challenged for taking him away so soon. Goodwin, who had pretended to assure them, in a prayer, that he was not to die, which was but a very few minutes before he expired, had now the impudence to say to God, 'Thou has deceived us, and we were deceived.'" *Hist. Vol. I. p.* 82.

Seventh's Chapel, in Westminster Abbey; and his funeral was afterwards celebrated with more than regal pomp, and at a vast expense. His ashes, however, were not permitted to mingle with the dust of sovereigns; for after the Restoration, to the everlasting disgrace of all concerned, his mouldering corse was taken up, and being inhumanly dragged to Tyburn, was there exposed upon the gallows, together with the bodies of Ireton and Bradshaw, whose graves had also been sacrilegiously violated. The deep malignancy of those who could thus descend to feed their resentment upon dead carcases, was coloured by a vote of both Houses of Parliament, passed December the eighth, 1660, and which ordered the bodies to be taken up and exposed! The remains of many others of the republicans were afterwards torn from their silent tombs, and the barbarous practice was only discontinued through the strong expression of discontent which burst spontaneously from the people. After the bodies of the Protector and his friends had hung one entire day, they were taken down, and the heads being cut off, were set upon poles on the top of Westminster Hall, where that of Cromwell remained full twenty years afterwards:* the trunks were thrown into a hole under the gallows.

The character of Cromwell has been variously represented; and in proportion as the different writers have favored Monarchy or Democracy, so as it been drawn, without sufficient attention having been given to the causes which governed his conduct in the respective scenes of his eventful life. The latest attempt to do justice to his memory, comes from the pen of the English Demosthenes, who, in the 'Introductory Chapter' to his 'History of the early

* Noble's Crom. Vol. I. p. 290. The Proofs and Illustrations to this work, contain various curious particulars relating to the 'disposal of Oliver's body.' Dr. Cromwell Mortimer, Secretary to the Royal Society, "saw the original receipt of the mason employed in opening the vaults of Cromwell, &c. which run thus, 'May the 4th day, 1661, rec^d. then in full, of the worshipful sargeant Norfolke, fiveteen shillings, for taking up the corpes of Cromell, and Ireton, and Bradshaw, rec. by mee John Lewis.'" *Ibid.*

early Part of the Reign of James the Second,' has thus closed his brief review of the era of the Commonwealth.

"With the life of the Protector almost immediately ended the government which he had established. The great talents of this extraordinary person had supported, during his life, a system condemned equally by reason and by prejudice: by reason, as wanting freedom; and by prejudice, as a usurpation: and it must be confessed to be no mean testimony of his genius, that, notwithstanding the radical defects of such a system, the splendour of his character and exploits, render the era of the Protectorship one of the most brilliant in English History. It is true, his conduct in foreign concerns, is set off to advantage, by a comparison of it with that of those who preceded, and who followed him. If he made a mistake in espousing the French interest instead of the Spanish, we should recollect, that, in examining this question, we must divest our minds entirely of all the considerations which the subsequent relative state of those two empires suggest to us, before we can become impartial judges of it; and at any rate, we must allow his reign, in regard to European concerns, to have been most glorious, when contrasted with the pusillanimity of James the First, with the levity of Charles the First, and the mercenary meanness of the two last Princes of the House of Stuart. Upon the whole, the character of Cromwell must ever stand high in the list of those who raised themselves to supreme power by the force of their genius; and among such, even in respect of moral virtue, it would be found to be one of the least exceptionable, if it had not been tainted with that most odious and degrading of all human vices, hypocrisy."

Welwood, who has traced the features of the Protector with greater individuality, has these passages. After "Cromwell assumed the supreme power, he became more formidable, both at home and abroad, than most Princes that had ever sat upon the English Throne; and it was said that Cardinal Mazarine would change countenance whenever he heard him named, so that it passed into a proverb in France, that 'he was not so much afraid of the *Devil* as of *Oliver Cromwell*. He had a manly, stern look, and was of an

an active, healthful constitution, able to endure the greatest toil and fatigue. Though brave in his person, yet he was wary in his conduct; for, from the time he was first declared Protector, he always wore a coat of mail under his clothes. His conversation among his friends was very diverting and familiar; but in public reserved and grave. He was sparing in his diet; though he would sometimes drink freely, yet never to excess. He was moderate in all other pleasures; and for what was visible, free from immoralities, especially after he came to make a figure in the world. He writ a tolerable good hand, and a stile becoming a gentleman; except when he had a mind to wheedle, under the mask of religion, which he knew nicely how to do when his affairs required it. He affected, for the most part, a plainness in his clothes; but in them, as well as in his guards and attendance, he appeared with magnificence upon public occasions. No man was ever better served, nor took more pains to be so. As he was severe to his enemies, so was he beneficent and kind to his friends: and if he came to hear of a man fit for his purpose, though never so obscure, he sent for him, and employed him, *suiting the employment to the person*, and not the *person to the employment*: and upon this maxim in his government, depended in a great measure his success. His good fortune accompanied him to the last; he died in peace, and in the arms of his friends, and was buried among the Kings with a Royal pomp; and his death was condoled by the greatest Princes and states in Christendom, in solemn embassies to his son."*

Cromwell married to Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Bourchier, Knt. of Felsted in Essex; and by her he had five sons, and four daughters, most of whom were born in this town. He is also thought to have had two or more natural children; and General

* Memoirs, p. 108—10 and 118. The house in which Cromwell was born, stood near the north end of Huntingdon, and its site is now occupied by a respectable brick Mansion, inhabited by the Master of Cromwell House Academy. Some parts of the old walls are incorporated with those of the present dwelling; and the situation of the chamber that was the scene of Oliver's birth, is still pointed out.

neral Tollemache, and Dr. Millington, have been both named as his sons. His mistresses are presumed to have been the Lady Dysart, afterwards Duchess of Lauderdale, and Mrs. Lambert.* *Robert*, the first, and *James*, the fifth, born, of Oliver's legitimate sons, died young: *Oliver*, his second son, was a captain in Colonel Harrison's regiment, and was killed in 'attempting to repulse the Scotch army that invaded England under the Duke of Hamilton in July, 1648.' RICHARD, who succeeded him in the Protectorate, was born at Huntingdon on the fourth of October, 1626. He was intended for the bar, and was admitted into the society of Lincoln's Inn, in May, 1647; but the pursuit of pleasure had more attractions in his estimation than the study of law; and "what is still more observable," says Mr. Noble, is, "that when his father was fighting the battles of the Parliament, he was the companion of the most loyal cavaliers, and frequently drank health and success to the arms of the Sovereign whom his father was dethroning."† He does not appear to have been anywise concerned in public affairs till after Oliver was declared Protector; yet, when the latter resigned the Chancellorship of Oxford, in July 1657, the University chose him to fill the vacant office; and, still further to pay their court to the ruling authority, created him a Master of Arts in a special convocation. On the death of his father, who, when on his dying bed, is said to have given some indistinct intimation of his desire that Richard should become his successor, he was raised to the Protectorship; but the good-humoured weakness of his character proving very inadequate to the difficulties of his station, he was compelled, within eight months, to resign the sceptre to the grasp of the republican Long Parliament. That decision of mind which Oliver possessed was to him unknown; and Father Orleans says, he remained in the Palace at Whitehall after his abdication, 'like a statue that makes an unbecoming

* Noble's Crom. Vol. I p. 127, note.

† Noble's Crom. Vol. I. p. 159.

coming ornament."* He had run into a vast expense in celebrating his father's funeral, and his debts were otherwise considerable; so that he now began to be in great apprehension of arrest, as the promise of the Parliament to satisfy his creditors' demands was never fulfilled. It was more from this cause that he retired to the Continent, according to Lord Clarendon, than for fear of the King, "who thought it not necessary to inquire after a man so long forgotten." He continued in exile till the year 1680, living mostly at Paris "in mean lodgings, in an obscure part of the city, and with only one servant to attend upon him. After his return to England in the above year, he principally resided at Chesbunt, in Hertfordshire, where he went by the name of Clark, and where he died on the twelfth of July, 1712, at the great age of eighty-six: he was buried at Hursley, in Glocestershire.†

HENRY, the fourth son of Oliver, was born at Huntingdon on the twentieth of January, 1627-8; and, on his removal from Felsted School, in Essex, at the age of sixteen, was placed by his father in the army, and when scarcely twenty years old, was made Captain of General Fairfax's Life-guard. In 1649, being then a Colonel, he accompanied Cromwell to Ireland, where he was engaged in different actions; and in 1653 he was appointed one of the Members to represent that kingdom in Parliament. In 1655 he was again sent to Ireland, in the ostensible situation of Major General, but with a secret commission to watch over the actions of the more determined republicans, from whom Cromwell expected opposition. For some time he used great caution to cover the real design of his appointment; but when it was found no longer possible to controul, by private measures, the unyielding spirits of his father's political enemies, he produced a commission as Lord Deputy of Ireland, and Commander in Chief of the Army, bearing date November the twenty-fifth, 1657. His conduct during the time that he enjoyed his new dignity, though a most stormy

* Hist. of the Revolutions in Eng. p. 190. Echard's Trans.

† See under Hursley, Vol. VI. p. 114; and Vol. VII. p. 234,-5, for several curious anecdotes of the Protector Richard.

period, was marked by perfect integrity and moderation. Through the wisdom and equity of his government, says Mr. Noble, he "soon procured the love of the Irish, who regarded him as a blessing; and the nation was ruled with such skill by him, that it became, from the most deplorable kingdom in Europe, far the happiest of any part of the British dominions, and the most satisfied with the Cromwelian reign." After the resignation of his brother, he returned to England by order of the Parliament, and never more took part in public affairs, but spent the remainder of his days in peaceful retirement in Cambridgeshire. He died at his seat called Spinney Abbey, near Soham, on the twenty-third of March, 1673-4, and was buried in Wicken Church.* He was a man of considerable abilities, and several of the greatest statesmen of his time have borne honorable testimony of his merit and virtues.

The daughters of Cromwell possessed considerable ability, and inherited so much of their father's spirit, that it was said of them, on the resignation of Richard, though more particularly applied to the Lady Fauconberg, "those who wore breeches deserved petticoats better; but if those in petticoats had been in breeches, they would have held faster." BRIDGET, the eldest, was baptized at Huntingdon in August, 1624. She was twice married; first to the celebrated General Ireton, and afterwards to Colonel Fleetwood, both of whom, by her father's authority, were invested with the government of Ireland: she died and was buried at Stoke Newington, in September, 1681. ELIZABETH, his second daughter, was also christened at St. John's Church, Huntingdon, in July, 1629. This lady has been described as having all "the elevation of mind, and dignity of deportment, of one born of a Royal stem, with all the affability and goodness of the most humble." Her husband, John Claypoole, Esq. became Master of the Horse both to Oliver and Richard. Her death, which happened on the morning of August the sixth, 1658, though frequently

* See further particulars under Spinney Abbey and Wicken, Vol. II. p. 148—50.

frequently attributed to her grief at the Protector's conduct in respect to Dr. Hewet, appears to have been partly occasioned by a disorder brought on by child-birth. She was buried with great funeral pomp in Henry the Seventh's Chapel; where her remains were still suffered to rest, when those of her father and grandmother were disinterred; probably from the circumstance of her being known to have been strongly attached to the Royal cause. MARY, the next daughter, was born at Ely, though baptised at Huntingdon, on the ninth of February, 1636-7. She was married at Hampton Court to Thomas, Viscount, and afterwards Earl Fauconberg, according to the *legal* form then established; but on the same day they were again married according to the form prescribed by the Church of England, with the Protector's privity, who[a] "might be fearful," says Noble, "that if any revolution should take place, the husbands of his daughters might wish as much for a separation, as they then courted the honor of his alliance." She possessed a high spirit; and, after the sovereignty had been taken from her family, contributed, as well from inclination as policy, towards the restoration of Monarchy: she died in March, 1712. FRANCES, the youngest daughter of Oliver, was born in December, 1638, most probably at Ely. This was her who, if the Protector's policy had permitted, would have been the wife of Charles the Second. She was twice married: first to the Honorable Robert Rich, grandson and heir to Robert, Earl of Warwick, who died in about three months afterwards; and secondly to Sir John Russel, Bart. by whom she had a numerous family: she died at the advanced age of eighty-four, in January, 1720-21. After Cromwell was declared Protector, "his daughters resided chiefly in apartments of one of the palaces; and such attention was paid to them by foreign princes and states, that their ambassadors

[a] Noble's Crom. Vol. I. p. 144. Perhaps, continues this gentleman, "Oliver was of the same opinion as Marshall, an independent minister, who gave for the reason of his marrying his daughter with the ring and Common Prayer Book, that 'the statute for establishing the liturgy was not yet repealed, and he was loath to have his daughter whored, and 'urned back upon him for want of a legal marriage.' *Ibid.*

constantly paid their compliments to these ladies, both when they came into or left the Kingdom."*

GODMANCHESTER, which is situated to the south of Huntingdon, on the opposite side of the Ouse River, has been generally regarded as the Roman *Duroliponte*; though, for the reasons already given in the account of Huntingdon,† it never could have been the site of that station. That it grew up under its protection, is, however, exceedingly probable, as the numerous coins that are recorded to have been found here, evince it to have been occupied in the Roman times. Leland, who cites the 'Life of St. Neot' for his authority, says, that 'the foundations and coins, and human bones of unusual size, discovered at Godmanchester, shew it was formerly a considerable place.'‡ He also states, that 'he purchased of a priest there, among other coins, one of C. Antius with long hair.' Camden has also mentioned the frequent ploughing up of Roman coins in this village, which, 'in times past,' he continues, as Henry of Huntingdon truly writeth, 'was a noble city.' Many coins have been found here more recently; and within the last two or three years, a considerable quantity, chiefly of the Lower Empire, was dug up at no great distance from the Church, and either in or near to Mr. Martin's tan-yard.

After the great Alfred had concluded a treaty with the Danish chief, Guthrum, or Gormond, and, in the politic hope of preserving a lasting peace, had ceded to him the country of the East Angles, Gormond made Cambridge his principal military quarters; yet, if it be true that Godmanchester derived its name from this chief, as Camden states, on the authority of 'this old verse,'

Gormonis à Castri nomine, nomen habet,§

it would seem that he had some sort of military post, or perhaps only fortified residence, at this village, which in after times was dignified

* Noble's Crom. Vol. I. p. 157. † See p. 345—347.

‡ Col. Vol. III. p. 11.

§ 'From Gormon's Castle now it takes its name.' Gough's Cam.

dignified with the appellation of *Cestre*, or *Chester*. It was subsequently called *Guma*, *Gumicastria*, and *Gumicestre*;* and it must not be forgotten, says Camden, that some other ancient writers 'avoucheth withall, that Machutus had here his episcopal See.'

Godmanchester was "the old land of the Crown, now the inhabitants' in fee farm, by grant of King John, pro sexies viginti libris pondere et numero 20 Maii A°. xiiii Regis Johis.—Homines de Gomecester tenent Gomecestre per Cartam Dni Regis Johannis pro 120 lib."†

In the Cotton MS. are the following particulars of the peculiar customs of this Manor, but from what source they were derived is not quoted. "Also it is ordeyned and statutyd, that if any man of the s^d^ towne of *Gumycester*, have two or three sons by one woman lawfully begotten, the younger of the s^d^ sons shall be the ayer, according to the use and custome of borough English; and although that he have had 2 or 3 wives, and each of them children, neverthelesse the younger son of the first wife shall be the heire.

"Also that if any man have purchased any lands or tenements wth his wife, y^t^ ys leffull for the s^d^ man, while he is alyve, to gyve, sell, or bequeath the s^d^ lands or tents, without the license of his s^d^ wife, and such a woman shall have no dowres.

"Also that men children shall be of full age, so that they may gyve, sell, or assigne their land and rents, when they come to the age of xx yeares, and women at the age of xvi yeares.

"Also that if any man have two sons married by his lyfe, and one of these sonnes hath an ayre masculine, and the other an ayre femynyne; and if it chance after, theyse two sonnes to depart and dye, the father of them being alyve, and after it chances the father of them to dye, then that same heir masculyne shall be the

* By this name, according to Holland, (p. 510,) Henry the Third granted it to his son, Edmund, Earl of Lancaster.

† Cotton MS.

ayer, and not the ayre femynyne, though she be of the yonger son."

The *Church* is a large light edifice, consisting of a nave, chancel, and aisles, with an embattled tower, surmounted by a spire at the west end, and a very large south porch: the latter has stroug buttresses at the angles, and monstrous heads, with distended mouths, for water spouts. The nave, which has a timber roof, is separated from the aisles by five high pointed arches, rising from light shafts, and from the chancel by another large pointed arch, partly boarded up, and exhibiting in front, the King's arms: on the south side of the chancel are two stone seats. The windows are mostly divided by mullions into several lights, and exhibit some ornamental tracery. On the tower is the date 1623, which most probably refers to some general repair.

Here "is a school, called the Free Grammar School of Queen Elizabeth: the Vicar, and 14 men of the towne, called governors of the possessions, rents, and goods, of the said schoole, are a body corporate, and have a common seale."* This establishment still flourishes.

Godmanchester was for several centuries most highly celebrated for the goodness of its husbandry; but from the general improvement that has taken place, it is now but little superior to the common level. Camden says there is "no place in all England that has so many stout hinds, or employs more ploughs; for they make their boast of having formerly received the Kings of England in their progresses this way, with nine score ploughs brought forth in a rustical kind of pomp for a gallant shew.† Indeed, there be none of our nation that apply themselves more seriously to a rustic

* Cotton MS. '*Teste Reginâ, Elizabethâ* 10 *Maii an. Regni* 3^tio, *authoritate Parliamenti.*' Bishop Gibson says, 'it was incorporated in the third of James the First.'

† When James the First passed through Godmanchester in his way from Scotland to London, 'they met him with seventy new ploughs, drawn by as many teams of horses; and when he inquired the reason, he was answered, that they held their lands immediately from the Kings of

GODMANCHESTER CHURCH
Huntingdonshire.

rustic profession, which Columella says is allied to wisdom, whether we have respect to their skill therein, to their ability to bear the expense, or to their willing mind, withall, to take the pains."* Bishop Gibson remarks, it grew so wealthy and considerable by its husbandry, that in the reign of James the First, it was incorporated as a borough, by the style of two Bailiffs, twelve Assistants, and Commonalty: it never, however, had the privilege of sending representatives to Parliament. The houses are spread over a considerable plot of ground, and though in general irregular, many of them are good brick buildings: the two bridges next the village on the road to Huntingdon are also of brick.

At Godmanchester was born the famous Parliamentarian divine, STEPHEN MARSHAL, the head of the *Smectymnians*, "who raised the strongest arguments against episcopacy, that the Presbyterians were able to furnish them with." Dugdale calls him the 'Bell-wether of that blessed flock' *Presbyterianorum ante-signanus*,† and mentions his being appointed, with two others, to pray and preach with the Members of the House of Commons, on the day fixed for the 'Humiliation and fast,' after the news had arrived of Charles the First being removed from Holmby, or Holdenby House, by Colonel Joyce. He was Minister of Finchingfield, in Essex; and is said to 'have set up the first conventicle in those parts' after the Restoration.

HINCHINGBROOK,‡ anciently called *Hinchingbroke*, the seat of John Montagu, fifth Earl of Sandwich, is situated about half a mile westward from Huntingdon, on elevated ground, commanding some beautiful views over a fine expanse of country, and particularly of the rich vale fertilized by the waters of the Ouse. The House stands on the site of a Benedictine NUNNERY, dedi-

of England, by the tenure of so meeting them on passing through their town." Magna Brit. Vol. II. p. 1046. It has been said that it was this circumstance that led James to grant his charter of incorporation to the inhabitants.

* Brit. p. 395, Edit. 1590. † Short View, p. 240.

‡ Thus spelt by the present family; but by most printed authorities, Hinchinbrook.

cated to St. James, and built here, says Leland, by William the Conqueror, 'when the Nunnery at Eltesley (in Cambridgeshire) wher St. Pandonia, the Scottish Virgin, was buried, was destroyed.'* At the Dissolution, the annual amount of its revenues, was 17l. 1s. 4d. according to Dugdale; or, according to Speed, 19l. 9s. 2d. In March, 1537-8, Henry the Eighth granted it, with all its appurtenances, to Richard Williams, alias Cromwell, Esq.† whom he had received into great favor, and whose son, Sir Henry, called the Golden Knight, from his liberal disposition, erected the family mansion here, and had the honor of entertaining Queen Elizabeth in it, after her visit to the University at Cambridge in August, 1564: he died in 1603-4. His eldest son and successor, SIR OLIVER, uncle and god-father to the Protector Cromwell, continued to live in the same splendid style as his father had done, through which he so much impaired his fortune, immense as it was, that he was forced, from time to time, to alienate one or other of his estates, by which means the paternal inheritance of his family was greatly decreased. The magnitude of his expenditure may be partly inferred from the account which Noble has given of the manner in which he received and entertained James the First, whom he invited to Hinchingbrook when on his progress from Scotland to London.

Sir Oliver "had the felicity to entertain one, if not two, of the English Monarchs. King James the First he certainly did several times,‡ and probably King Charles the First; but the most memorable

* Itin. Vol. I. p. 1. and MS. Corp. Christ. Coll. Oxon. n. 154.

† See more particulars, p. 358,-9.

‡ James the First visited Sir O. Cromwell in 1603, and again "in 1605, 1616, and 1617; for Stow says in his Chronicle, that Lord Hay (then with his Majesty) was sworn a Privy Counsellor at Hinchinbrook, anno 1605. In 1616, King James knighted Sir Thomas Hayward at that place: and Willis, in his Hist. of the Town and Hun. of Buckingham, says, Sir Richard Ingoldsby was knighted there in 1617. It is most probable that these were not the only times King James was at Hinchinbrook, as Royston, his usual place of hunting, and favorite residence, was in that neighbourhood, and from thence he frequently went to Huntingdon."

morable visit that was paid to him was by the former; upon whose accession to the English Throne, Sir Oliver, finding that he would pass through Huntingdon in his journey from Edinburgh to London, determined to entertain him at Hinchinbrook. That he might do this with more elegance and ease, he hastily made such improvements in his house as he judged most proper; and at this time he built that very elegant bow window to the dining-room, in which are two shields of arms of his family, impaling, the one his first, the other his second lady's, painted upon the glass, with many quarterings; and round the outside are a prodigious number of shields.—His Majesty did not disappoint our Knight's wishes, but accepting his invitation, came to Hinchinbrook on the twenty-seventh of April, 1603; the Earl of Southampton carrying before him the sword which had been delivered to the King by the Mayor of Huntingdon, and given by his Majesty to the Earl. Sir Oliver received his Sovereign at the gate of the great court, and conducted him up a walk that then immediately led to the principal entrance to the house. His Majesty here met with a more magnificent reception than he had done since his leaving his paternal kingdom, both for the plenty and variety of the meats and wines. It is inconceivable with what pleasure the English received the King; all strove to please, and to see their new Sovereign, who was to unite two jarring and valiant kingdoms, and to be the common Monarch of both. Sir Oliver gratified them to the full: his doors were thrown wide open to receive all that chose to pay their respects to the new King, or even to see him; and each individual was welcomed with the choicest viands, and most costly wines: even the populace had free access to the cellars during the whole of his Majesty's stay.

"Whilst the King was at Hinchinbrook, he received the heads of the University of Cambridge in their robes, to congratulate him upon his accession to the English Throne, which they did in a long Latin oration. His Majesty continued with Sir Oliver until he had breakfasted on the twenty-ninth; and on his leaving Hinchinbrook, expressed his sense of the obligations he had received from him, and from his lady: to the former, he said, at parting, as they passed

greeted through the court, in his broad Scotch manner, "Morry, moon, though hast treated me better than any one since I left Edinbro';"—and it is more than probable, than ever he had been entertained before, or was after; for it is said that Sir Oliver at this time gave 'the greatest feast that had been given to a King by a subject.' His loyalty and regard to his Prince seemed almost unbounded; for when James quitted Hinchinbrook, he was presented by him with many things of great value; amongst others, 'a large elegant wrought cup of gold, goodly horses, deep-mouthed hounds, divers hawks of excellent wing, and at the remove, he gave fifty pounds amongst the principal officers.'* So many, and such great proofs of attachment, and those in a manner peculiarly agreeable to the taste of the Prince, gained his regard, which he took an early opportunity of expressing, by creating him, with fifty-nine others, a Knight of the Bath, prior to his coronation; but on the same day (July the twenty-fourth) on which that ceremony was performed."†

Sir Oliver acted a very conspicuous part in the House of Commons during the whole reign of James: his name occurs on Committees more frequently than that of any other Member; and in the Journals he is once or twice styled Queen Anne's Attorney; but he did not continue in this office long.‡ He engaged in the project of draining the fens in Lincolnshire, and was one of the adventurers who subscribed towards planting and cultivating Virginia.§ From the time that he had first entertained the King at Hinchingbrook,

* Stow's Chronicle. † Noble's Crom. Vol. I. p. 39, 41.

‡ Ibid. p. 42.

§ The base and unprincipled methods by which the Virginia Company were deprived of their patent through the intrigues of Gondamar, the Spanish ambassador, may be seen at length in Peckard's 'Memoirs of the Life of Mr. Nicholas Ferrar.' The little probability that such a book would be sought for, as containing any information on the history of the Colonization of Virginia, occasions this reference. Our author, speaking of the sentence which declared the patent 'null and void,' says,

Hinchingbrook, he appears to have enjoyed a full portion of the Royal favor; and Noble, on the authority of manuscripts in the possession of Dr. Lort, states, that, in 1608, "his Majesty gave him 6000l. for his relinquishing a grant of 200l. issuing yearly out of the Royal lands, given to him as a free gift."* After the death of James, he possessed an equal degree of the favor of the new Sovereign, whose cause he boldly maintained in opposition to the Parliament, and determined to support both at the hazard of life and fortune. "For this purpose, he not only, at a very heavy expense, raised men, and gave large sums of money, but obliged his sons to take up arms, and go into the Royal army; and he was of greater use to his Majesty than any other in this part of the Kingdom, by which he rendered himself particularly obnoxious; and Oliver Cromwell, (who, to hide his ambition, seemed to pay no distinction to any on private accounts,) his nephew and god-child, paid him a visit at Ramsey, (his then residence,) accompanied by a strong party of horse. While there, he endeavoured to unite the character of a dutiful relation with that of a stern commander; for though, during the few hours he staid with him, he would not keep on his hat in his presence, and asked his uncle's blessing, yet he did not leave the house until he had both disarmed the old knight, and seized all his plate for the public service.†"

Some time afterwards Cromwell paid a second visit to his uncle, who had still continued to support the drooping cause of royalty, and

says, "The King was at the bottom of the whole proceding, which, from beginning to end, was a despotic violation of honour and of justice; which proved him to be a man void of every laudable principle of action; a man who, in all his exertions, made himself the scorn of those who were not in his power, and the detestation of those who were; a man, whose head was, indeed, encircled with the Regal Diadem; but never surely was head more unworthy or unfit to wear it."

* Noble's Crom. Vol. I. p. 42.

† Ibid. p. 45,-6; from Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs.

and obliged him to give forty saddle horses to mount his cavalry upon, and 1000l. also, by way of fine. Sir Oliver's loyalty, however, still remained firm; and the Parliament at length decreed, that all his estates, both real and personal, should be sequestered: yet on this occasion, the total wreck of his fortune was prevented by the interposition of his nephew, the future Protector, "for whose sake the sequestration was taken off." He afterward lived in great privacy till his death, the load of debt with which he was now encumbered, obliging him to court retirement: he died in August, 1655, at the great age of ninety-three, and was buried in Ramsey Church the same night, to prevent, as it is said, the seizure of his body by his creditors. He was twice married; first, to Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Bromley, Lord Chancellor of England; and secondly, to Ann, daughter of Egidius Hooftman, and widow of the celebrated Sir Horatio Palavicini.*

Before the removal of Sir Oliver to Ramsey, his increasing necessities had obliged him to sell his mansion, and all his lands, at Hinchingbrook. It appears from the deed, which is now in the possession of the Earl of Sandwich, and bears date June 20, 1627, "that he joined with his eldest son and heir apparent, and Sir Robert Smith, of Leeds Castle, Kent, Knt. and dame Mary, his wife, in consideration of 1650l. 4s. 4d. paid to him, and 1409l. 15s. 8d. to Sir Richard, to convey the mansion of Hinchinbrook, with all those lands lying near it, that had been granted to his grandfather, Sir Richard Williams, alias Cromwell, Knt. by Henry the Eighth, &c. to trustees, who conveyed the same the following day to *Sir Sydney Montagu*, of Barnwell, one of the Masters of the Requests to his Majesty."†

This gentleman, from whom the Earls of Sandwich are descended, was the youngest of six sons of Sir Edward Montagu, of Boughton, Knt. and was held in particular esteem by James the First,

* See under Babraham, in Cambridgeshire, Vol. II. p. 131,-32. Fuller's character of Sir Oliver is given in the same Vol. p. 236.

† Noble's Crom. Vol. I. p. 43.

First, who made him a groom of the bed-chamber, and knighted him in July, 1616. After his purchase of Hinchingbrook, he came to reside here, and was returned one of the Members for this County, to the ever memorable Long Parliament which assembled on the third of November, 1640. For some time, he strenuously supported the popular side; but, after the Parliament had made the Earl of Essex Captain-General, and had framed an oath to live and die with him, which was to be taken by all the Members, he saw reason to change his party; and, as appears from Sir Philip Warwick, refused to take the oath; declaring, that "he would not swear to live with the Earl, because he was an old man, and might die before him; nor would he swear to die with him, since the Earl was going with an army against the King, which he did not know how to free from treason, and so he did not know what end that great man might come to."* He further urged, that the King had declared all such persons traitors; and 'pulling his Majesty's Declaration on that head out of his pocket,' was, for this conduct, expelled the House, and sent to the Tower; but was released about a fortnight afterwards: he died in September, 1644.

Edward, his only surviving son, was born in July, 1625. At the breaking out of the Civil Wars, he took a very active part on the side of the Parliament; and, at the head of a regiment which he had himself raised, of upwards of 1000 men, he distinguished his courage in several actions; particularly at the storming of Lincoln, and in the battle of Marston Moor. He was also at the battle of Naseby, and at the storming of the town of Bridgewater, and of the city of Bristol: at the latter place he was one of the Commissioners who concluded the treaty with Prince Rupert; and was afterwards sent with Colonel Hammond to inform the Parliament of the success of their army, though he had then but recently entered into his twenty-first year. In all the subsequent changes in public affairs, he was a person of much consideration; and he became one of Cromwell's Council under the Instrument of

* Memoirs, p. 224.

of Government framed by the Officers of the Army in 1653: he was soon after appointed a Lord of the Treasury, and about the same time was joined with Desborough in the Commission to execute the office of High-Admiral. He was afterwards united with the brave Admiral Blake under a similar Commission; and, on his death, had the sole command, in which, says Lord Clarendon, 'he was discreet and successful.'

After the decease of Cromwell, and in the confusion into which the nation was then fallen, he directed his exertions to secure the restoration of the Stuarts, and was highly instrumental in prevailing on the Fleet to declare for Charles the Second. Lord Clarendon remarks, that no man betook himself to his Majesty's service with 'more generosity than this gentleman,' and that whilst the Fleet was preparing, he "sent his cousin, Edward Montagu, to the King, to let him know, that, as soon as it should be ready, which he hoped might be within some few days, he would be himself on board, and would be then ready to receive and obey his Majesty's orders: this was before that Parliament assembled, which, when it did, resolved to call over the King. He sent word what officers he was confident of, and of whom he was not assured; and who, he concluded, would not concur with him, and who must be reduced by force. He desired to know whether the King had any assurance of the General, Monck, who, however, he wished might know nothing of his resolutions: and it was no small inconveniency to his Majesty, that he was restrained from communicating to either the confidence he had in the other, which might have facilitated both their designs. As soon as he came on board the Fleet in the Downs, and found Lawson, and the other officers, more frank in declaring their duty to the King, and resolution to serve him, than he expected, that he might not seem to be sent by the Parliament to his Majesty, but be carried by his own affection and duty, without expecting any command from them, the wind coming fair, he set up his sails, and stood for the coast of Holland, leaving only two or three of the lesser ships to receive their orders, and to bring over those persons he knew were designed to wait on his Majesty."* For

* Hist. of the Reb. Vol. III. p. 561—570—596—599.

For these important services, the King, in two days after his landing at Dover, appointed him Knight of the Garter; and on the twelfth of July following, created him a Baron, by the title of Lord Montagu of St. Neot's, Viscount Hinchingbrook, and Earl of Sandwich: at the same time he was made Master of the King's Wardrobe, Admiral of the Narrow Seas, and Lieutenant Admiral to the Duke of York. Two years afterwards, anno 1642, on the marriage of Charles with the Infanta of Portugal, he acted as the King's proxy, and afterwards brought the Queen to England.

After the rupture with the States of Holland in 1664, he commanded the Blue Squadron in the great Fleets collected under the Duke of York, and was engaged in the signal victory obtained off Lowestoffe over the Dutch Admiral Opdam, who was blown up in his own ship, and, according to some writers, had eighteen of his men of war taken, and fourteen more destroyed. In the '*Columna Rostrata*,' the success of the day is principally attributed to his Lordship, and that by the same method of action which the brave Admirals of the present reign have carried to such a height; that is, breaking the enemy's line. "The English," says the above work, "had the weather gage, and the fight began June 3, 1665, at three in the morning. The Fleets having several times charged each other without any remarkable advantage, it happened that the Earl of Sandwich, with his Blue Squadron, fell about one o'clock into the centre of the enemy's fleet, and divided it into two parts, which was a considerable step to the victory, by beginning that confusion which at last ended in a flight." The Duke appears to have been somewhat intimidated by the deaths of the Earl of Falmouth, the Lord Muskerry, and Mr. Boyle, second son of the Earl of Burlington, all of whom were killed by the same cannon-ball; and that so near to his Grace, that he was 'sprinkled with their blood and brains.'* Lord Montagu, says Burnet, "did believe that the Duke was struck, and that he had no mind to engage again." According to the same author, the Duke gave private orders to relax the pursuit; and he soon afterwards

* Burchett, p. 398.

wards left the Fleet, when the sole command was conferred upon the Earl; whose talents were so various, that he was in a short time sent on an extraordinary Embassy to the Court of Madrid, with instructions to mediate a peace between the crowns of Spain and Portugal, and in this he proved completely successful.

On the breaking out of the new Dutch war in 1672, he again resumed his naval command, as Vice Admiral to the Duke of York, who, by some fatal mismanagement, suffered himself to be surprised whilst lying at anchor with the united Fleet of England and France in Solebay, on the Suffolk coast. Burnet says, "De Ruyter had the glory of surprising the English Fleet, when they were thinking less of engaging the enemy, than of an extravagant preparation for the usual disorders of the twenty-ninth of May."* When the foe was discovered standing into the Bay on the morning of the preceding day, the confederates cut their cables, and the Earl advanced with his division against the enemy, and was the first that begun the fire. By this bold measure, he gave opportunity for the rest of the Fleet to get into order, and thus saved them from entire destruction, though his own death was the consequence. His ship, the Royal James, carrying 100 guns, was "first attacked by Captain Brakel, (the same who led the attack at Chatham,) who, with his ship, the Great Holland, of sixty guns, followed by a fireship, sailed out of De Ruyter's squadron, and was soon seconded by the whole squadron of Van Ghent; against all which he defended himself a long time, disabled several of their men of war, and sunk three of their fireships."† Having thus defended himself till noon, and given, as a certain Dutch historian expresses it,‡ the utmost proof of an unfortunate valour, a fourth fire-ship, covered by the smoke of the enemy, grappled the Royal James, and set her in a flame. All chance of safety was now destroyed; yet the Earl, whose indignant feelings had been highly excited by a disgraceful sarcasm uttered

* Burnet's Hist. Vol. I. p. 323.

† Col. Rostr. p 219,-220. ‡ Gerard Brandt.

tthered against him by the Duke,* refused to quit his ship, and was blown up with the remainder of his crew; 600 of whom had previously fallen in the action. Ten or twelve days afterwards, the body of the Earl was found floating on the sea, 'in every part unblemished, save some impressions made by the fire upon his face and breast.' It was then taken to Harwich, where, being embalmed, by order of Sir Charles Littleton, it was afterwards conveyed, by the King's command, in a solemn procession by water, to Westminster, and magnificently interred in Henry the Seventh's Chapel. The Duke of York's conduct in this engagement, and his neglect in succouring the Earl, were severely commented on; and in the debate on the Exclusion Bill, in October, 1680, he was openly charged in the House of Commons with being the occasion of his loss. Sir Edward Walker, in his Historical Account of the Knights of the Garter, quoted by Collins, speaking of this Nobleman, says 'He was a person of extraordinary parts, courage, fidelity, and affability, and justly merited all the honours conferred upon him:' and Bishop Parker, in his History of his own Times, describes him as "a gentleman adorned with all the virtues of Alcibiades, and untainted with any of his vices; of high birth, capable of any business, full of wisdom, a great commander at sea and land, and also learned and eloquent, affable, liberal, and magnificent." He married to Jemima, daughter of John, Lord Crew, by whom he had six sons and four daughters: of his younger sons, Sydney, the second, was father of Edward Wortley Montagu, who was husband of the celebrated Lady Mary, and had issue, Edward Wortley Montagu, memorable for his eccentricities; and Charles, the fifth son, was father of Edward

* It seems, that, on the day before the battle, the Earl observing the danger in which the Fleet were of being surprised whilst riding in Solebay, advised the Duke of York 'to weigh anchor, and stand out to sea;' but the Duke, slighting the advice, told the Earl, '*That he spake that out of fear,*' which the Earl is thought to have so highly resented, that it rendered him careless of his own safety. *Kennet's Hist. of Eng. Vol. III. p.* 314; *and Echard's Hist. p.* 285.

Montagu, Esq. of Sandleford, in Berkshire, who died in 1775, and whose widow, Elizabeth, (sister of the late Lord Rokeby,) celebrated for her genius and acquirements, died in Portman Square, in August, 1800. *Edward*, his eldest son, and second Earl, died in February, 1688,-9; and was succeeded by *Edward*, third Earl, who married Lady Elizabeth, daughter and co-heiress of the witty John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester: he died in 1729, aged fifty-seven; and is spoken of by Lord Chesterfield in high terms for his talents and accomplishments; yet it seems that his spirited Countess proved too much for him; for Noble, in his continuation of Granger, speaking of his son Edward, Viscount Hinchingbrook, gives the following account.

"This young nobleman, son of the third Earl of Sandwich, was a Member of Parliament, first, for the borough of Huntingdon, and afterwards for the county; of which also he was Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum. Adopting the profession of arms, he was made a Colonel in the first regiment of Foot Guards; and by Queen Anne, soon after her accession, a Colonel of a regiment of Foot. His father being confined, and denied access to, by his eccentric Countess, was rendered so much a cypher, that all the duties of his station devolved upon Lord Hinchinbrook, who was an amiable, active, and spirited young man. His extraordinary mother, one of the daughters of the witty and repentant Earl of Rochester, partook of all the fire and vivacity of her father. She detested restraint herself, but put her lord into 'durance vile' in his own house. At his death, she quitted England, (too stupid, she said, for her,) and resided at Paris, in habits of intimacy with the Duchesses of Orleans and Mazarine, Madame de Berri, the Regent's daughter, and also that beautiful octogenary, the celebrated Ninon de L'Enclos. Unhappily, Lord Hinchinbrook (of whom Lord Chesterfield spoke in high terms for his talents and accomplishments) died in the life-time of his meek but worthy father, October, 1722, leaving, by Elizabeth, only daughter of Alexander Popham, of Littlecote, Wiltshire, Esq. *John*, fourth (and late) Earl of Sandwich,"—a man of quick parts, and many accomplishments.

Possessing

Possessing an enquiring mind, this Nobleman travelled early in life beyond the usual routes of young Englishmen, as appears by his own account of his travels, published since his death. On his return, he took an active part as a speaker in the House of Lords. In 1744, he was appointed a Lord of the Admiralty; in 1746, he was sent Minister Plenipotentiary to the States General; and afterwards to the Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle, where he concluded the Preliminaries of Peace in 1748. In February, 1749, he was appointed First Lord of the Admiralty, but resigned in 1751. After some intermediate employments, he was made Secretary of State, 1763, which office he resigned in 1765, and again held from 1770 to 1771, when he was once more appointed First Lord of the Admiralty, and he continued in that post till the downfall of the North administration, with great credit to himself, and beneficially for the nation. He died in April, 1792, leaving by Judith, daughter of Charles, Viscount Fane, of Ireland, an only surviving son, now Earl of Sandwich. His character as a bon-vivant, and lover of pleasure, is well known; as well as the unfortunate result of his connexion with the beautiful Miss Ray, who was shot by her infatuated admirer, the Rev. James Hackman, when coming out of Covent Garden Theatre, in April, 1779.* *John*, the fifth and present Earl, was born in January, 1743,-4; and has been twice married: his first lady was Elizabeth, daughter of George, second Earl of Halifax; his second was Mary, eldest daughter of Harry, sixth Duke of Bolton, by whom he had the present Lord Hinchingbrook, and Lady Templetown. His Lordship was for many years Master of the King's Buck-hounds; but has not taken any active part in public affairs.

HINCHINGBROOK HOUSE is a large irregular building, partly of stone, and partly of brick: on a broken stone cornice belonging to the small portion which remains of the ancient Nunnery, is the date 1437; but the greater part of the present edifice was built by the Cromwells in the reign of Elizabeth. The large bow-window of the Great Room was erected by Sir Oliver Cromwell

* See under Elstree, p. 316.

in 1602, as appears from that date on the stone-work of the outside, and over which are the Royal Arms of Tudor, with their supporters, a lion and a dragon. Below is another shield of arms, displaying eleven quarterings of the Williams and Cromwell families, and their motto, *Sudore non Sopore:* various other shields of arms are sculptured on the seven ribs that form the divisions of the window; and on the cornice are the initials O. C. and E. C. A. for Sir O. Cromwell, and his two wives, the ladies Elizabeth and Anne. In the window itself are two large ovals of stained glass, containing two shields, baron and femme, of the Cromwell arms, which were also put up by Sir Oliver:* this window is in the east front, and looks into the pleasure garden. The offices on the north side include what was the common room of the nuns, now the kitchen; and about eight or nine of the nuns' cells, which are now used as lodging rooms by the menial servants: they are small cheerless rooms of stone, ranged on each side of a narrow gallery, and each lighted by one small window: the floors are solid, of some kind of stone-like composition.

The more regular portion of the interior of this mansion forms a quadrangle. The *Hall,* which is principally lighted by a large bow-window, contains a variety of portraits: those of the Emperor CHARLES the FIFTH, who is represented in armour, his right hand on his sword, his left placed on his hip; of JOHN WILMOT, the profligate Earl of Rochester; and of EDWARD, Lord Montagu, of Boughton, are the best: among the others are EDWARD, first Earl of Sandwich, when a boy, probably by Lely; LORD VISCOUNT HINCHINGBROOK, 1710, in armour; ARCHBISHOP LAUD, a good picture, apparently copied from the one at Lambeth Palace; HONORABLE CAPTAIN W. MONTAGU, brother to the late Lord Sandwich; COMMODORE SIR RICHARD BICKERTON,

* In Noble's Crom. Vol. I. the above arms are particularly described, and also represented by engravings: it would seem, however, from the date, 1602, that the great bow window was erected prior to the decease of Queen Elizabeth, and not, as this gentleman has intimated, for the purpose of receiving the visit of James the First.

BICKERTON, Bart. REAR ADMIRAL RICHARD EDWARDS, Esq. VICE ADMIRAL LORD SHULDHAM, VICE ADMIRAL SIR EDWARD HUGHES; and heads of ANNE HYDE, and SARAH, Duchess of Marlborough. The *Great Staircase* is ornamented with carvings, displaying shields of the Sandwich arms, flowers, &c. on the first landing-place is an old picture of the Wise Men's Offering. The *Dining Room*, though small, has an imposing effect, from being adorned with whole lengths of their Majesties GEORGE THE THIRD, and QUEEN CHARLOTTE, by Sir Joshua Reynolds; the DUCHESS OF CLEVELAND in white satin, leaning on her elbow, in a musing position, by Sir Peter Lely; CHARLES THE SECOND, in armour, with a long blue robe, and the ribband of the Order of the Garter round his leg; WILLIAM, Duke of Cumberland, in his robes, well painted, but much cracked in the colouring; EDWARD, first Earl of Sandwich, in his robes, with the George pendant; EDWARD, third Earl, by Sir Godfrey Kneller; and KING GEORGE THE SECOND; a half length of EDWARD, second Earl of Sandwich, by Kneller; and a beautiful three-quarter length of Queen HENRIETTA MARIA, depicted with a mournful cast of countenance, and holding some roses; near her, the crown on a table. Over the fire-place is a large picture of the Battle in Solebay; and in the windows are the arms and quarterings of the Montagu family, in stained glass, put up by the late Earl in 1758.

In the little *Dressing Room* is a portrait of ELIZABETH, afterwards third Countess of Sandwich, the eccentric daughter to the Earl of Rochester, who confined her lord during so long a period in one of the upper rooms of this mansion: it represents her when a girl, and in the act of placing a wreath of flowers round the neck of a lamb. In the *Drawing Room* is another picture of this lady, an oval head; and also three others of her friends, MADAME DE BERRI, and the *Duchesses of* MAZARINE and ORLEANS: these portraits, with a corresponding head of the celebrated NINON DE L'ENCLOS, now in the Library, were most probably painted for her ladyship during her residence in France: the colouring of the latter is very rich and brilliant, and all the former ones are good pictures. In the

Green Room, among others, is JOHN, fourth Earl of Sandwich, a small whole length, sitting; JOHN, Duke of Montagu, ditto, with a greyhound; RALPH, Duke of Montagu, half length; and CHARLES, Lord Wilmot, when a boy, son to the Earl of Rochester. In the *Velvet Room*, so named from an ancient bed, above the fire-place, is a large and singular Bacchanalian subject, well painted, but indelicately composed; CHARLES the Second, of Spain, when a boy; ANNE MARIA, Queen of Spain, as a nun, sitting; and a few others of indifferent merit. The *Work Room* contains two pictures of ELIZABETH, Viscountess Hinchingbrook, daughter of Alexander Popham, Esq. one taken in her youth, and the other when more advanced in life; the COUNTESS OF NORTHUMBERLAND, who married to Ralph, afterwards Duke of Montagu; the LADY ANNE HARVEY, and one or two more. In the *Work Dressing Room* are half lengths of JEMIMA, first Countess of Sandwich, daughter to the Lord Crew; and MALLET, Viscountess Lisburne, second daughter to the Earl of Rochester.

The *Great Room*, to which the bow window was added by Sir Oliver Cromwell, and in which Queen Elizabeth, and her two immediate successors, James the First, and Charles the First, have been magnificently entertained, still retains its ancient character.* The roof is of timber, in the style of the College Halls, and has been painted and gilt in square compartments: the walls have also been painted in fresco, but are now partly covered with remains of rich tapestry hangings, worked after the Cartoons of Raphael. Here are also two or three models of ships of war, and various old carved elbow chairs, probably of the time of the Cromwells: the painted glass in the large window has already been noticed. In the *Ship Room* are several good pictures of Sea Fights, and other naval subjects: the battles are chiefly those of the years 1745 and 1746. Here is also a very fine portrait of EDWARD, first Earl of Sandwich, represented with long flowing hair, in body armour, with a red sash, and laced neckcloth: one hand

* When Charles the First was taken from Holmby by Cornet Joyce, on the fourth of June, 1647, he was brought to Hinchingbrook, and kept there, as appears from Dugdale (Short View, p. 240) till the seventh, when he was removed to Childerley.

hand holds a truncheon, the other is rested on a cannon. The *Library* contains a small but select collection of good authors; with good half lengths of PRINCE RUPERT when a youth, and IRETON; a head of the Protector CROMWELL in an oval, and two very curious pictures of Cromwell's parents. General Ireton is painted in a red dress, in body armour, with a sash over it; his sleeves slashed, his hair dark; his countenance expressive and intelligent, with whiskers. RICHARD CROMWELL, Esq. father to Oliver, is in the solemn dress of his time; his features pleasing, but languid: both this picture, and that of his wife ELIZABETH, are by the same artist: the latter is engraved in Noble's Cromwell, yet not accurately: it is a very interesting portrait.*

The park and grounds of Hinchingbrook are not extensive, nor much diversified in surface: on the south side, bordering the road, is a raised terrace, between which and the house, sculls, and other human bones, have been dug up: towards the south-west are vestiges of a more ancient entrance than the present; and in different parts of the estate are fish ponds, which evidently appear to have belonged to the Nunnery. The entrance *Gateway* is of stone, opening into the court by a large pointed arch for carriages, and two smaller ones at the sides for foot passengers. It is ornamented in the style of Henry the Seventh's time, and on each face have been since put up two rude figures of human beings, clothed in garments of skins, with enormous ragged staffs.

HARTFORD, a small village on the roads to St. Ives and Ramsey, between one and two miles from Huntingdon, was, about a century ago, the estate of Sir Thomas Bateman, Knt. of London, in right of his wife, Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Mr. Middleton.† "The chief house was formerly the habitation and possession of Dudley Lovell, who bore for his arms, a chevron between three wolves heads erased."‡ The *Church* consists of a

 nave,

* A few other pictures, of less merit, are in different parts of the house; and here was formerly a portrait of the beautiful, but unfortunate, Miss Ray, which is now in the possession of her son, the present Admiral Montagu, to whom it was given by his half-brother, the Earl of Sandwich: Miss Ray had four children by the late Earl, three of whom, two sons and a daughter, are now living.

† Cotton MS. ‡ Ibid.

nave, chancel, and aisles, with an embattled tower, having pinnacles at the angles, at the west end: the nave is separated from the south aisle by three semi-circular arches, and from the north aisle by three pointed ones, all rising from round columns. The principal monuments record the memory of *Syner Snell*, B. D. Rector of Doddington, in Cambridgeshire, son of John Snell, Esq. of Stanley, Herts. (and others of his family,) who died in March, 1751, aged sixty-eight; and of the *Rev. Robert Vanbrugh*, A. M. Rector of Buckland, in Gloucestershire, who departed this life January the 23rd. 1784, in the fifty-seventh year of his age.

WYTON, or WITTON, with HOUGHTON, are two small villages forming one parish, on the south bank of the Ouse, and principally consisting of thatched cottages. Wyton *Church* consists of a nave, chancel, and north aisle, with a tower and spire: the nave is separated from the aisle by four pointed arches, with deep grooved mouldings; and from the chancel by a high pointed one. The Sepulchral Memorials are few: among them is a grave stone for the *Purchas* family, and a monument for the *Ainsworths*. In this church was married the late Right Hon. Charles James Fox, and that so long ago as the year 1795: the disgraceful contumely that was showered upon him when he went to France, at the conclusion of the late war, and Mrs. Fox was publicly acknowledged as his wife, cannot yet be forgotten. The following extract from the Register of Wyton, will prove how utterly false were the reports then promulgated. It should be observed, that Mrs. Fox resided for a few weeks previous to her wedding with the Rev. J. Pery, at the Rectory; that Mary Dassonville was her maid servant; and Jer. Bradshaw, the clerk of Wyton.—"*Charles James Fox*, of the parish of Chertsey, in the county of Surrey, Batchelor, and Elizabeth Blane, of this parish, were married in this church by license, this 28th Day of September, in the Year One Thousand Seven Hundred and Ninety-five, by me J. Pery, Rector,

This marriage was solemnized between us } C. J. Fox. Elizabeth Blane.

In the presence of } Mary Dassonville. Jer. Bradshaw."

The

The *Church* at HOUGHTON consists of a nave, south aisle, and chancel, with a tower surmounted by a high octagonal spire at the west end. The nave and aisle are separated by four sharp pointed arches, and a high pointed arch, now stopped up by a gallery for singers, formerly opened between the nave and tower. In the south wall of the chancel is a double piscina, divided by a short column. The manor of Houghton belongs to Lady Sparrow, of Brampton, by heirship from Sir Robert Barnard, Bart.

HEMMINGFORD ABBOTS, now a small village on the south bank of the river Ouse, was given to the Abbots of Ramsey, by the munificent Bishop Æthelric, about the time of King Canute,* and it continued in their possession till the period of the Dissolution. It afterwards became the property of Robert Page, Esq. of whom it was purchased by the *Barnards*, Baronets.* The *Church* consists principally of a nave, chancel, and aisles, with an embattled tower, surmounted by an octagonal spire, at the west end. The nave is divided from the aisles by four pointed arches, on each side, rising from octagonal columns, and was anciently open to the tower by a high pointed arch. In the chancel are memorials of the *Dickens* family, of whom *Charles Dickens*, L. L. D. was forty-seven years Rector of this parish; he died in 1794, aged seventy-four. Here also is a monument for *John Hildersley, Esq.* Barrister at Law, who died at the age of seventy, in 1731. The altar-piece, which is a good painting of the miracle of the five loaves and two small fishes, was given by the late Dr. Dickens.

HEMMINGFORD GREY, or EAST HEMMINGFORD, with its appurtenances, was granted to the Church of Ramsey, with several other manors, by King Hardecnut, or Hardicanute, through 'the entreatics of his mother, Emma, who was a most magnificent lover of the Christian faith, and of monastic discipline.'† The charter, as given from the Saxon, in the History of Ramsey, runs thus: 'Hardecnut, King, and Alfgive (Emma) the Queen his mother, to Ældnoth, Bishop, and Tuni, Earl, and Keuric, and all Officers of the County of Huntingdon, health. We make

* Cotton MS.

† History of Ramsey, P. III. In Hist. Ang. Scrip. Vol. III.

make known unto you, that we, in the name of the Holy Trinity, have given and granted to the Church of Ramsey, for the Soul of King Cnut, our Lord, and our own souls, the eastern land of Hemmingford, and all that belongs to it, with sac and soc, as full and honourably as when in our own hands. Whosoever, therefore, shall try to alienate this our donation from the said church, may he be alienated in the day of judgment from heavenly joy, and may he have for his lot, the punishments of hell together with the devils.'* East Hemmingford was afterwards granted, by the Abbot and Convent, to Wlfwin, son of Alfwyn, to hold for his life, on condition that, after his death, it should again revert to the church, together with other Manors then in his possession; but all the estates of Wlfwin being seized, after the Norman Conquest, by King William, were granted by him to Alberic de Ver, who 'possessing the whole by force, left it as an inheritance to his heirs.'† In the seventeenth of Edward the Second, John, Lord Grey, of Wilton, died seized of Hemmingford Turbervill, as this manor was then called; though it afterwards obtained the adjunct of Grey from his family: in the time of Charles the Second it was held by the *Newmans*.

The *Church* stands close upon the south bank of the Ouse river, and consists of a nave, chancel, and aisles, with a tower at the west end: the columns supporting the arches of the nave and aisles, appear of Norman origin, as do the arches, which have been mostly altered into the pointed form: an obtuse arch divides the nave from the chancel. In the east window are various fragments of early painted glass: the west window is not unhandsome. Within the altar-rails is an oval monument of white marble for JAMES JOHNSON, L. L. D. Chancellor of Ely, with a long Latin inscription: he died in February, 1727, at the age of fifty-five. Against the south wall is another monument of white veined marble, in memory of *Griffin Lloyd, Esq.* who died in 1682, aged sixty-two. Here also are some memorials of the Greene family, of whom the Rev. *Charles Greene*, A. M. died at the age of fifty-eight,

* History of Ramsey, P. III. C. 98. † Ibid, Chap. 100.

eight, in July, 1803; and against the south wall is a tablet for the *Margetts* family. The number of inhabitants in the two Hemmingfords, in 1801, was 660; that of houses 105.

ST. IVES,

A small town, pleasantly situated on the banks of the Ouse River, was, in the Saxon times, called *Slepe*, and by that appellation is mentioned in the Domesday Book; but it afterwards obtained the name of St. Ives from Ivo, a Persian Archbishop of much sanctity, who is reported to have travelled through England about the year 600, preaching the Gospel with unremitting diligence. In the reign of King Edgar, Æthelstan Manvessune, a noble Saxon, bequeathed various estates to the Abbey of Ramsey, and, among others, 'certain land of *Slepe*, and the land of *Haggethorn*;'* but these estates were not to become the property of the church till after the death 'of Alfwenne, his youngest daughter;' and 'if she had an heir, of him also.' Some disputes, however, arising as to this disposition of his property, it was agreed on a compromise, that 'the land of Slepe, after the decease of Alfwenne, should altogether remain to the Church of Ramsey, whether she had children or not;†' and proper sureties were entered into for the performance of this agreement. 'All this was done at Slepe, under the testimony of Æthelsi, the son of Æthelstan, the Alderman, and Leofric, the son of Æthelwyn, the Alderman, Edric, Lefric, &c.'‡ Ten hides 'of the Ville of Slepe' were, notwithstanding, usurped by 'Oswald, a priest, who was brother to the widow of Æthelstan Manvessune;' but these were at length secured to the Abbey, by an exchange for other lands.§

The Monks of Ramsey having thus obtained full possession of Slepe, laboured to turn it to the best advantage; and in a few years afterwards, the remains of Ivo, which were pretended to be accidentally discovered by a ploughman, were conveyed, with much solemnity, to Ramsey; and the place where they had been found,

* Hist. of Ramsey, P. II. Chap. 29.

† Ibid. ‡ Ibid. § Ibid. Chap. 45.

found, was honoured by the erection of a PRIORY, or *Cell*, subordinate to the former Abbey. The account of the discovery of Ivo's remains is thus given.

"These things being thus atchieved, it happened that ST. IVO, whom the Ancient of Days, rising from above, and foreknowing, had decreed, before the beginning of the birth of the first day, to visit the Church of Ramsey, to be happily found at the same time. The blessed relics of that holy Archbishop, which venerable antiquity of many ages had entombed in the land of the estate of *Slepe*, near the channel of the river Ouse, were found, whilst the plougher turned up the bowels of the earth deeper with the plough, compelled by the will of God, with oxen. Cleaving fast to the possession of so great a treasure, which, while all were ignorant whose remains they were, the Saint appearing in a visit by night to a certain honest man of the ville, affirmed to be his own, and directed the discovery to be made known at Ramsey, where three of his companions were also to be found. The Lord Abbot Ædnoth, convinced of the truth of this vision by supernatural testimony, sent for his associate in good works, the Abbot Germanus; and these two having the precious relics of exalted piety placed upon their shoulders, conveyed them, attended by a great multitude of people, to the Church of Ramsey, where, at this day, they shine with renowned miracles. In the tenth year then after the death of our patron Earl Ailwyn, and on the same day on which he had been entombed, viz. 8th kal. of May, the earth, through the Divine bounty, gave us a new advocate, not in any wise to be afterwards snatched from us by destiny, who, from the place of his repose, unceasingly intercedes before God for the same, nay, even for all his worshippers."* The reality of the discovery of the Saint's remains, was, however, not wholly regarded as satisfactory in those credulous days; for the Monkish historian affirms, that 'Ednoth, who is by most conjectured to have been once Bailiff of Slepe,' for deriding the truth of the vision, and calling the Saint himself, *Saint Cobler*, was, in 'vengeance of his persevering

* Ibid. P. III. Chap. 68.

persevering rashness,' plagued with 'boots to the end of his life;' in order that, 'through this destruction of the flesh, his spirit might deserve to be saved in the day of the Lord."*

On the spot where St. Ivo is stated to have been found, Abbot Ednoth built a Church; and soon afterwards, anno 1017, the Priory was erected by Earl Adelmar, who placed here some Benedictine Monks from Ramsey, and granted them various possessions and privileges: other immunities were granted by Pope Urban the Second. In the year 1207, the Church and Priory offices were burnt;† but being rebuilt, continued in subordination to Ramsey, till after the Dissolution, when, in the thirty-sixth of Henry the Eighth, the site of the Priory was granted to Sir Thomas Audley.‡ The Priory Barn and Dove House are yet standing in the north-east part of the town, but they do not exhibit any thing remarkable.

The opinion that St. Ives had a Mint in the Saxon times, says Mr. Gough, "rests entirely on a mistake of a coin of Eadmund having on the reverse *Ive Moneta*, the name of the Mint-master,§ which, in the 'Philosophical Transactions,' was appropriated to St. Ives; whereas that name was not known in the Saxon times, and it is called Slepe in Domesday."‖ In this town, the Earl of Holland, who had taken up arms for Charles the First, was made prisoner, after his defeat on the seventh of July, 1648.¶

The *Church* is a very light and neat edifice, consisting of a nave, chancel, and aisles, with a north and south porch, and a handsome tower, surmounted by a spire, at the west end. The nave is separated from the aisles by four large arches on each side, rising from slender piers, having half columns at the sides. The tower is sustained on strong piers, and is open to the aisles by pointed arches;

* Ibid. P. II. Chap. 32.

† Cotton MS. ‡ Tanner's Not.

§ See Hickes Tab. V. 4. ‖ Gough's Cam. Vol. II. p. 158.

¶ Dug. Short View, p. 284.

arches; a good gallery, with a glazed casement, is interposed between the nave and tower on the east: the west window is large; and most of the windows are divided by mullions, and ramified above: the chancel is the oldest part of the building. The Sepulchral Memorials, both in the Church and Church-yard, are numerous, but do not record any thing particularly remarkable.* The spire of this edifice has been twice blown down. In this town are two Baptists Meetings, a Quakers Meeting, and a Presbyterian Meeting: the latter had its rise at the period of the Civil Wars, when the ejected Minister of St. Ives was supported by the inhabitants in opposition to the reigning powers.

Great part of St. Ives was destroyed by a sudden and dreadful fire, which happened on the thirtieth of April, 1689, and which "began in a malt-house at the end of White Hart Lane, next Paddle Moor. The wind being very high, the fire presently flew up to the street, and cross the Sheep Market, consuming every thing in its way down to the water side; as also part of Bridge-street, and of the two houses over the Bridge. It laid in ashes, messuages and dwellings belonging to 122 persons, and families, with all their household goods, malt, corn, grain, hay, shop-goods, houses, and merchandizes; the whole loss amounting to upwards of 13072l."†

The lower parts of the town, being built directly on the Ouse banks, have been several times overflowed: this was particularly the case in January, 1725,-6, when all the adjacent meadows, and a great portion of the fens, were under water. Over the river is a good stone *Bridge* of six arches, four of which are pointed, with strong ribs beneath; the other two are semi-circular, and were

* In the Church-yard was formerly a stone for a celebrated Gamester, thus inscribed.

Here lies the body of *All Fours*,
Who spent his money, and pawn'd his clothes.
If any one should ask his name,
'Tis Highest, Lowest, Jack, and Game.

† MS. in possession of the Rev. F. G. Panting, St. Ives.

were rebuilt in the year 1716, by William, Duke of Manchester, who also rebuilt and widened the *Wharf* in 1724. The Bridge is said to have been first erected by the Abbots of Ramsey. Near the middle, over one of the piers, is an ancient building, probably intended for a chapel, but now inhabited as a dwelling: the upper part, which suffered by the fire in 1689, is traditionally said to have served as a light-house to persons navigating the Ouse river. In the pits in the neighbourhood of this town, the *Cornua Ammonis, Belemnites,* and other fossils, are occasionally found.

St. Ives includes the two manors of *Slepe* and *Bustellers;* by far the greater parts of which are copyhold, and held under the Dukes of Manchester: the tenants, however, have the singular privilege of "cutting down wood or timber on their own grounds, not only for their own use, but to sell and dispose of as they may see fit, without license from the lord."* The police of the town is under the superintendence of a High Constable.

The charter for the Market was granted about the year 1290, by Edward the First.† It is one of the largest in the kingdom for beasts, sheep, poultry, pigs, &c. and is said by the inhabitants, to be only second to that of Smithfield, in London. Here also are two well frequented fairs, held annually, at Michaelmas and at Whitsuntide: the former sprung from an annual meeting appointed in 1020, to be held on the Feast of St. Michael; the latter was granted by a charter of Henry the First, dated in 1110, and privileged to continue from 'Whit Monday till the Monday following, and all that day.' At these fairs, great quantities of cattle, sheep, second-hand clothing, haberdashery, &c. are disposed of; and at the Michaelmas fair, much cheese is sold. Here are three ale and small-beer *Breweries,* and several malt-kilns. The inns and public houses are numerous. Many charitable donations are recorded on two tables in the church, but the gifts are not large. The population of St. Ives, as returned under the act of 1801,

* MS. in the possession of the Rev. F. G. Panting.

† '*Edwardus Primus instituit Mercatum in oppido Sti Ivonis de Slepe, in Die Lunæ.*' Cotton MS.

1801, amounted to 2099; of whom 1035 were males, and 1064 females: the number of houses at the same period, was 478. Among the latter, and chiefly on the outskirts of the town, are some good mansions, the residences of respectable families. The principal of these is SLEPE HALL, so called by the present possessor and resident, Colonel White, but more commonly *Cromwell Place*, from Cromwell having resided here when he rented the Wood Farm of Mr. White's ancestors; by one of whom, the substantial brick edifice, which now stands here, on the site of the old house, was built about the beginning of the last century. In this mansion is a curious picture, containing two half length figures, generally said to be of the Protector Oliver, and some other of his family: yet this seems doubtful; for the subject, as far as can be seen from the picture in its present state, (the bottom part having been cut off,) alludes to some event of which there is no corresponding record in the life of Oliver; neither does the resemblance bear any particular likeness to the other pictures we have of him. This piece represents an elderly person in a close black dress, plain at the wrists, with a broad falling band at his neck, his beard and his whiskers white, and in one hand a cane; he is conversing with a more gayly dressed young man, (probably his son,) who has placed his own right hand on his senior's left, and in his other hand holds by the hair a human head, of sombre and cadaverous colouring. The marking irons which Oliver used to mark his sheep, and are mentioned by Noble, have been lately lost. This estate is the site of the ancient manor of *Slepe*, and a freehold, in which latter respect it differs from almost every other at St. Ives.

Tanner records the name of ROGER *de St. Ives*,* an Augustine Friar, who wrote against the Lollards about 1390, and who appears to have been living in 1420. Another native of this town, of far higher eminence in the walks of literature, is the present S. J. PRATT, Esq. who was born on Christmas-day, 1749,-50,† and became distinguished for his poetical talents at the early age of

* Bib. Brit. p. 641. † Monthly Mirror, Vol. XV. p. 364.

of twenty, when he commemorated the death of Goldsmith by that exquisite poem 'The Tears of Genius.' Many other beautiful productions have issued from his prolific pen, one of the principal of which, 'The Poor, or Cottage Pictures,' appeared in 1801, adorned with some fine engravings after the designs of Loutherbourg. Of his novels, his Liberal Opinions, Emma Corbet, and Family Secrets, are undoubtedly the best; in the former, he is supposed to have shadowed some particulars of his own life, under the character of Benignus. One of his last works is his 'Gleanings,' which contain a great variety of admirable pictures drawn from real life, but coloured, perhaps, with somewhat too full a pencil, and too highly mingled with the meretricious hues of affected sentiment. His style of poetic composition partakes more of the manner of Goldsmith than of any other writer: in his prose works we are frequently reminded of the graces of Sterne. His life has been chequered by diversity; yet, on the evening of his days, the calm sunshine of tranquil happiness appears to descend with a steady light. Early in life, he entered into Holy Orders; and when at Peterborough, became an esteemed and popular preacher: he afterwards kept a bookseller's shop at Bath. His father, who was sometime High Sheriff of this county, was a respectable brewer at St. Ives, and lies buried, with others of his family, in a vault under the Church. His mother was niece to Sir Thomas Drury. The following sonnet was, several years ago, addressed to Mr. Pratt by his friend Dr. Mavor, 'on a Mental Review of his various works:'

With thee, sweet bard! I've felt th' extatic glow
  Awak'd by '*Sympathy*,' and trac'd her laws;
'*Humanity* has taught my tears to flow;
  'Benevolence' has urg'd the '*Poor*' man's cause.

Led by the magic of thy fertile mind,
  Through fields of fancy have I lov'd to stray;
Now wept fictitious woes, to gloom resign'd;
  Now caught Mirth's transports from thy colouring gay.
To every touch my heart responsive beat,
And own'd a master's hand, and felt his powers complete.

But not, dear '*Gleaner*,' to thy genius bright,
Alone I pour this tributary strain;—
Oft has thy converse cheer'd Dejection's night—
Thy friendly balm reliev'd severest pain!

HOLYWELL is situated upon a commanding eminence, about a mile and a half eastward from St. Ives, and overlooks the fine expanse of meadows bordering on the Ouse River. It derives its name from a *Well*, or *Spring*, of soft water, which rises near the bottom of the Church-yard, and which, in the days of superstitious credulity, was much frequented by religious devotees. In the second volume of his 'Gleanings in England,' Mr. Pratt affirms, on the authority of the late Rev. B. Hutchinson, F. R. S. who was Rector of this Parish, and published proposals for a History of Huntingdonshire, that this village was the site of a Roman station, and that various fragments of Roman vessels, pottery, &c. have been dug up here. The *Church* consists of a nave, aisles, and chancel, with a tower at the west end: the nave and aisles are separated by three pointed arches on each side, rising from octagonal columns: the roof is of timber, with carvings of regal figures on the intermediate beams. In the chancel is a tablet in memory of the '*Rev. Henry Parrott*, almost thirty-five years Rector of this Parish, one of the Prebendaries of the Church of Lincoln;' and of 'Catherine, his wife, youngest daughter of Sir William Halford, Bart. of Welham, co. Leicester:' and in the pavement is a grave-stone for 'the Rev. *Benjamin Hutchinson*,' mentioned above, who was born in 1732, and died March 22, 1804.

In Holywell Parish is NEEDINGWORTH, a large hamlet, situated on the road to Bluntisham and Erith. The houses are neatly thatched, and from being almost all white-washed, and interspersed with small gardens, the whole place has a clean and comfortable appearance. Here was born SIR AMBROSE NICHOLAS, Lord Mayor of London in 1576, who was apprenticed to a skinner, and founded and endowed an alms-house for twelve persons in Mugwell-street.

BLUNTISHAM, called *Bluntesham* in old writings, was purchased for the monks of Ely, by "the glorious Prelate Ædelwold," of Wlnoth, a Saxon, between the years 1008 and 1015. The following

following particulars of the purchase and its consequences, are translated from the 'History of the Church of Ely,' published by Gale. "The agreement being made, and the price of the purchase being settled, viz. xxx pounds, Wlnoth sent his eldest son to Ely for that money, and there he received from Brithnoth, the Abbot, 6 shillings; but the xxv pounds which remained, was given to him afterwards, before King Edgar, and before his wise men; which, when it was done, Wlnoth before them, delivered up to the Bishop, *Bluntesham*, with the Chirograph.* Moreover, Brithnoth, the Abbot, gave to Wlnoth vii pounds for all things which were at Bluntesham, viz. for the *men*, and for stock, and for corn. But afterwards, King Edgar being dead, the sons of a certain man, by name Bogo, of *Hemminggeford*, claimed the same land, saying, that their uncle, called by name Topæ, ought to possess the same land by hereditary right; by this reason, viz. that the 'grandfather of the same Topæ, being in the flower of manhood, had passed over to Bluntesham, and had sought King Edward, in the territory called *Grantebrucge*, at the the time when Toli, the Earl, had obtained the province of HUNTEDUNE by force against the King, and for that cause he ought to have his land by right:'—the whole of which, the wise men of that province, and the elders, who well remembered the time when Toli, the Earl, was slain at the river Thames, pronounced 'frivolous.' They said also, that 'King Edward had acquired the province of Huntedune, and had subjugated it to his rule, before that he had possessed the county of Grantebrucge:" they affirmed likewise, that 'in the whole county of Huntedune, there was not land so free, which through forfeiture, could not be lost, excepting two hydes near *Spaldwic*.' They decreed therefore, that Wlnoth should make the land of Bluntesham quiet to Ædelwold, the Bishop, or should restore the money received to him.

"After these things, the whole county of Huntedune was convened by Beorhnoth, Alderman, and by Alfwold, and by Ædric; and without delay there was a very great assembly. Wlnoth, being summoned, brought with him very many liege men, viz. all

* *Chirographium.*

the better ones of the vi hundreds; and Lefsi, late of Ely, brought there the Chirograph of Bluntesham. The claim being then laid open, and the truth of the matter canvassed, discussed, and *tried by judgment*, they took away Bluntesham from the sons of Bogan for two reasons; first, because they had invented falsely whatever they had said of Topæ, and of their grandmother; and secondly, that he was more proper to have the land who had the Chirograph, than he who had it not. Then Wlnoth brought more than a thousand liege men, that by their oath, he might make good his claim to the same land; but the sons of Bogan would not take the oath. Therefore all adjudged that Wlnoth should have Bluntesham: and they by their faith promised that they would testify the same when there should be occasion for it. But when the whole of this was done, Ædelwold, the Bishop, gave Wlnoth xl shillings, and one war horse of the value of iii marcs, because he had taken much trouble in this business, and because he was about to pass the sea in the service of his lord."* In the general confirmation of the possessions of the Church of Ely, granted by Edward the Confessor, Bluntisham is mentioned, together with Spaldwich, Colne, and Somersham, these being all the places in this county then belonging to the Abbey.

The *Church* at Bluntisham is remarkable from being one of the very few whose chancel terminates, not circularly, as Mr. Gough describes, but in a half hexagon; each division of which is carried up pyramidically, with buttresses at the angles, and is lighted by a pointed window, separated by a mullion into two parts, with trefoil heads. This is a handsome and nearly uniform building, the chief variation being in three of the windows on the north side, the mullions of which have been removed, and the spaces filled up by modern glazing. At the west end is a good embattled tower, surmounted by a spire; and on the south side a large porch, opening under a pointed arch, above which is a broken niche for a statue, with sculptures of heads, and other figures: among them are two flying monsters, with distended jaws, for water spouts. The interior is light, and decently kept: the nave is divided from the aisles by four pointed arches, on each side

* Lib. Eliens. P. I. chap. 35.

side rising from clustered piers; the roofs are of timber; and at the entrance of the chancel is an old wooden *Screen*, carved and ornamented in the Gothic style. At the end of the north aisle is a Piscina; and some ancient stained glass remains in the crockets of the east windows. Among the Monuments is a white marble tablet in memory of the learned Dr. S. Knight, who was Chaplain to George the First, and died Rector here in December, 1746. He wrote the Lives of Dean Colet and Erasmus, as is mentioned in his epitaph, which is as follows:

Hic juxta situs est SAMUEL KNIGHT, S. T. P.
Ecclesiæ Eliensis Præbendarius. Com: Berkiensis
Archidiaconus, et hujus Ecclesiæ Rector;
Rei Antiquariæ cujuscunq. generis Cultor Studiosus;

Præcipuè verò Famæ Virorum Ingenii, Virtutis
Et Literarum laude maximè insignium Fautor eximius,
Pront ea, quæ Scripsit de vitâ rebusq. gestis
Celeb: Erasmi et Coleti, palem testamum faciunt
Conscionando assidiuus. Rebus gerendis Sedulus.

Præsertim iis, quibus aut Armorem inter amicos
Locorum longinquitate dissitos fovere,
Aút publicum Ecclesiæ Commodum promovere,
Aut quam plurimus prodesse potuerit:
Adeo ut Posteris jure commendetur
Tanquam humano generi Amicus.

Laboribus, Studiis, et Negotiis tandem confectus
In hoc loco placidam invenit quietem.
Beatam expectans Resurrectionem.
Ob: Dec: 10. 1746. Ætat. 72.

Hoc Monumentum Reverentiæ et Pietatis ergo
Posuit Filius unicus.

The *Font* is octagonal, and ornamented with sculptures of roses, masks, &c. On the north side of the tower, at the west end, is an apartment used as a *Charity School* for poor boys of Bluntisham and Erith, who are taught reading, writing, and arithmetic;

the salary of the Master is defrayed by rents arising from lands. The Church-yard commands an extensive view into Cambridgeshire, including the towers of Ely Cathedral, and several other churches. On a tomb-stone here is the following inscription on ADRIAN LUCUS, a celebrated prize-fighter and wrestler, who died in May, 1672.

Here lyes the Conquerer conquered,
Valiant as ever England bred,
Whom neither art, nor steel, nor strength,
Could e'er subdue, till Death at length
Threw him on his back; and here he lyes,
In hopes hereafter to arise.

The village principally consists of one long irregular street, the chief house being the *Rectory*, and standing at the upper end. This was built by the present Rector, the Rev. R. Tillard, about ten or twelve years ago, in place of a more ancient mansion: its situation is pleasant. The population of Bluntisham, as returned in 1801, was 460; the number of houses 83.

In the year 1741, a most extraordinary *Hurricane* passed through this village, in its course from the south-west, in the neighbourhood of Huntingdon, to the sea near Lynn. It began exactly at noon, and lasted about thirteen minutes, eight of them in full violence. The storm brought with it a mist, and seeming not thirty yards high from the ground, rolled along at the rate of a mile and a half in a minute, with a noise like thunder. The Rectory House was untiled, the statues and ballustrades on it blown down, as also all the stabling: sixty empty barns in the Parish, the alehouse, and about twelve dwelling houses out of 100, experienced the same fate; together with all the mills in its track, and many stacks of hay and corn. The pigeons that were caught in it, were dashed to pieces against the ground; and very few trees escaped. At Somersham it blew with equal fury; but at Cambridge it was not so violent, though attended with thunder and lightning; and only a few booths were blown down at Sturbridge Fair. At Wisbech, where its course was observed very narrowly,

narrowly, it was seen that there were two currents of clouds, which moved on with great force and rapidity; one from the north-west, the other from the south-west; and that these currents united between Wisbech and Lynn, when nothing could withstand their violence; and the great Church of St. Margaret at Lynn was blown down. When the storm had passed, a calm succeeded for an hour, and the wind then continued pretty high till ten o'clock at night.*

ERITH, or EARITH, a respectable hamlet belonging to Bluntisham, is situated near the edge of the county on the road to Ely. The houses form a street about half a mile in length, and many of them are inhabited by Quakers, who have a meeting-house here. The number of inhabitants in 1801, was 362; that of houses 71.

About two furlongs from Erith, towards the north-east, is the site of an ENCAMPMENT, called the *Bulwalks*, which appears to include between three and four acres of ground. From its form, which is nearly that of a parallelogram, with bastions at the angles, &c. it would seem to be of no very remote origin, and was probably thrown up in the Civil Wars. On the south-west and north sides, the ramparts are pretty bold, and strengthened by a ditch; but towards the east, where the contiguity of the Ouse River rendered an attack less available, the defences are not so strong. Beyond the more regular works to the north-east, have been other entrenchments, though these can with difficulty be distinguished from the embankments of the fens. This fortification has not hitherto been noticed in any printed authority.

At COLNE, another member of the Soke of Somersham, resided, in the reign of Edward the Third, the Lady Blanch Wake, 'a near kinswoman of the King,'† whose mansion was about the distance of a mile from the palace belonging to the Bishops of Ely at Somersham. The contiguity of their estates occasioned 'many controversies to arise daily concerning bounds, and other mat-

* Gough's Cam. Vol. II. p. 160: from Phil. Trans. N. 461, p. 851.

† She was daughter of Henry, Earl of Lancaster, who was nephew to Edward the First.

ters,' between the then Bishop, Thomas Lylde, and this lady; and as 'the Bishop was a rough and plain man, hardly brooking such indignities as it is likely a woman of that nobility would be ready enough to offer,' she 'conceived a deadly and inveterate malace against him, for wreaking whereof, she awaited an opportunity.' This soon occurred; for the Bishop having offended the King, by reprehending him for appointing Robert Stretton to the Bishopric of Lichfield, the Lady, 'thinking it now a fit time, commenced a suite against him, the grounde and colour whereof was this. Certeine lewde persons had fired some housing belonging to the said lady, and being apprehended, were content to accuse the Bishop of this foule fact; and before ever the Bishop heard any thing of the matter, at the instance of the lady, and commandment of the King, a *Nisi Prius* passed against him, and adjudged him to the payment of 900l. which presently hee was faine to lay downe.' Notwithstanding this, he appealed to a jury; but the lady's influence having prevented him from obtaining a copy of the former judgment, 'nothing could be done;' on which he complained to the King; but with so much warmth, that Edward 'accused him to the Parliament then assembled,' by whom he was sentenced 'never more to come into the King's presence.'

The enmity of the principals was taken up by their domestics; and not long afterwards, the Bishop's Chamberlain slew one of the Lady Blanch's servants, in a violent affray, that originated in a dispute about the boundaries of the two estates. The Bishop was soon accused as an accessary to the murder; and though 'knowing himself guiltless,' yet fearing that this would 'prove but as his other sutes had done, he sold all his moveable goods, put the money into the hands of trusty friends, and hid himself. This might not serve his turn; he was found guilty by the crowner's inquest, and his temporalities seized into the King's hands. Seeing, therefore, the worst, (as hee thought,) he was content, upon summons, to appear in the King's Bench, where he demanded trial by his peeres, which the judges denied him, well knowing that, by an ordinary and honourable triall, they should not be

able

able to condemne him. A common *Jury of twelve Knights of the Post* found him guilty, as accessary after the fact, forsooth, *'quod prædictum Radulfum* (the Chamberlain) *post perpetratam felloniam receptasset scienter;* which, notwithstanding, he to the last gaspe with great protestations ever denied.' Judgment being pronounced against him, he appealed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, that he might be put to 'his canonicall purgation;' but the Primate advising him to intreat favor of the King, he resolved to "have recourse unto the Pope, to whom repayring, he declared all the circumstances of his trouble, from the beginning unto the end. Hereupon his accusers were cited to appear in the Pope's Court, and for not appearing, were excommunicated. The Bishoppe of Lincolne was commanded to denounce this excommunication, which he did, to his great trouble; and also, that if any of the excommunicate were dead, he should cause them to be digged out of their graves, and forbid them buriall in holy earth. This peremptory dealing of the Pope moved the King unto great choller; for divers of those that were excommunicate, were persons of no small account; some of them of his Privy Council. Proclamation was therefore made throughout the realme, that, upon paine of death, no man should hereafter be so hardy as to bring into the realme, any kind of writing from the Pope's Court. Some, notwithstanding, contrary to this prohibition, delivered letters to the Bishoppe of Rochester, then Treasurer of England, from the Pope, concerning this matter; and fearing the worst, had armed themselves: this done, they shrunke away, and fled; but were soon after apprehended, and diversely punished; some dismembered, others faire and well hanged. The Pope hearing of this, was so incensed, that hee wrote a very sharpe letter unto the King, breathing out terrible threats against him, if hee did not presently reconcile himself unto the Bishoppe, and cause full amends to bee made him for all the losse hee had sustained, eyther by the lady, or him, in these troubles. The King was too wise eyther to do all hee required, or utterly to despise his authority: the one he knew was not for his honour, nor (so farre had this tyrant incroached upon the authority of Princes) the other for

for his safety. Warned by the examples of King John, Henry the Emperour, and other, hee thought good not to exasperate him too much; and so was content to yealde unto somewhat: but, before the matter could grow to a full conclusion, it was otherwise ended by God, who took away the Bishop by death: he deceased at Avinion (Avignon) June 23, 1361, and was there buried."* Not any fragment of the Lady Blanch's House is now standing; and the Bishop's Palace at Somersham has been equally destroyed.

Colne was anciently a chapelry to Somersham; but during the era of the Commonwealth, Colonel Wauton, brother-in-law to the Protector Oliver, and one of the King's Judges, having received many kindnesses from Dr. Thomas Lawrence, head of Baliol College, and Margaret Professor, when a prisoner at Oxford, procured it to be made a Rectory, by getting the small tythes annexed to it, and then presented it to the Doctor; the latter being then in great distress, his known loyalty having occasioned his expulsion from all his Church preferments.†

Colne principally consists of thatched cottages, scattered over a large plot of ground. The house of the Lady Blanch Wake was, in the last century, inhabited by the Drurys; and was wholly pulled down about eighteen or twenty years ago: the grounds round the site have a park-like appearance. The *Church*, which is almost half a mile from the village, appears, from the style of its architecture, to have been erected about the time of Henry the Third. It consists of a nave, chancel, and aisles, with a tower at the west end, standing *within* the area of the Church, similarly to that at Stone in Kent,‡ and being open to the aisles, but not to the nave, on which side the arch has been walled up for additional support. Between the nave and aisles on each side, are four wide arches, rising from octagonal columns; an obtuse arch separates the nave and chancel. In the south wall of the latter is

* Godwin's Cat. of Eng. Bishops, p. 269—272. Edit. 1615.

† Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 136.

‡ See under Stone, p. 571,-2.

is a Piscina; and at the end of the south aisle, where was probably a Chapel, is a double Piscina. Some mutilated remains of arms and figures in stained glass, appear in two or three of the windows: the windows of the aisles in the west wall are of the lancet form. On a grave-stone in the nave is the indent of a Knight under a canopy, with shields of arms above; the brasses gone. The walls are supported by buttresses; those of the west wall are particularly strong. This edifice was new roofed, and otherwise repaired, in 1807.

The Manor of the *Soke** of SOMERSHAM, which includes the several Parishes of Somersham, Pidley, Colne, Bluntisham, and Erith, belonged some years since to the *Hammonds* of Kent, and was afterwards "the property of the Duke of Manchester by purchase from the last Thomas Hammond, Esq. who left no children."† It has since been bought by Sir Robert Burton, Knt. who has disposed of a considerable portion of the estates, but still retains the manorial rights.

Somersham was given to the Monastery of Ely by the brave Duke Brithnoth, or Brithnod, in the year 991, with several other valuable manors, on the condition that, if he should be slain in battle, the Monks should inter his body in their church; and this, as the event demanded, they punctually performed. The circumstances which led to this valuable donation, are stated at length in the *Librum Eliensem*,‡ from which it appears, that Brithnoth having

* 'Soke generally signifies franchise, liberty, or jurisdiction; sometimes a territory or precinct.' *Kel. Dom. Book, p.* 330.

† Gough's Cam. Vol. II. p. 159.

‡ Lib. II. Chap. 6. The account given by the Ely Historian, when divested of some portion of its verbiage, is nearly as follows. "That most noble person, BRITHNOTH, was the bravest Duke of the Northumbrians; and, for his wonderful wisdom, and bodily courage, was surnamed by all, *Alderman*. He was eloquent in speech, robust in strength, large in body, active in warfare, and beyond measure courageous: besides which, he reverenced the church, and bestowed his whole patrimony for the use of the ministers of God. He passed his whole

having been refused a sufficiency of food for himself, and his companions in arms, at the Abbey of Ramsey, when on their way to oppose the Danes at Malden, repaired to Ely; where the Abbot, and his Convent, treating him with much greater hospitality, he, to recompense their bounty, gave them the manors alluded to. It seems probable that the Soke of Somersham was separated from the See of Ely at the Dissolution, as it is described in the Cotton M. S. as his 'Majesties Manor;' and the *Palace*, "which James Stanley, the lavish and expenceful Bishop of Ely, beautified

whole life in defending the liberties of his country, and would sooner die than suffer an injury done to it to go unrevenged. Therefore, when the Danes, at a certain time, had landed at *Maldune*, (Malden,) he hastened to encounter them with an armed force, and slew almost the whole of them on the bridge over the river. The few who got back, animated their brethren to revenge the deaths of their countrymen, and in the fourth year afterwards, they again land at Maldune, under their leaders, Justin and Guthmund; and immediately give out that they are come to avenge their former loss, and proclaim 'that he should be accounted a coward, who should not dare to enter into combat with Brithnod.'

"The Duke, incensed at their boldness, summoned his former companions to this enterprize, and, spurred on by his too great courage, he took his way to the war with only a few warriors. In the course of his way, he drew near to Ramsey Abbey, and requested entertainment and provision for his men. It was told him that the place was not sufficient for so great a number; but that himself, and seven of his companions, might have what he desired. To this, it is said, the Duke thus replied; 'Let the Lord Abbot know that I alone, without the soldiers, will not dine; because I alone, without them, am not able to fight.' So departing, he directed his way to the Church of Ely, informing the Abbot Ælsi, that he, with a small force, was about to cross over the Island to battle, and that if he pleased, himself and his companions would sup with him. The Abbot, with the consent of his Convent, replied, that 'in a work of charity, he was not terrified with any number, but rather rejoiced at their arrival.'

"Being therefore received, with all his companions, he is entertained with a kingly hospitality; and through the diligent attention of the Monks, he was inflamed with a great love of the place; nor did it seem to him

that

tified and enlarged," is there said to have been annexed to the Crown by exchange. Godwin says, that, during the eight years and a half that Bishop Stanley enjoyed his preferment to Ely, he spent very little or no time in that city, "but lived all the summer at Somersham, keeping company with a certain woman in a very offensive manner; and all the winter he would bee with his brother in Derbyshire."* The only wing which remained of the Bishop's

that he had ever done any thing good, if he should have left this kindness unrewarded. On the morrow then, he came into the Chapter-House, and returning thanks to the Abbot and Convent for so liberal a charity, he, in recompence, immediately gave them these capital manors, *Spaldewich*, *Trumpintune*, *Ratendune*, *Hesberie*, *Scham*, and *Acholt*; and setting forth the business on which he was going, he granted them, on the condition that if he fell in battle, his body should be brought hither, and buried, the other manors of *Fullburne*, *Thexeresham*, *Impetune*, *Pampeworde*, *Crochestune*, *Fineberge*, *Tritpelawe*, *Herdwic*, and *Sutteresham*, with its appendages; and more than these, thirty marcs of gold, and twenty pounds of silver: he adorned this donation with two golden crosses, with two borders of his robe, preciously wrought with gold and jewels, and with two gloves artfully made. Afterwards commending himself to the prayers of the brethren, he hastened with his companions to the war.

"On arriving, he was neither shaken by the fewness of his own company, nor intimidated by the multitude of his enemies, but he directly engaged them, and for fourteen days ardently strove with them. At length, few of his warriors remaining, he perceived that he must die, yet even this did not abate his ardour, and a great slaughter of his enemies being made, he had almost turned them to flight, when the foe, encouraged by the weakness of his companions, concentrated themselves in the form of a wedge, and with one accord, rushing upon him, with great labour cut off his head, whilst fighting, and carried it from thence into their own country. But the Abbot having heard the event of the war, went with some of his Monks to the field of battle, and having found the body, brought it to this Church, and buried it with honour, fixing on, in place of his head, a round lump of wax; by which mark, being recognized long afterwards, he was placed honourably among others." *Ibid.*

* Cat. of Eng. B. p. 279.

Bishop's Palace, but which formed a good house, and was inhabited by the Hammonds, was pulled down about thirty years ago by the late Duke of Manchester.

Somersham was part of the jointure of Henrietta Maria, Charles the First's Queen: during the Civil Wars it was granted in fee simple, "with the park, chace, and five manors, together with half the manors of Crowland and Spalding," to the Colonel Wauton already mentioned under Colne, "in satisfaction for 2132l. 6s. then due to him for monies advanced for the use of the Commonwealth:" the grant bears date in November 1649. The Colonel "very much improved Somersham by erecting decoys, &c. but immediately before the Restoration, (on the eve of which Wauton had retired to the Continent,) the common people, to express their dislike to him, broke in, and totally destroyed them."* The Hammonds became Lords of the Soke of Somersham soon after the Restoration.

Somersham is a considerable and pleasant village, and, from the houses being mostly white-washed, has an air of cheerful cleanliness not often seen. It principally consists of one street, about three-quarters of a mile in length, running east and west, with a second, but much shorter street, crossing the former at right angles, near the upper end. The *Church* is a noble and spacious building, standing on a fine gravelly eminence, and, with the exception of some of the windows, is quite regular in its construction. It consists of a nave, chancel, and aisles, with a substantial tower, embattled, at the west end, and two porches, now disused, at the sides: in the south porch is a large stone bason for holy water. The nave is separated from the chancel by a very large pointed arch, and from the aisles by four others on each side, with deep grooved mouldings, rising from piers of clustered three-quarter columns. The roofs of the nave and aisles are of timber, and leaded above; the corbel supporters display a singular mixture of curious and grotesque carved figures: the area is well-pewed, and across the west end is a large gallery. The chancel, which is the oldest part of the building, and apparently of the time of Henry the

* Noble's Crom. Vol. II. p. 227.

the Third, has several lance lights, besides those of the east window, which is divided into three large ones, and has a small column running down the middle of each division. In the south wall, near the altar, is a double *Piscina*, and a triple *graduated Stone Seat*, separated by light shafts, with pointed headed arches above. The whole Church is in a good state of repair; and, with the exception of the chancel, is covered over with a thick stucco, partly composed of small gravelly pebbles. The building itself is of stone, chiefly consisting of a congeries of shells; and various other churches, both in this county and in Cambridgeshire, are built with a similar kind of material. At the end of the chancel is a monument for ANTHONY HAMMOND, Esq. a former Lord of this Manor: the inscription is as follows:

> Hic juxta requiescit Anthonius Hammond, Arm. Dñs hujus Manerii, ex antiquissima (titulo Stī Albani) apud Cantianos Hammondorum Sede oriundus, Anthonii Gulielmo Equite Aurato nati, tertius natu filius, qui Amiciam Heul Brown ex Agro Gloucestr. Ar. filiam duxit Uxorem exqu filios reliquit duos tantum Anthonium Ferdinandumq. Summæ Spei Juvenes superstites, inter Justiciarios, (ut loquuntur) Pacis & Quorum, nec non Præfectos, (quos vocant Deputy Lieutenants,) Comitatos Huntingdoniensis co-optatos. Hæc aliaq. complurima (quibus apud suos functus est) Munera, Summâ tum Moderatione, tum Prudentiâ & Integritate administravit. Fidem Regi hæreditariam, Summâ erga Matrem Ecclesiam Angl. observantiæ, conjunxit, Patriam Caritate Familiaris comitate eximia semper coluit. Quæ omnia ne *ignoramus* Lector perpetuæ Mariti Memoriæ quem unice dilexit (vicissim unice dilecta) hoc Monumentum suis Sumptibus poni curavit mœrens Uxor. Obiit Mens. Sept. 14.
>
> Anno { Domini 1680 / Ætatis 39

In the pavement, within the altar rails, are three large slabs that have been inlaid with *Brasses* of Priests, one only of which now remains; but the inscription is gone: the figure is in a sacerdotal habit, and holds the sacramental cup, and consecrated wafer.

wafer. In the south aisle is another slab now divested of its Brasses, which have represented a person in armour, with different shields of arms. This is probably the grave-stone of *Richard Thwaytes*, whose epitaph is thus recorded in the Cotton Manuscript.

> Hic jacet Ricus Thwaytes Arm. et quondam Marischallus Hospitii Dni Willm. Gray Eliensis Episcopi. Qui Obiit quinto die Mensis Septembris A°. Dni 1467. Cujus, &c.

Among the other monuments, are two against the north wall for the Whiston family. One of them records the memory of the *Rev. Daniel Whiston*, (younger brother to the celebrated mathematician,) who, "for conscience sake, was fifty-two years Curate of this Parish," and died in April, 1759, aged eighty-two: the other commemorates his only daughter, *Mrs. Susannah West*, 'a pious, learned, and excellent woman;'* her husband, the *Rev. John West;* and her brother, the *Rev. Thomas Whiston*, who was many years Minister of Ramsey, and died at the age of eighty, in May, 1795: the expiring words of the late Lord Roscommon, who died in Italy, forms his epitaph:

> My God, my father, and my friend,
> Do not forsake me in the end.

The rich living of Somersham is annexed to the Regius Professorship of Divinity at Cambridge, and now held by the venerable Bishop of Llandaff: the parochial duties are performed by a Curate. Weever says, 'William Weller (or Wolfere) Parson of Somersham, was Master of the Rolls, serving Edward the Third, in the Chancery, fortie years and more.'‡ The site of the Bishop of Ely's Palace, which stood at a short distance westward from the Church, is partly built on: the adjacent grounds still retain vestiges of their ancient appropriation.

A *Mineral*

* Gough's Cam. Vol. II. p. 159. ‡ Ibid.

‡ Fun. Mon. p. 72, Edit. 1631.

A *Mineral Spring* was discovered at Somersham by the late Dr. Layard, who printed a small treatise concerning it in 1759, and whose experiments, with those of Dr. Morris, on its waters, were published in the fifty-sixth volume of the Philosophical Transactions: its virtues are now but little noticed.

"About the year 1731, near the road leading from Somersham to Chatteris, in a piece of fen-land belonging to William Thompson, Esq. the plough turned up and broke a small urn, containing several Roman coins; and Mr. Thompson, and the Rev. T. Whiston, of Ramsey, digging near the spot, found another, which contained about sixty, mostly copper, and of the later Emperors."*

PIDLEY cum FENTON are members of the Soke of Somersham, and, with the exception of a good farm-house or two, chiefly consist of about forty thatched cottages, scattered along the cross-road leading to Warboys, two miles west from Somersham. Pidley *Church* is a small building, presenting nothing worthy of description.

OLD HURST, and WOOD HURST, are "two small villages, whose Chapels are in the gift of the Vicar of St. Ives."† The former contains only seventeen scattered houses, and the *Church*, which is very small, and of one pace: the Font is octagonal, and each face is sculptured with a representation of an interlaced pointed window. *Wood Hurst* contains about forty houses, of better construction than those of the other village: its *Church* consists of a nave, chancel, and south aisle: the chancel is of brick, with a large east window in the modern style. This neighbourhood, as the names of both villages imply, was formerly woodland, and some timber still remains about Old Hurst, though much has been recently cut down. "But the most remarkable thing near to Old Hurst, is a very large square *Stone* as you go to St. Ives, with a

* Gough's Camden, p. 159.

† Gough's Cam. Vol. II. p. 158. The Cotton MS. says, 'Sir Nicholas Pedley of Huntingdon, hath the impropriation' of Old Hurst; and that 'the vicaridge of Wood Hurst is a reputed member of St. Ives.'

very ancient inscription, not now legible: it is supposed the Hundred of Hurstingstone took its name from this town and stone."*

WARBOYS, or WARBOIS, formerly spelt *Wardeboys*, a considerable village on the high road from Huntingdon to Ramsey, consists principally of detached houses, mostly thatched; in the north part forming a large triangle, surrounding a close or green of that figure, and having a long branch extending towards the south, and terminating with the *Church*. This edifice consists of a nave, chancel, and aisles, with a north and south porch, and a handsome tower and spire at the west end: the upper stage of the tower is of light and not inelegant architecture; and the spire has a pleasing, though singular, effect, from taking its rise immediately from the battlements, and not, like most others, from within the square. The chancel has been partly rebuilt, and so much shortened, that the grave-stone over a former Rector, who was buried inside the Church, is now in the Church-yard: the east window is in the modern Venetian style. The nave is divided from the chancel by a wide Norman arch, having a corded zigzag moulding, springing from two three-quarter duplicated columns at the sides; and from the aisles by pointed arches, supported on circular columns: the roof is of timber. The tower has been open to the nave by a very high pointed arch. In the windows, which are not all uniform, in the crockets and smaller lights, are many fragments of stained *Glass*, representing knights, kings, saints, and angels. In the chancel, against the north wall, are two small but tasteful monuments by Bacon, in memory of *John Leman*, Esq. of Northaw, Herts. who died in September, 1781; and his relict, *Elizabeth*, (afterwards wife to William Strode, Esq.) 'daughter of Captain Philip Worth, many years Commander in the East India Company's service, who died in December, 1790.' The above gentleman was descended from 'Sir John Leman, once Lord Maior of London, who bought this faire Manor of Sir Oliver Williams, alias Cromwell, K. B.'† in the reign of James the First. On a slab in the middle of the nave, is

* Gough's Cam. Vol. II. p. 158,-9. † Cotton MS.

is a full-length *Brass* of a Priest, under the indent of a Gothic canopy; the inscription gone.

"*William Johnson*, D. D. Rector of this towne, was author of a book intituled '*Deus Nobiscum*, or a Sermon preached upon a great Deliverance at Sea, 1648; with a Narrative annexed,' &c. wherein it is said, that 'he was twice shipwrackt, and that he lived four days without any sustenance, and lay two nights and two days upon a rock in the deep several times, all hope of life being taken away.'—The said Dr. Wm. Johnson had been (Fellow) of Queen's College, Chaplain and Sub-Almoner to King Charles the Second, and the most witty and pious man living: he died Archdeacon of Huntingdon, March, 1666-7, and was buried at Westminster, æt. fifty-four."*

The WITCHES *of Warboys*, as the unfortunate family of the *Samwells* have been denominated by the credulous votaries of a rank and debasing superstition, occupy a most distinguished page in the bloody annals of Witchcraft. These miserable victims to popular delusion, were John Samwell, Alice, his wife, and Ann, their daughter; all of whom, in defiance of common sense, and in the absence of all rational evidence, were publicly tried, and executed. Their history, as given at length in a pamphlet of the time, furnishes a memorable instance of the infatuated credulity in regard to witchcraft, which at that period possessed even the superior ranks of the community; and shews how strongly the human intellect may be fettered by prejudice and folly. The title of the Narrative, as reprinted at London in 1693, is as follows: 'The most strange and admirable *Discoverie* of the three Witches of Warboys, arraigned, convicted, and executed, at Huntingdon, in this County, for the bewitching the five Daughters of Robert Throckmorton, Esquire, and divers other Persons, with sundrie devilish and grievous Torments; and also for bewitching *unto Death*, the Lady Cromwell: the like hath not been heard of in this Age.' It will be seen from the opening of the Narrative, that the whole of the dreadful business sprung from the observation of a child!

 "About

* Cotton MS.

"About the tenth of November, 1589, Mistress Jane, one of the daughters of Master Throckmorton, being neare the age of ten years, fell upon the soaine (sudden) into a strange kind of sickness, the manner whereof was as followeth. Sometime she would sneeze very loude and thicke for the space of halfe an houre together, and presently as one in a swone lay quietly as long; sometime she woulde shake one leg, and no other part of her, as if the palesie had been in it; sometime the other: presently she would shake one of her arms, and then the other. In this manner she had continued to be affected for several days, but without any suspicion of witchcraft, when old *Alice Samuel* came to visit the sick child, and sat down by the side of her in the chimney corner, having a black knit cap on her head. This the childe soon observed, and pointing at her, exclaimed, 'Grandmother, look whose the old witch sittethe: did you ever see one more like a witch than she is? Take off her blacke thrumb'd cap, for I cannot abide to look at her." The child afterwards became worse; and Dr. Banow, 'a man well known to be excellent skilful in phisicke,' being applied to, repeatedly tried the effect of his prescriptions without success, and then said, that "he had had some experience of the malice of some witches, and he verily thought that there was some kind of socerie and witchcraft wrought towards this child." Exactly one month afterwards, more of the daughters were seized with the same malady, and complained in the same manner of 'Mother Samuel.' Six of the servants, also, who were at different periods afflicted in a similar way, brought the same kind of charge against the now strongly-reputed witch, who was reported to be confederated with nine familiar spirits, whose visits to her were generally paid in the assumed form of dun chickens.

Just before the ensuing Christmas, one of the children was attacked with a more violent fit than it had yet experienced, and was 'threatened by the spirit with one still more terrible;' though at the same time, mother Samuel, who was present, was so 'affected at the sight, that she prayed many times, that she might never see the like again in any of them.' The children then entreated

treated her to confess, that 'they might be well, and keep a merry Christmas;' and their father also seconded their entreaties; but in vain. He then requested her to charge the spirit, that his daughter might escape the fit with which she was threatened; on which she 'presently said, I charge thee, Spirit, in the name of God, that Mistress Jane never have this fit.' And again, at the father's request, the old woman charged the spirit 'in the same manner,' to leave all the children immediately, and never to return to them again. 'Scarce had she uttered these words, before three of them, who were then in their fits, and had so continued for the space of three weeks, wiped their eyes, and instantly stood upon their legges.' This event appears to have surprised the old woman herself, who immediately fell upon her knees, and intreating Mr. Throckmorton to forgive her, confessed that she was the cause of all his childrens' troubles; and on the following day, she publicly confirmed this confession in the Church. She was then permitted to go home; but her reflections, when in the midst of her family, assumed their natural tone, and she *denied* every thing she had before been induced to acknowledge. This being communicated to Mr. Throckmorton, he threatened to take her before the Justices; and on her steadily persisting in her innocence, he gave the constables in charge both of her, and of *Agnes*, her daughter, and on the same day they were taken before the Bishop of Lincoln at Buckden. Here, on her different examinations, she was led to confess that 'a dun chicken did frequently suck on her chin before it came to Mr. Throckmorton's house, and that the ill and trouble which had come to his children, had come by the means of the said dun chicken; that she knew the said dun chicken was gone from the children, because it was come with the rest unto her, and they were then in the *bottom of her bellie*, and made her so full that she could scant lace her coat; and that on the way as she came, they *weighed so heavy*, that the horse she rid on did fall downe, and was not able to carrie her.' These insane ravings, with many others of similar import, were thought sufficient by the sapient Prelate, and two Justices, his assistants, to warrant her 'committal to the gaol at Huntingdon, together with

her daughter, against whom there as yet appears to have been no specific charge!

Previous to these latter events, however, the children were visited by the Lady of Sir Henry Cromwell, and she had not been long with them, when they fell into their usual fits, 'an occurrence which invariably took place whenever any strangers came to see them.'—"Whereupon, she caused mother Samuel to be sent for; and taking her aside, she charged her deeply with this witchcraft, using also some hard speeches to her; but she stiffly denied all, saying, 'that Master Throckmorton and his wife did her much wrong, so to blame her without cause.' Lady Cromwell, unable to prevail with her by good speeches, sodainly pulled off her kercher, and taking a pair of sheeres, clipped off a locke of her haire, and gave it privately to Mistress Throckmorton to burn; upon which mother Samuel, in resentment, operated upon Lady Cromwell, bewitching her in like manner. Her Ladyship's fits were much like to the childrens; and that saying of mother Samuel, 'Madam, *I never hurt you as yet*,' would never out of her mind."

At the quarter sessions following the committal of the girl and her mother, Mr. Throckmorton requested the High Sheriff and the Justice to suffer him to "baile this maide, and to have her home to his house, to see whether any such evidences of guiltness would appear against her, as had before appeared in the children against her mother." After some demur, this was consented to; and within a few days after Agnes Samuel had accompanied him home, "the children fell all of them into their fits; and then the spirits did begin as plainly to accuse the daughter as ever they did the mother, and to tell the children, that 'the old woman hath set over her spirits to her daughter, and that she had *bewitched them all over againe*.'

On the suggestions of 'the Spirits,' various proofs of the guilt of the hapless girl were afterwards tried, and, as the Narrative affirms, always with 'instant success,' as was 'repeatedly proved by different people, and even by the Judge himself, the day before the trial of the culprits.' One of these proofs was a charm, or formula, conceived in the following words: 'I charge thee, Devil, as I am a witch, and a worser witch than my mother, and

and consenting to the death of Lady Cromwell, that thou suffer this child to be well at present.'—Encouraged, as it were, by the attention paid to their remarks, 'the Spirits' now began to accuse the father, *John Samuel*, as they had before done the mother and daughter; and appealed to similar charges in attestation of the truth of their accusation; but, from the perversity of circumstances, and the 'obstinacy of the old man,' this was only once proved previous to the trial of the three delinquents.

"On the fifth of April, 1593, these three wicked offenders were arraigned before Mr. Justice Tanner, for bewitching of the Lady Cromwell to death; and for bewitching of Mistress Joane Throckmorton, Mistress Jane Throckmorton, and others; when Master Dorrington, Doctor of Divinitie, and Parson of the town of Warboys; Thomas Neet, Master of Arte, and Vicar of Ellington; the father of these afflicted children, and others of their relations, appeared as evidence against them. By these, the before related proofs, presumptions, circumstances and reasons, with many others of the same species, were at large delivered, until both the Judge, Justices, and Jury, said openly, 'that the cause was most apparent;' and that 'their consciences were well satisfied that the sayed witches were guiltie, and had deserved death.' During the trial, Mistress Jane Throckmorton was brought into court, 'and there in her fit, was unable to speak, or to see any one, though *her eyes were open*,' till old Samuel, intimidated by the threat of the Judge, that, if he persisted in his refusal to pronounce the charm, 'the court would hold him guiltie of the crimes whereof he was accused,' said "in the hearing of all that were present, 'as I am a witch, and did consent to the death of Ladie Cromwell, so I charge thee Devil to suffer Mistress Jane to come out of her fit at this present;' which words were no sooner spoken by the old witch, but the said Mistress Jane, as her accustomed order was, wiped her eyes, and came out of her fit."

On such puerile and contemptible evidence were these ill-fated beings adjudged guilty, and condemned to die. At the place of execution, the mother, who was nearly eighty years old, and whose faculties were impaired by age, and still further by the brutal

reasonings of those who had supported the accusations of witchcraft, 'confessed her guilt,' and asserted, that her husband was her associate in 'these wicked proceedings:' at the same time she strenuously exculpated her daughter. The father resolutely denied the charge against him; and the daughter, with equal warmth, protested her own innocence; but "being willed to say the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed, when as she stood upon the ladder ready to be executed, she said the Lord's Prayer, until she came to say, 'but deliver us from evil,' the which she could by no means pronounce; and in the Creed, she missed very much, and could not say that she believed 'in the Catholic Church." It has been already mentioned, that the 'goods of the much-injured sufferers' were declared forfeited to Sir Henry Cromwell as Lord of the Manor of Warboys, who gave them for the purpose of having an annual sermon preached at Huntingdon for ever, against 'the sin of witchcraft.'* May not this sermon have tended to encourage that strong belief in witches which is still current among the common people of this county, and which, as some recent events at Great Paxton evidently prove, cannot always be restrained to the mere abuse of the presumed criminal? It would certainly be more to the credit of the parties *now* concerned, if the discourse or sermon were constantly employed to *discountenance* the vulgar belief in witchcraft; which, whatever may be the opinion of those who give the tone to colloquial expression in the upper ranks of society, is still by far too general among the lower classes in many parts of this kingdom.

On the left of the road leading from Warboys towards Bury, at the corner of a field, is a large *Barrow*, which appears to have been opened.

BURY, or BERRY, formed parcel of the possessions of Ramsey Abbey, and as such became the property of Sir Richard Williams, alias Cromwell: his descendant, Henry Williams, Esq. sold it to John Bainbridge, who was lord in 1664.† Some years afterwards, in

* See p. 363, and note. † Cotton. MS.

in 1675, it was purchased by Sir John Barnard, Bart. of Brampton, from whom it descended to the late Sir Robert Barnard, Bart. and his representative is now owner. The Church stands upon a hill, on which also are a few cottages; but the village itself is situated at some distance in the bottom, and consists of about forty thatched houses. Over a brook between it and the Church, is a strong stone bridge of two arches, supposed to have been built by some Abbot of Ramsey.* The *Church* consists of a nave, chancel, and north aisle, with an embattled tower at the west end, which, though much dilapidated, exhibits many vestiges of architectural beauty. All the lower part has been open; to the nave by a double semi-circular arch, springing from round columns, with Norman capitals; and on the other sides, by three pointed arches, which are now walled up to support the incumbent weight, the strong buttresses that sustained the angles being partly in ruins. The nave is separated from the chancel by a semi-circular arch, rising from duplicated round columns, and from the aisle by three large pointed arches, supported by octagonal columns. At the entrance of the chancel is a carved wooden *Screen*; and against the south wall is a neat monument in memory of the *Rev.* Thomas *Whiston*, M. A. "who succeeded his father in the Curacy of this Parish, A. D. 1792; and died January the seventeenth, 1803, aged fifty-five."

RAMSEY.

In the monastic ages, RAMSEY became a place of considerable consequence, from the rich Benedictine Abbey that was founded here by the 'renowned' Duke Ailwin, through the persuasions of the 'pious' Oswald, Bishop of Worcester; and the town itself had its origin, and grew into splendour, under that establishment. The name is abreviated from *Ram's-Eye*, or the *Ram's Island*, an appellation given to a tract of firm land, encompassed by the river Ouse and the marshes, 'almost two miles in length, and accounted

* Gough's Cam. Vol. II. p. 161.

accounted a little narrower in its breadth;' where, according to a traditionary tale related by the Ramsey historian, a solitary ram, 'armed by Nature's cunning with twisted and crooked horns,' took up his abode, 'and left his lasting name to the place.'

'This Island,' says the same writer, from whose account, as published by Gale,* all the ensuing particulars of the history of Ramsey till the period of the Conquest are derived, 'was separated on the west, from the more solid land, for the distance of about two stone's throw, by a sluggish stream, which formerly received between its cheerful shores, only ships carried forward by a gentle gale, but is now approached by a public causeway, the muddy stream being pent up by means of heavy labour, and a great consumption of timber, sand, and stones. It was abundantly encircled with beds of alders, as well as by those of reeds, and a luxuriancy of flag and bull-rushes, and was formerly covered with many different sorts of trees, but particularly with the verdant wild ash; yet now, by lapse of time, the woods being partly destroyed, it appears a rich arable soil; rich in fruits, smiling with corn, planted with gardens, and fertile in pastures; its beautiful meads seeming in spring as if painted with flowers, by which the whole Island becomes a picture tinted with variety of hues. It is, besides, surrounded with fenny meres, full of eels, and lakes breeding many sorts of fish and water-fowl; one of these, called *Ramey-mere*, from the name of the island, excelling all the others in beauty and fertility, affords, from that part where it flows gently along its sandy shore, and where the largest wood is most abundant, at a place called Mereham, a most delightful prospect. In its vast pools, pikes of a wonderful size, called Habredes, (al. Habedes,) are frequently caught, as well by the sweep, or dragnet, as by other kinds of nets, the baited hooks being let down, with other implements of the fisher's art; and though by day, as well as night, the watery sportsman incessantly labours there, and a variety of the watery brood is always taken, yet there still remains an abundance for future sport.'

The

* Hist. Brit. Scrip. Vol. I.

The acquaintance of Duke Ailwin, Aylwin, or Æthelwin, as his name is diversely spelt, with Bishop Oswald, commenced at the funeral of a Nobleman who died suddenly in the court of King Edgar during an Easter festivity. The Duke was of the blood-royal, and had the extraordinary title of *Totius Angliæ Aldermannus*. He was the youngest of the four sons of Æthelstan, surnamed *Halfbing*, 'which is half, or petty King,' a powerful warrior and statesman, and Alfwen, a woman of noble birth, who afterwards, 'with maternal care, nursed and brought up the renowned King Edgar, while as yet a tender child in the cradle.' In describing his character and manners, the historian of Ramsey has displayed much eloquence; yet all his veneration for the pious benefactor of his convent, could not prevent his shewing the true monkish spirit, when he observes of Ailwin, that 'so great an assemblage of good qualities, in a man *secular* and *illiterate*, rendered it doubtful whether he was more deserving of praise or of admiration.' The address of the churchman is also very strikingly exhibited in the conversation between Ailwin and Bishop Oswald, which led to the foundation of the Abbey, and in which the former, in reply to the recommendation of the Bishop to build 'a Church to the honour of God, in some spot convenient, for the professors of monastic discipline,' states, that he had already commenced, 'in the solitary tranquillity of Ramsey,' a religious establishment; and that 'three men, who had renounced the sinful lusts of the flesh, 'and were earnestly desirous of knowing the rule of monastical holiness, were then living there in a wooden cell, which he had built for them a few years before, prior to which, there was no habitation in the isle, nor any building, but the sheds for his herds of cattle.' His motive for having established this small community, originated in a vision that he described as having seen whilst 'wasted with the rage of a most heavy sickness;' his recovery from which was announced to him by a messenger from the 'Blessed Benedict, the Father of the Monks, to whose memory he was commanded to erect a monastery at Ramsey, when assured of the truth of the mission by the re-establishment of his health.'

'When the blessed Oswald,' continues the historian; 'had heard this, he said, 'If these, most illustrious man, these things were commanded and shewn to you, as you assert, by the heavenly oracle,* it is expedient that you conform with a devout mind to the behests of the Divine Will; and should you want counsel or assistance, my abilities shall afford whatever comfort they can in the prosecution of your pious labours. My own endeavour has ever been to assemble together holy men for the service of the Lord, to cherish them, and provide for their necessities; and I have already, in a certain village within my diocese, assembled twelve men full of heavenly fervour; but I am fearful that the malice of the world, when I am dead, will injure them; or that a love of secularity in my successor, may occasion him to labour to extirpate my very young plantation. It will therefore be no burthen to me to overlook the institution of which you speak; and thus the purity of our endeavours, being strengthened by a meek devotion, its advancement will be better secured.' This offer being in perfect accordance with the desire of Ailwin, was readily agreed to; and the Bishop finding the Isle an earthly 'Elysium, provided for men destined from eternity for the Heavenly Paradise,' took 'upon himself the care of the whole business,' in conformity to the Duke's request. On returning to his diocese, he therefore sent 'the venerable man Ædnoth' to Ramsey, who 'enlarged the Chapel which he found there, and built the necessary offices, according to the manner and form before shown to him by the Prelate.' When this was done, he dispatched a messenger to the Bishop; but he, it being the time of autumn, delayed his coming till the harvest was gathered in; though, in the mean time, he made the requisite preparations for his journey; and at length, taking with him 'the books and ornaments suitable for Divine worship,' and accompanied by the twelve brethren 'of Westbyri,'† and the venerable Germanus, he proceeded to Ramsey, where he was

* See Dug. Mon. Vol. II. for the privilege granted to Ramsey Abbey by King Edgar, in which this vision is recited at length.

† Now Westbury in Glocestershire.

was met, according to appointment, by the 'renowned Duke Athelwyn, on the day of the beheading of St. John, that exalted hero of the profession of hermits.' Then 'introducing his infant flock into the folds newly erected, and the divine mysteries being celebrated with a solemn gladness, the management of things without were committed to Germanus; of those within, to Ædnoth;' the charges of the maintenance of the brethren being allotted to be paid from 'the common purse' of both the Duke and the Bishop, till they could be more conveniently provided for 'in the rents of their estates and possessions.'

During the ensuing winter, the 'requisite iron and wooden materials' were prepared for the building of the Church, as well as 'all other things which seemed necessary;' and 'when (in the year of the Incarnation 969) the spring had reared its head, adorned with flowers, the treasures which had been heaped up were properly distributed, choice workmen were hired, the limits of the intended fabric were marked out, and the deep foundations, that were laid on account of the coryness of the soil, were battered firmer by the frequent strokes of the battering engine.'—'The work rose higher from day to day: two towers overtopped the very summit of the roof, the lesser of which was in front of the Minster towards the west, and afforded a fair view from afar to those entering the isle; but the *greater* one stood in the middle of these four divisions of the structure, upon four columns, that were preserved from warping with the weight by arches reaching from one to the other, an edifice sufficiently respectable according to that style of building used in ancient times."[a]

Whilst the Church was completing, the monks were gradually increasing in number; and Oswald, who, on the recommendation of

[a] *Opus indies altius consurgit. Duæ quoque turres ipsis tectorum culminibus eminebant, quarum minor versus occidentem in fronte basilicæ pulchrum intrantibus insulam à longè spectaculum præbebat, major verò in quadrifidæ structuræ medio columnas quatuor, porrectis de aliâ ad aliam arcubus sibi invicem connexas, ne laxè defluerent, deprimebat. Juxta eam quâ vetus illa antiquitas utebatur ædificandi formam spectabile satis ædificium.* Hist. Ram. in Gale. Chap. XX.

of Dunstan, had been promoted by King Edgar to the Archbishopric of York, (but was still permitted to hold Worcester *in commendam,*) presided over the convent here 'as Abbot,—as certain writings, yet preserved, do testify.' He also sent to the Abbey of Florensac, or Floriake, in France, where he had himself been educated, for the 'most noted' Abbo, who had 'deeply imbibed a knowledge of the liberal arts,' in order that 'he might preside over the *Schools* at Ramsey,' and 'cherish the scions of his newly-made little garden with the dew of his doctrine.' Soon afterwards, in the year 974, on the sixth of the Ides of November, the Church was solemnly dedicated by Oswald, in the presence of Duke Ailwin, Bishop Alfnoth, and a great concourse of people, to the patronage of the Virgin of Virgins, the holy St. Benedict, and the memory of all Virgins; the whole fabric being prepared for the ceremony 'like an infant about to be baptized anew, by being despoiled of every ornament.'

King Edgar granted five hides at Burwell towards the expenses of building the Church, to which he also gave 'two *Bells*, acquired for the price of twenty pounds,' the 'Church of Guthrumcestre,' &c. Among the gifts made by Archbishop Oswald, are mentioned, the 'Ville of Nedingworth,' and 'many and precious relics, which were contained in two crosses, fashioned of six times twenty marks of gold, pound weight.' The donations made to the Abbey by Duke Ailwin, included the whole Island of Ramsey, with the adjoining lakes and meres; the land of Upwode, with the fisheries of the adjacent streams; and the hall and court that he there had, 'fitting for the nobleness of so great a man;' and various other estates, including the land of Weston, which he had inherited from his mother, to whom it had been given by King Edgar, 'for that diligent nursing she had bestowed on him in his infancy.' Many other grants were about this time made to the Abbey by different persons, and particularly by Æthelstan Manessune, who also gave 'manumission' to thirteen of his tenants, so fully, 'that, being placed in any way where four turnings meet, they might proceed whithersoever they would.'*

The

* Hist. Ram. Chap. 29.

The influence of Oswald and the Duke was next exerted to procure from King Edgar, a *Privilege*, or charter of confirmation, for all the gifts that had been made to the Abbey; and also that the same might bear the *Impression of the King's Image*, in order to render the possessions the more secure. This was made a particular request, because that 'as yet the impressions of seals were not come every where into use;' and 'that the ancient cyrographs, or schedules, of the lands, were not strengthened with such impressions, the symplicity of ancient time not having the invented resemblances of figures of this kind.'* The privilege of Edgar has been printed by Dugdale:† it includes the particulars of the vision which induced Ailwin to found the Abbey at Ramsey, and concludes with an anathema against all persons violating its endowments.

After the death of Edgar, and when the disputes between the regular and secular clergy ran very high, the monks of Winchelcumbe were expelled from their Abbey, and took refuge at Ramsey. About the same time 'brother Ædnoth gave to the Church one hide at Bottinton; and in evidence of this donation, he placed four sods with green grass taken from the land itself, in the crypt of Ramsey, upon the altar of St. Gregory.' Not long afterwards, Alfwara, a 'noble Saxon woman,' granted Halliwelle (Holywell) to the Abbey, together with the Church and part of the Manor of Ellesworth, &c. and 'one chasuble and albe, and all the rest of the sacerdotal ornaments, and five marks of pure gold to gild all these, and one cross, and one shrine with a coverlet, two silver vessels, two curtains, and one cushion and her saddle, with all the horse furniture.'

In the reign of Ethelred the Second, the central tower of the Church gave way, through the oozyness of the soil, and 'a crack appeared in the stone-work, opening from the top quite downward.' It was therefore wholly taken down by the advice of Oswald, and the foundations being made good, rebuilt at his expense, under the direction of Ædnoth the younger, a monk of Ramsey, who was renowned

* Hist. Ram. Chap. 32 and 35. † Mon. Ang. Vol. I. p. 235.

renowned for 'the comeliness of his form, and the elegance of his manners, as well as for his knowledge of letters.' When it was completed, Duke Ailwin ordered 'a wooden tablet to be set in front of the high altar, which he remarkably adorned to the honor of God, and of St. Benedict, and to the credit of the Church, with large and solid plates of silver, together with precious stones of various sorts and colours. He gave also thirty pounds for fabricating the upper pipes of the *Organ*, which fitting in their holes within its hollow, in close order, upon one spindle, and being played upon on festival days with the strong breath of bellows, uttered a most sweet melody, with a far-resounding clangor.'* Soon afterwards the Church was new dedicated by Oswald, who, on account of his growing infirmities, was assisted by Æswi, Bishop of Dorchester, in the presence of Duke Ailwin, and the 'chief and potent men' of the neighbouring counties. Previous to the ceremony, the Privilege of King Edgar was recited; and public notice was given, that if any one had any claims against the Church of Ramsey, he should then state them before the assembly, or be for ever after debarred from becoming a claimant. A similar notice was given in respect to the possessions of the Monasteries and Abbeys of Ely, Bury, Torr, Croiland, and Enolfesbury, or St. Neot's; and on no person appearing to make a claim, Duke Ailwin, 'with the nobles and potent men then present,' swore 'on their corporal oath, that they would keep in faith and in deed, during their whole lives, what they had engaged by their words; and protect, as well the Church of Ramsey, as all the abovenamed monasteries, with all their appurtenances.' The 'Gospels of the Holy Evangelists,' whereon the oath had been taken, 'were then placed on the high altar, before God;' and the Abbots and Monks, 'in interchange for the liberality exercised towards them,' admitted the Duke, and his companions, into the common benefits,

* —*Triginta—libras ad fabricandos cupreos organorum calamos erogavit, qui in alveo suo super unam coclearum denso ordine foraminibus insidentes, et diebus festis follium spiramento fortiore pulsati, prædulcem melodiam et clangorem longiùs resonantem ediderunt.*

Hist. Ram. Chap. 59.

fits, and fraternity of their respective churches. Oswald died in the following winter; his death, according to the historian, having been foreshown by several supernatural omens; and in the ensuing spring, 'the venerable Ailwin departed.'* This was on the eighth of the calends of May, 993: he was buried in the Church of Ramsey, and, according to a manuscript quoted by Camden, had the following epitaph inscribed on his tomb: *Hic requiescit Ailwinus incliti Regis Edgari cognatus, totius Angliæ Aldermannus, et hujus sacri Cœnobii miraculosus Fundator.*

On the death of Archbishop Oswald, Ædnoth the Younger was chosen first Abbot of Ramsey. He was the person who conveyed the reputed relics of St. Ivo from Slepe to Ramsey,† and, after governing his monastery about sixteen years, was made Bishop of Dorchester, when *Wlfsi*, or *Wulsinus*, was chosen in his room. Both these prelates were slain by the Danes under Canute, at the battle of Ashenden, in the reign of Edmund Ironside, (anno 1016,) when the defection of the traitor Edric occasioned the Saxons to lose the victory; and Ailward, the son of Duke Ailwin, perished, together with 'the verdure also of almost the whole of the British nobility.' With Ædnoth and Wlfsi fell many other ecclesiastics, who, 'according to the custom of the English, had met there,

* In a discourse made by Ailwin to his sons, and the brethren of Ramsey, a short time previous to his decease, he thus eloquently describes his then condition. 'Old age diminishing the strength of a feeble and crooked body, wholly takes away my wish of remaining longer here. The gracefulness of my once comely form is destroyed by wrinkles; the testy cough, by its frequent stinging, tires my short winded breast: my colour is pale, and lifeless; my scent is less acute than formerly; what I taste relishes less; scarcely can I support my tottering steps with a staff; hardly will my trembling hands hold any thing fast; they being worn out with sickness, and length of days; and the stolen succession of passing years has deprived me of my whole strength: what confidence then can be placed in the slippery state of the human condition? It may be pleasant to die when life is found to be so irksome!'

Hist. Ram. Chap. 62.

† See under St. Ive's.

not with arms, but to assist the fighting men with their prayers.* Wlfsi and Ailward were buried at Ramsey; but the body of Bishop Ædnoth was 'stolen' from the brethren of Ramsey by the monks of Ely, and interred in their own Church.

Wythmann, the third Abbot, was a German, and is described as of such 'innate fierceness of mind, that it diminished somewhat from his commendation.' He accused his 'innocent flock' of contumacy, and neglect of regular discipline, to the diocesan Bishop Æthelric, who 'had been taken from the *cloister* of Ramsey to sit in the chair of Dorchester; and not supposing it credible that his 'confreers, and fellow scholars,' could so easily fall from obedience, he determined to visit Ramsey in privacy, that he might the better judge of the truth. 'Coming, therefore, at the dawn of day-light, and pretending to be some traveller, he entered the Monastery as if to beg, and begun diligently to scrutinize every thing. Some of the monks he found devoutly celebrating masses at private altars, some praying round the high altar to the memory of saints; others sitting closely together between the pillars of the cloister, and giving their attention to a reading in deep silence, to avoid idleness.' Discovering by this means the falsehood of the accusation, he indignantly rebuked the Abbot, who soon afterwards resigned, and went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem: but returning in about a year, he passed the remainder of his days in a solitary place called *Northeyu*, about a 'stone's throw from the Church of Ramsey.'

Bishop Æthelric was the familiar friend of King Canute, and, by his persuasions, the latter built 'another Church at Ramsey, near the former one, in honor of the Holy Trinity, on the same plan, but a little differing in size.' This, 'as the society of nuns had ceased to assemble in like manner as the fraternity of monks, in the other monastery, was intended for a company of women;' yet 'it being providentially considered, that disadvantage might arise from the vicinity of the two sexes, the design was not fulfilled.' The crypt, however, which was built under the greater altar of that

* Hist. Ram. chap. 72.

that Church, remains uninjured in our cemetary to this day, a witness and memorial of the building.' Æthelric was also the means of obtaining Canute's permission to remove the remains of St. Felix from Soham, in Cambridgeshire, and they were translated to Ramsey in a ship, 'by Abbot *Athelstan*, (who had succeeded Wythman,) Alfwin, the Prior, and a respectable company of the brethren.'* Bishop Æthelric was himself a great benefactor to the Abbey, his beneficent feelings having been early and strongly excited by the mild treatment he had experienced in his youth, when, with three others, he had accidentally fractured one of the 'larger bells which hung from the beams in the western tower.'† He died

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* Hist. Ram. chap. 82. The removal of St. Felix's remains, says the historian, excited the envy of the people of Ely, who 'went on board their ships with a strong force, in order to intercept the brethren of Ramsey on their return; 'but on a sudden a thick cloud arose, to the hinderance of the many, and the safety of the few;' and, 'our adversaries wandering from their course, the attendant water restored us safe to the bosom of our domestic home.' This miracle, however, is admitted to be of 'doubtful credit;' and the reader is not enjoined to believe it, provided that 'he feels it to be certain that *every part* of the relics of St. Felix were translated to the Church of Ramsey, and honorably deposited there; where even to this day the holy man confers many favours upon his worshippers.' *Ibid.*

† The manner in which the good Bishop acquired one of the estates which he gave to Ramsey Abbey, is thus told:—the narrative contains some curious particulars of the customs of those early times.

In Huntingdonshire 'is a certain Vill, to which remote antiquity gave the name of ATHELNITON: most pleasant is its situation; convenient its stream of waters; agreeable its level of meadows, having plenty of pasture for cattle, luxuriant from the advantage of a fertile country. This before that the Danes had invaded England, was the inheritance of a certain Englishman; but in the days of King Cnut, a certain Dane, contracting matrimony by the King's permission, acquired the Lordship of the before-mentioned Vill in right of his wife. When, therefore, according to his usual custom, King Cnut was travelling over his kingdom; it happened that he came into these parts, and through the length

of

in the year 1034, and was buried at Ramsey, having bequeathed to the Church 'many books and episcopal ornaments.'

Athelstan was slain in the twenty-third year of his Abbacy, by an Irishman, whom he had rescued from beggary, and fed during several years at his own table; but having, 'for some reason, ordered him to receive his allotted food without,' the ungrateful wretch 'drove his deadly sword forcibly through his bowels, on the day of St. Michael, as the brethren were celebrating the evening

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of his journey, turned towards the Royal Ville of *Nassington*, for the purpose of lodging there; but the smallness of the place, as it refused the benefit of hospitality to the Princes and great men attendant on the King, occasioned each of them to seek the domestic dwellings of the families in the neighbouring towns and villages. Æthelric, the Bishop, whom, on account of his integrity and singular prudence, the King scarcely ever permitted to be absent from his side, was therefore decently lodged at this same Dane's, in the Vill of Athelinton, together with the four joint Secretaries of the King; and since the attendance of the inferiors is not only due to their Lords, but also to their Lords' servants, the Dane doubted not that by so much the more attentively, and by so much the more splendidly, he served all things necessary in different meats and drinks, by so much the more should he please the King his Lord. At last, all being satisfied, and the tables removed, they *protracted the day till the evening in drinking*; and he who performed the office of Butler, with the *Bishop's connivance*, handed about *the cup exceedingly frequent to the Dane*, who being made *very merry*, begun to answer the Bishop's enquiries as to the stocking and worth of the Vill; how much in chattels, how many herds of beasts and sheep they had in the Lordship, what number of acres the court of it was furnished with, and how much money he received yearly from the rental of the whole.

"Then the Bishop most readily said, 'If I could find such a Manor to be sold, I would purchase it at a suitable price.' The Dane, whom intoxication spurred on, jollity enlivened, and rashness urged, to the loss of his property, replied, 'If you will bring me to-morrow, at the earliest dawn of day, fifty marks of gold, without deduction, all my effects being removed, I will make over the whole Vill free to you.'—Yet he said this, not that he wished to part with his right by sale, but

that

ing service, and, according to the custom derived from antiquity, were proceeding into the nave of the Church, to their station before the cross.' He was succeeded by *Alfwin*, the Bailiff, or Reeve, who 'governed actively for about eight years,' and in whose time Alfward, 'Bishop of London, and Procurator of Evesham,' becoming diseased with leprosy, resigned his dignities, and retired to this Abbey, where he had been educated. The monks received him with great ceremony, because, among other 'pre-

that he thought the Bishop, so far removed from his bishopric, his trunks so few in number, and his caskets so small, could, by no industry, by no purchase, scrape together before the end of one night, such a weight of the above mentioned metal.—But Æthelric, who was no *slothful promoter of his own interest*, immediately catching the word from his mouth, and calling the men who had accompanied him in witness of the proceeding, 'Let it,' says he, 'be according to your word. Behold the witnesses of my faith, and of the bargain, that if I shall not to-morrow, before daylight, deposit before you the whole heap of gold which you have asked, you shall accuse me of rashness, and deride my failure; if, at the same time, you will cause your wife to agree with you in the same resolution.'—'My wife's consent,' said the other, 'shall not be wanting; fulfil only what you engage.' Then the Dane inclined himself wantonly to laugh at the Bishop, and encouraged his wife to dare to do the same.

"What occasion is there to use many words?—The husband, as well as his wife, measuring their guest's sentiments by their own, and judging him to be intoxicated, endeavoured to hasten the business; and through this, the bargain, which, at first, they thought to carry forward in jest, being turned at length into seriousness, was strengthened and confirmed by the caution of the joint suretiship of both sides, that if the Bishop should keep the faith of his promises, there should be no loop-hole left for the Dane to retreat. Then the Dane going to bed, betrayed his consciousness of the loss of his property by his nocturnal rest; but Æthelric, the laziness of sleep being turned into solicitude for his own advantage, when it was thought that he was laid down, and a notary privately sent for, ordered letters to be dispatched to all his friends, whom that night seemed to afford sufficient space of time for going to and returning from, adding entreaties to entreaties, that every one of them would now prove a true friend to the cost of the work. He himself,

cious gifts, he brought not only the *cheek bone* of *St. Egwin*, but even the *cowl* of the holy martyr *St. Alphage;* which, the martyr being stricken through it, had imbibed the bright stains of his sacred blood;—and these it shews even to this day, both to be beholden with our eyes, and touched with our lips.'

During the primacy of Alfwin, Edward the Confessor, 'instigated by the learned monk Oswald, (nephew to Archbishop Oswald,) and Withmann the Hermit, granted considerable estates, and extraordinary privileges, to the Abbey, and confirmed them by different charters. He also became a party in an agreement made between the Abbot of Ramsey and the Abbot of Burgh, (Peterborough,) in regard to an exchange of lands; to the bounds and

self, also, mounting his nag, spurred him on to court, where he found the King lessening the tediousness of the long night, with the *play of the Dice and Tables;* to whom being privately admitted, and astonished at his nocturnal and sudden coming, he makes known the cause, and borrowed from him all the gold which was then in his coffers, binding himself by the law of loans. Then returning, loaded with it, he had hardly recovered his short breath, when his different messengers entered, each succeeding the other, and having got such a plenty of gold, that pouring it out before their lord, he found that the measure of its weight exceeded his want. The Bishop, therefore, agitated with unspeakable joy, immediately, at the very dawn of day, ordered the Dane to be requested to arise, and take the heap of gold; but he, having, by the rest he had taken, recovered from his late surfeit or intoxication, pretended to know nothing of the bargain, and affirmed, that what they said was untrue. Æthelric, however, offering publicly to pay the promised mass of yellow metal, required the estate thus purchased by a just title of sale, according to the testimony of the sureties, to be made over to him; but the Dane refused with a loud voice, exclaiming, that 'a fault committed by the rashness of one person, ought by no means to redound to the prejudice of the heirs.' The Bishop answered, 'Although intoxication drove you to the fault, yet your wife, to whom the fountain of the inheritance especially belongs, drinking more sparingly, seemed to have brought less loss to the family casks; she, I say, being often questioned if she acquiesced in the agreement, evinced the sacred thirst of gold which she had, by her very silence of not contradicting

and limits of Kinges-delfe; and to a right granted to the brethren of Ramsey to dig stone, both 'squared and broken,' at Bernach: for the latter liberty they were to give to the monks of Burgh 'four thousand eels in Lent.' In the year 1059, Alfwin attended at the Great Council held at Rheims by Pope Leo the Ninth, from whom he obtained a protecting privilege for the rights of his own Abbey. He afterwards procured a similar privilege from Pope Alexander the Second; 'but from the fatigues of his Roman journey, he contracted an illness, which nearly deprived him of the use of all his limbs;' on which he relinquished his government to *Ailfsi*, or *Egelsin*, Abbot of St. Augustine's, who, when Earl Tosti, and the King of Norway, invaded England, 'was warned by St. Edward,

dicting it.'—Still the gainsayers, repressing the voices of the witnesses, clamoured as if in their own proper abode; hence a contention arose, and an appeal was made by both parties to the King, in whose presence the matter being more diligently investigated, the suretiships assert the fact of the money having been tendered by the buyer according to the agreement. The Dane, being unable to disprove these allegations, and there being no way for him to regain the thing sold, was adjudged to confirm the sale on receiving the price; yet the wife, still litigating, and affirming, with a babbling voice, that two mills in the same Vill were her chattels, and did not belong to the appurtenances of the Manor, the generous purchaser stopped all contention, and further claim, by the addition of two marks of gold.—The husband and wife, therefore, spontaneously, or obeying unwillingly the sentence, took away all their household goods, stripped the marriage bed of its accustomed clothing, led away their herds of cattle, and family, and leaving only the bare walls of their home, with those things which were immoveable, to the new Lord, departed to buy another residence with the gold they had received." The Bishop was afterwards confirmed in his purchase by the King; and having rewarded 'four Barons, by whose lively diligence and activity in this business, he was sensible that he had been most effectually assisted,' with a present to each of two marks of the remaining gold, he, 'having the King's license, directed his journey towards Ramsey,' and assigned to the Abbot and his Brethren, the 'before mentioned Vill, for the perpetual supply of their table.'

Hist. Brit. Scrip. Part III. c. 85.

ward, in a vision, to encourage King Harold against his invading enemies.' He was afterwards obliged to seek refuge on the Continent, through his having assisted Archbishop Stigand in his opposition to the Conqueror.

The successor of Ailfsi, according to Dugdale,* was *Herbert*, a native of Orford; who is said by Godwin to have been 'very famous for his excellent learning;' and 'living in the court of William Rufus for a time, behaved himself in such sort, that he was much favored of the King, and obtained divers great preferments at his hands, whereby it came to passe, that within the space of three years, he had so feathered his nest, as hee could bye for his father, the Abbacy of Winchester, and for himselfe, the Bishopricke of Norwich, paying for the same, as is reported, the sum of 1900l.'† *Aldwin*, who succeeded him in the Abbacy of Ramsey, was expelled in his eleventh year for simony; and *Bernard*, monk of St. Albans, was advanced in his room. On his decease, within about five years afterwards, Aldwin was restored, and continued Abbot till his death, in 1112 or 1113. *Reginald*, his successor, rebuilt the Church, which was completed in seven years, anno 1123. He dying in 1131, or 1133, was succeeded by *Walter*, in whose time (anno 1143) Geoffrey de Mandeville, Earl of Essex, expelled the monks from the Abbey, and fortified it as a castle; but was afterwards slain in a battle before the Church, with an arrow, by one of the meanest soldiers. Matthew Paris, who records this fact, says, that the Earl was 'the only person who fell;' and that 'a manifest proof of the Divine wrath' was displayed by the 'walls of the Church streaming plenteously with blood whilst it was held as a castle.'‡

William,

* Mon. Ang. Vol. I. p. 240. † Cat. of Eng. Bish. p. 419.

‡ Matt. Par. Hist. Angl. p. 80. *A. D.* 1143. *Eodem verò tempore Gaufridus, consul de Mandevilla, qui idem scelus patraverat in monasterio Ramesiensi, ante ipsam ecclesiam inter consortes suorum acies, à pedite quodam vilissimo solus sagitta percussus, occubuit interfectus. Ecclesia autem illa, dum pro Castello teneretur à suis parietibus sanguinem ubertim emisit, indignationem Divinam manifestè declarans.*

William, Robert Trionel, Eudo, and *Robert de Redinges,* were the next Abbots in succession: the latter was chosen through the influence of John de Grey, Chancellor of England, and, after governing five years, he resigned the pastoral staff to *William de Lincoln,* who had the Manor of Cranfield assigned to him for maintenance. In his time the general revenues of the Abbey were received by three monks appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury; and after his death the abbacy was kept vacant seven years, because the monks refused to elect the Abbot of Fronton on the recommendation of King John. At length, in 1214, *Richard,* Abbot of Selby, was chosen by the procurement of Nicholas, Bishop of Frascati, the Pope's Legate, who took off the interdict in England: in the following year, the Church of Ramsey was plundered of much wealth. *Hugh Foliat,* Prior of Ramsey, probably the same person that was afterwards advanced to the See of Hereford, succeeded Richard in 1216. His successor, *Ranulfus,* had the honor to entertain Henry the Third, who came to the Abbey on the Feast of St. Matthias, in 1234, and staid four days: in his eighth year he was appointed Justice of Norwich. *William Acólt,* the next Abbot, lived only one year after his preferment; and was succeeded by *Hugh de Sulgrave,* Prior of St. Ive's, in whose time Ramsey Abbey was taxed at 624 marks, for its share of a tenth that had been granted by the Court of Rome from all ecclesiastical possessions: this Abbot was a considerable benefactor to his convent; among other things, he begun to rebuild the Refectory, 'and made St. Ivo's shrine, and a silver-gilt table for the high altar.' *William de Gurmecester,* his successor, brought 'the water from Ramsey at his own cost;' and finished the Refectory in 1276: he governed about nineteen years, when being struck with the palsy, he resigned. *John de Sautre* succeeded him in 1285, and suffered many troubles and extortions: among other charges, he was obliged to maintain Isabel, Edward the Second's consort, at the Abbey, for eighteen days: he became blind six years before his death, which happened in 1316, when he gave ten pounds to the convent for 'hose and shoes.' He was succeeded by *Simon de Eye,* who new-built the eastern part of

the Church, and governed during twenty-six years. *Robert de Nassington*, the next Abbot, died of the plague in 1349; and left his successor, *Richard de Shennington*, burthened with his debts to the amount of 2500 marks. The latter presided thirty years; and was succeeded by *Edmund de Elyngton*, of whom nothing particular is recorded, nor yet of his successors, *Thomas Boterwike*, *John Tychemarsh*, *John Crowland*, *John Stowe*, *William de Wyttlesey*, *John Wardeboys*, *John Huntingdon*, and *Henry Stewkeley*. *John de Wardeboys*, alias *Laurence*, thirty-fifth and last Abbot, who succeeded Stewkeley, was an active promoter of the Dissolution; and for his services in forwarding the surrender of his own as well as of other Abbeys, was rewarded by Henry the Eighth, with an annual pension of 266l. 13s. 6d. which was continued till his death in 1553.*

Many of the Abbots and Monks of Ramsey were men of considerable talents and learning, to which, doubtless, the *School* established within the walls of the Abbey, and almost coeval with its foundation, greatly contributed. Here was also a famous *Library*, concerning which the following particulars have been collected by Whitaker from Leland.† "The library at Ramsey was celebrated for what we are amazed to hear of either there or then, its stock of *Hebrew* books. The Jews being for the first time permitted to pass over from Normandy into England by the Conqueror, spread in a short time over the kingdom, and had a synagogue in almost every great town: but in the reign of Edward the First, all their property was tyrannically confiscated, and they themselves were barbarously banished. 'Then the synagogues at Huntingdon and Stamford being profaned, all their furniture came under the hammer for sale, together with their *treasures of books*: but when Gregory,' Huntingdon, a monk of Ramsey, who had been

* The authorities for the above particulars of Ramsey Abbey, subsequent to the Conquest, are Dug. Monasticon, Vol. I. Stevens's Additions, Vol. I. and Browne Willis's Hist. of Mitred Abbeys, Vol. I.

† Hist. of St. German's Cath. Vol. II. p. 327,-8: from Leland *De Script. Brit.*

been studying the Hebrew language for some time before, and had been checked in his studies by the want of Hebrew books, 'understood of this auction, he hastily repaired to it from his adjoining monastery, with a good sum of money, and readily at the fixed price purchased their gold for his brass, and returned home in high spirits. What did he do then? Night and day he turned over his Hebrew volumes, till he had drawn from the very fountain-head a more intimate knowledge of the language. He left also to his colleagues many excellent annotations from his own pen, which a learned posterity might read with pleasure. The *Catalogue of Ramsey Library* makes a specific and honorable mention of the Hebrew books most diligently collected by him.' He thus begun that collection which afterwards received considerable additions from Robert Dodford, another monk of the Abbey; and had even a *Hebrew Lexicon* compiled from both by a third. Laurence Holbeach, in the reign of Henry the Fourth, 'lighting upon the Hebrew volumes which had been rescued from destruction through having been purchased by Gregory, and which exhibited all the glorious majesty of the ancient synagogue,' resolved, that 'what Gregory had happily begun, he would more happily complete;' and therefore 'he formed, in an elegant manner, a Hebrew Dictionary, a work at once refined and learned; which was carried away a few years ago, by the wicked industry of a purloiner, Robert Wachefeld. John Child, when the Abbey and its *noble Library* were sinking in one common ruin, preserved the Hebrew books from destruction.'—Such an illustrious society of Hebrew scholars was this sequestered Abbey of Ramsey; and such a Christian Sion was raised amidst the eastern lakes of our Island; till the Reformation swept away this Sion, and made that study of the Hebrew, which seems to have begun with the beginnings of the Saxon Church,* which was now culminating rapidly to its zenith, to set in the ocean for a century and a half afterwards."

This

* Alcuin in Gale, Vol. I. p. 730, informs us, that the Hebrew Scriptures were in the Library at York:—*Hebraicus vel quod populus imbre superno.*

This Abbey was a mitred one; or, in other words, the Abbots were privileged to sit in Parliament; but when the first summons was issued does not appear. The head or seat of the Abbots' barony was at Broughton, which had annexed to it four knight's fees. In the Appendix to Stevens's 'Additional Volumes' to Dugdale, is the copy of a summons of Edward the First to the Abbot of Ramsey, requiring him to furnish his quota for war in an expedition against the Welsh, according to the tenures of his lands. In the same work is printed an 'Acknowledgement' of Edward the Third, for plate borrowed of this Church, to be pawned to supply the King with money for his wars in France.

At the period of the Dissolution, the annual revenues of this Abbey were, according to Dugdale, estimated at 1716l. 12s. 4d. but Speed, on the authority of Sir Robert Cotton, states their yearly amount at 1987l. 15s. 3d. In March, 1540, the demesnes and lands of the Abbey, with the several meres or lakes belonging to it in this Parish, were granted to Sir Richard Cromwell, to be held *in capite* by Knight's service, for the very inadequate consideration of 4963l. 4s. 2d. His son, Sir Henry Cromwell, (the 'Golden Knight,') made Ramsey his summer residence, and repaired or rebuilt the Manor-house,* which Browne Willis says was 'built out of the ruins of the Abbey.'† Sir Oliver Cromwell, son of Sir Henry, resided at Ramsey for many years, after his splendid but imprudent manner of living had obliged him to sell his estates at Hinchingbrook.‡ His grandson, Henry Cromwell, Esq. dying suddenly, without issue, through agitation of mind by being defeated in an election contest, his estates devolved on his two sisters, and co-heiresses, Carina, who married William Hetley, Esq. of Broughton, and Elizabeth, who married Henry English, Esq. of Norfolk. These ladies sold their estates at Ramsey to the famous Colonel Silas Titus, the supposed author of 'Killing

* Noble's Crom. Vol. I. p. 21.

† Hist. of Mit. Abbeys, Vol. I. p. 152.

‡ See before, p. 463—466.

'Killing no Murder,' either in 1674, or 1675.* He was greatly celebrated for his wit and social humour; and possessed great influence in this county, which he represented in Parliament. In 1703, he bequeathed this Manor to his wife and two daughters. Catherine, the eldest daughter, becoming the survivor, afterwards possessed the whole in her own right till her death in 1732, when she left it, with an estate of about 2000l. per annum, to her two servants, from whom the Manor was purchased by Coulson Fellows, Esq. in 1736, or 1737. His grandson, William Henry Fellows, Esq. Member of Parliament for this county, is the present owner and resident.

The Abbey stood at the upper end of the town, towards the south, at a little distance from the present Church. The only remain of importance is the ruined *Gateway*, a very fine fragment of beautiful architecture, of the more florid kind, but most lamentably dilapidated: this, says Browne Willis, is 'said, by the inhabitants, to have been used as a prison.'† The same gentleman informs us, that the 'Manor-House' and 'offices' were built out of the Abbey ruins:‡ they now form the residence of Mr. Fellows. The House is large, and handsomely furnished; it commands some fine prospects, and the grounds are pleasant.§

The *Church* is a spacious and elegant structure, consisting of a nave, chancel, and aisles, with a well-built tower, embattled, and otherwise ornamented, at the west end: the latter, says Browne Willis, was erected in 1671, by the inhabitants, with the Abbey stone, in place of a low wooden building which previously stood there.‖ The nave is divided from the aisles by seven large and well proportioned arches on each side, springing from handsome columns; and

* Noble's Crom. Vol. I. p. 66.

† Hist. of Mit. Abbeys, Vol. I. ‡ Ibid. § Ibid.

‖ Mr. Gough states, that 'the Monks' Hall, or Abbot's Parlour, and Dining Room above, were converted into a house by Sir Richard Cromwell,' and that he saw there, in 1782, a 'neglected abbatial chair.' *Brit. Vol. II. p. 160.*

and from the chancel by a still larger arch, with a carved wooden screen crossing the lower part. The windows are large, and handsome; and appear, from the many fragments remaining, to have been once finely adorned with stained *Glass;* some small figures of angels, crowned heads, &c. exhibit some very rich hues: much glass has been taken away, or destroyed, since Dr. Stukeley was here in 1736. *Sir Oliver Cromwell,* K. B. and several others of his family, were buried here, but their places of interment are not pointed out by any inscription. The Sepulchral Memorials are but few, and of no particular interest: several large slabs in the nave have been inlaid with brasses, most probably of Abbots and Priests of Ramsey. In the reign of Charles the Second, a *Free-School* was established in this town, and endowed under a decree of Chancery, in 1663, with one hundred acres of fen-land: this foundation has been greatly neglected; and the old School-House fell down about twenty years ago. A *Charity-School* for girls was likewise instituted here about the beginning of the last century, by John Dryden, Esq. (who was related to the Poet Dryden,) of Chesterton, in this county, whose benevolence prompted him to bequeath 16,000l. for charitable purposes, to different towns and villages, as is stated on his monument in Chesterton Church: he died at the age of seventy-two, in January, 1707.

Ramsey principally consists of one long street, with a second branching off northwards, along the banks of the river from the bridge: the houses are chiefly of brick. The market grew nearly into disuse after the dissolution of the Abbey, but afterwards recovered, through the conveniency of its situation for the sale of cattle, and live stock generally: it is now in tolerable repute. According to the returns under the Act of 1800, the population of this Parish amounted to 1894; of whom, 974 were males, and 920 females: the number of houses was 353.

Noble, in his Memoirs of the Cromwells, relates a singular anecdote of the introduction of the *Plague* into this town in 1665-6. He states, that Major William Cromwell, (fourth son of Sir Oliver,) who engaged in a plot to assassinate the Protector Cromwell, "died of the plague at Ramsey, in the morning of February the twenty-third,

twenty-third, in the above year, and was buried the next evening in the Church there. He caught the infection by wearing a coat, the cloth of which came from London; and the taylor that made the coat, with all his family, died of the same terrible disorder, as did no less than 400 people in Ramsey, as appears by the Register, and all owing to this fatal coat."*

In 1731, May the twenty-first, Ramsey was partly consumed by fire: the conflagration destroyed 'upwards of eighty dwelling houses, besides shops, barns, granaries, &c. with an amazing quantity of malt and flour.'†

WILLIAM DE RAMSEY, a native of this town, and Abbot of Peterborough in the reign of Edward the Fourth, wrote a Life of St. Guthlac in verse, and was likewise the author of several other works.‡

BODSAY-HOUSE, about a mile from Ramsey, was granted to the Cromwells, as "a grange, or farm-house, parcel of the possessions of the late monastery." From Blome's map of Huntingdonshire, given in his Britannia, it appears to have been surrounded by a large moat, supplied with water from Ramsey-Mere. Here, in the time of Charles the Second, resided Colonel Henry Cromwell, or rather Williams, as he then called himself, who was one of those included in the list of 'Knights of the Royal Oak;' but the final establishment of which Order of Knighthood was at last relinquished from motives of policy. In the Baronetage which gives the names of the intended Knights, the estate of Colonel Cromwell is estimated at 2000l. but Ramsey, Bury, and other Manors, were not then sold.‖

KING'S

* Mem. of the Crom. Fam. Vol. I. p. 56,-7.

† Gough's Cam. Vol. II. p. 160.

‡ Lel. De Scrip. Brit. p. 215,-16. Edit. 1709.

‖ In the Court Rolls of Ramsey is the following singular entry relating to the Colonel. Oct. 22, 1657, 'Henry Cromwell, Esq. Lord of the Manor of Ramsey, was presented for his *Hogs*, contrary to an order heretofore made in this Court, and he is humbly desired to observe that order.

KING'S DELF, or DYKE, is the name that, in later times, has been given to part of the high road, or causeway, which runs between Peterborough and Ramsey. It occurs in records as early as the reign of Edgar; but appears, conformably to the true signification of the word *delf*, to have then designated a ditch, or channel, cut through the marshes; and it was by that King made the boundary of his donation to Peterborough. This Dyke is generally confounded with *Cnuts-delf*, or *Swerdes-delf*, (called also *Steeds-Dyke*,) of the origin of which Camden gives the following account. "When the sons and servants of Canute, sent from Peterborough to Ramsey, were crossing this lake, (Whittlesea,) 'a most violent storm arose, with a whirlwind, as they were cheerfully sailing along amusing themselves with singing, and enveloped them on every side, so that they absolutely despaired of their lives, as well as of assistance. But the mercy of the Almighty did not quite fail them, nor suffer the dreadful gulph to swallow them up; but mercifully, from his providence, delivered some of them from those raging waves, and permitted the rest, according to the secret workings of his righteous judgment, to pass out of this frail life in the midst of those waves. When the report of this danger reached the King's ears, fear and trembling laid hold on him; but, after he had recovered himself, by the advice of his nobles and friends, to prevent, for the future, the misfortunes occasioned by this raging element, he caused a Dyke to be marked out by his soldiers and servants in the adjoining marshes between Ramsey and Whittlesea, and afterwards to be cleared by labourers; whence, as we learn by the credible testimony of our predecessors, some of the neighbouring inhabitants gave that Dyke the name of *Swerdesdelf*, from its having been marked out with swords: and others will have it called *Cnouts-delf*, from the King.'* It is now commonly called *Steeds-Dike*, and is accounted the boundary between this county and Cambridgeshire."† Mr. Gough says, 'The road above mentioned might probably be the work of some

* Hist. Eliensis. Foundation Char. of Saltrey Abbey.

† Brit. Gough's Edit. Vol. II. p. 155.

some Abbot of this rich Monastery, (Ramsey,) like that from Deeping to Spalding, made by Egelrie, Abbot of Peterborough, and Bishop of Durham, 1008; called from him *Elrich-rode*, or Egelric's road.

WHITTLESEA MERE is an extensive piece of water, about five miles in length, and between two and three in breadth. "This clear lake," says Camden, "extends itself in a very fenny part of the country; but the inhabitants reckon that the thickness of the are is compensated by the advantages of the fishery, the plentiful pasturage, and the quantity of turf so fit for firing. King Canute ordered the fen to be parcelled out among the several towns upon it, by Turkill, who lived here among the East Angles, and invited over Suene, King of Denmark, to ravage England. He divided it in such a manner, that each town had such a proportion of the fen for his own use, as each town had firm land abutting on the opposite fen. He also ordained that no township should dig or mow without leave in the fen belonging to another, and that they should all have a common right of pasturage; that is, horn under horn, in order to maintain peace and harmony among them."* This Mere is occasionally agitated with wind in a violent manner. Holland says, 'it doth sometimes, in calms and faire weather, suddainly rise tempestuously, as it were, into violent water-quakes, to the danger of the poore fishermen, by reason, as some thinke, of evaporations breaking violently out of the bowels of the earthe.'† In February, 1739-40, this Mere was so frozen over, that two prizes were run for on it.‡

The little village of FLETTON, near Peterborough, and ALWALTON, near Chesterton, were given to the monks of Peterborough, by Andreas, their twenty-third Abbot, 'for the augmentation of their commons.'§ Fletton afterwards came into the possession of a family of the same name, and more recently of the Probyes.‖

* Brit. Vol. II. p. 154, 155. Gough's Edit.

† Holland's Cam. p. 500. ‡ Gough's Cam. Vol. II. p. 161.

§ Cotton MS. ‖ Ibid.

OVERTON LONGUEVILLE, or ORTON, as it is corruptly called, being 'forfeited for felony, was redeemed of King John by Nigel Lovetoft, whose sister and coheiress married Hubert, alias Robert de Bromford; and their children assumed the name of Lovetoft.'* The Manor afterwards belonged to the Earls of Lincoln, but is now the property and seat of George Gordon, Earl of Aboyne, who acquired it by his marriage with Miss Cope, second daughter and coheiress of *Sir Charles Cope*, Bart. the former owner, to whose memory there is a mural monument in the Church. The mansion is not large, but is pleasantly situated amidst clumps of wood, and fruitful meadows. Lord Aboyne has considerably extended his estate here, by purchasing, in 1803, of William Waller, Esq. the two adjoining Parishes of Chesterton and Haddon, for the sum of 75,000l.

In the north aisle of the *Church* is a handsome monument, ornamented with many shields of arms, and inscribed to the memory of *Elizabeth*, sole daughter and heiress of Sir William Reyner, who married Henry Talbot, younger son of George, Earl of Shrewsbury; and *Mary*, their youngest daughter, and co-heiress; whose second husband was Sir William Armine, Bart. who was buried here in March, 1674. In the Church-yard is an ancient monument of a *Knight*, whose sculptured figure, though greatly mutilated, shews him to have been represented in armour, with a shirt and hood of mail; his head resting on a pillow, and on his right arm a beater shield: he appears to have been cross-legged, and to have had a sword dependant from his girdle, with some beast, probably a lion, at his feet.† This, according to a tradition of the inhabitants, recorded by Bishop Kennet,‡ was intended to commemorate 'a Lord Longueville, who, in fighting with the Danes near this place, received a wound in his belly, so that his entrails

* Gough's Cam. Vol. II. p. 155.

† An Engraving of this monument, from a drawing by Carter, has been given in the Gentleman's Magazine for July, 1807.

‡ In Peck's Des. Cur. Vol. I. VI. No. 19.

entrails fell out; but wrapping them round the wrist of his left arm, he continued the combat with his right hand till he had killed the Danish King, and soon after fell himself.' This wild tale was thought to be corroborated by the monument itself, but only the grossest ignorance could make such a conclusion. The entire costume of the figure is that of the twelfth century; and the knight represented was probably one of the Lovetofts, or Lovetotts, as they have been indifferently called.

OVERTON WATERVILLE, with the patronage of the Church, was granted by Laurence Booth, Archbishop of York, who died in 1480, to Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, 'to which a great part of the town still belongeth.'* The number of houses in both Ortons did not exceed ninety in the year 1801.

At BOTTLE BRIDGE, so called, says Camden, 'for shortness, from Botolph Bridge,' near the Nen River, was an ancient *House*, 'conveyed by inheritance from the Draitons, and Lovets, to the family of the Shirleys.'† The place where this House stood, is, in the Cotton Manuscript, said to be 'now (anno 1669) converted into a wood-ground; and the Chapel near adjoining is gone to decay.'

The well-known Inn, called KATE'S CABIN, stands at the intersection of the roads, near the little village of CHESTERTON, which consists of about fifteen or sixteen scattered cottages. This formed part of the estate of the *Bevils*, Knights, 'an ancient family,' says Camden, 'famous in this county; whose 'heirs general were married to Hewit, Elmes, and Dryden.'‡ John Dryden, Esq. whose charities have been mentioned under Overton Longueville, had 'a noble estate at Chesterton, and the neighbouring towns, which descended by his sister to the ancient and worthy family of the Piggotts of Shropshire, who enjoyed it till it was squandered away at Newmarket, and sold by their representative Robert Piggott, Esq.'§ It has been since purchased of the Wallers by the Earl of Aboyne. In the *Church*, which is dedicated to St.

* Cotton MS. † Cam. Vol. II. p. 163.

‡ Cotton MS. § Gough's Camden, Vol. II. p. 160.

Michael, several of the *Bevills* lie buried, as well as other Lords of this Manor.

About midway between Chesterton and Castor, in Northamptonshire, is the site of the Roman DUROBRIVÆ, the fort of which stood on the Huntingdonshire side of the Nen River; but the city, from the various coins, and other antiquities, that have been found, appears to have spread itself principally on the northern side of the river, extending towards Castor. *Castle-Field*, at Chesterton, says Mr. Gough, 'is a large tract, inclosed by a ditch and rampart; the Roman road runs with a bold ridge through it, in an oblique direction, not parallel to the sides, nor passing through the gates, which makes it look rather like a summer camp.'* Henry of Huntingdon, according to Camden, called this city '*Caer Dorm*,' and '*Dorm-ceastre* on the Nene,' and mentions it as being 'utterly ruined before his time.'—'In the same sense,' Camden continues, 'as *Durobrivæ*, that is, *the passage of the River*, it is now called *Dornford*; and it exhibits evident traces of a ruined city, besides ancient coins; for to this the Roman road leads straight from Huntingdon; and a little above Stilton, anciently called *Stichilton*, it appears with a high ridge, and is called, in an ancient Saxon charter, *Erming-Street*. Here it passes through the middle of a square rampart, whose north side seems to have been fortified with a wall, and the other sides only with banks of earth. Near it were some time ago dug up several stone chests or coffins.'—'Some think that this city stood on both sides of the river; and that the little village of Caster, on the opposite bank, was part of it; and this opinion is certainly supported by ancient history, which informs us, that on the Nene was a place called *Dormundeceastre*,† where Kinneburga, (wife of Alfred, King of Northumberland,) having built a small monastery, it began to be first called Kinneburge-Caster, and afterwards, by contraction, *Caster*.‡ Mr. Gough observes,

* Gough's Cam. Vol. II. p. 183, and 162.

† *Gormundeceastre*. MS. n. Gale.

‡ Gough's Cam. Vol. II. p. 155.

serves, 'the name of *Dornford* is not much known at present; though the coins are called *Dornans*, and the way *Norman-Gate*; (probably corruptions for *Roman*,) and the passage over the river, *Dunkford Ferry*.'* The same writer remarks from Stukeley, that the 'name of Kineburga is preserved in *Lady Coney-Burrow Way*, which seems to have begun about Water Newton, and to have been paved with a sort of cubical bricks.'†

Numerous antiquities have been found in the vicinity of this station. Dr. Stukeley, in a communication to Gale, published in Gale's Letters, says, that when the turnpike road from Kate's Cabin to Walmsford Bridge, was made along the side of the city of *Durobrivæ*, they turned up in the cemetary of that place, many urns, of different clays and forms, with coins; and several coffins of equal breadth throughout, of one stone, well cut, and covered with another handsome stone; and also a leaden coffin of 400lbs. weight: all the coffins had skeletons in them: one of them was a female skeleton, with a child in the womb *in situ*: another had two neatly-shaped small urns, one on each side. Among the coins was an Antoninus Pius; a silver Nerva, reverse *Libertas Publica*; a small brass Valentinian, reverse *Victoria*; and a consecration of Constantine the Great, ascending to Heaven in a chariot drawn by four horses. Another burying-ground was dug through, on a dry gravelly hill, by Stebbington hedges, not far from the river; where the earth of the *ustrina*, or burning-places, appeared very black, and bits of charcoal, and innumerable fragments of urns, bones, and stones, were scattered over them to a considerable extent. In digging a ditch at the south entrance of the city, the foundations of hewn stone, and thick iron bars, ten feet long, as of a portcullis, were also found.‡

Some

* Gough's Cam. Vol. II. p. 162, from Ward in Horsley's Brit. Rom. p. 432.

† Ibid. p. 183, from Iter. Cur. Vol. II. Pl. xiii.

‡ Gale's Letters, p. 183.

Some further discoveries were made by the side of the high road near Chesterton in 1754, of which an account was communicated to the Society of Antiquaries by Mr. Manning. Among them was a coffin, of a hard yellowish stone, six feet two inches long, with a flat lid, undercut to fit the coffin; within it was an entire skeleton, and three glass *Lachrymatories*, a small black seal, three or four pins like ebony or agate, a coin of Faustina, a silver one of Gordian, besides other defaced coins, and some scraps of white wood, inscribed with Roman and Greek letters. The substance of nine or ten other skeletons, were found surrounding the coffin, and all of them only at the depth of one foot.*

ALLWALTON, or ALLERTON, a small village near Chesterton, consisting of about thirty-five houses, is supposed, by Stukeley, to be a corruption from *Ald-werk-ton;* and by Dr. Neve, who was Rector of this Parish, and Archdeacon of Huntingdon, to be derived from the Roman *Ad Vallum, Alwalton;* or *Adelwoldtune,* from Adelwold, Bishop of Winchester. In 1731, Mr. Gale saw some very high banks of an ancient town, near Allerton, on the east side of the high road, among fields and hedges.† At the time of the Domesday Survey, *Waltune* was possessed by Hugh de Bolebec. In the following century, the Manor was granted to the Monks of Peterborough, who retained it till the Dissolution; after which, in July, 1541, it was given to the Dean and Chapter of Peterborough by Henry the Eighth.

WANDSFORD, or WALMESFORD *Bridge,* connects this county with that of Northampton, the limits of each extending to the middle of the Bridge, which is of stone, and consists of thirteen arches. A few houses belonging to the Parish of Wandsford are on the Huntingdonshire side of the Nen River; but the Church, and principal buildings, are in Northamptonshire. The famous *'Drunken Barnaby'* has thus celebrated this place in one of his Journeys to the north of England.

Thence to *Wansforth Brigs,* a river
And a wife will live for ever:

River

* Gough, from Min. of the Ant. Soc.

† Gough's Cam. Vol. II. p. 162.

River broad; an old wife jolly,
Comely, seemly, free from folly:
Gates and gardens neatly gracious;
Ports, and parks, and pastures spacious.
Seeing there, as did become me,
Written, LORD HAVE MERCY ON ME,
On the portals, I departed,
Lest I should have sorer smarted:
Tho' from death none may be spared,
I to die was not prepared.
On a hay-cock sleeping soundly,
Th' river rose, and took me roundly
Down the current: people cried,
Sleeping down the stream I hy'd,
'*Where away*,' quoth they, '*from Greenland?*'
'*No; from Wansforth-Brigs, in England.*'*

DENTON

* The original of this passage is as follows:

Veni *Wansforth-brigs*, immanem
Vidi amnem, alnum, anum;
Amnem latum, anum lautam,
Comptam, cultam, castam, cautam;
Portas, hortos speciosos,
Portus, saltus spatiosos.
Sed scribentem digitum Dei
Spectans 'Miserere mei,'
Atriis, angulis, confestim,
Evitandi cura pestem,
Fugi; mori licet natus,
Nondum mori sum paratus.
Inde prato peramœni
Dormiens temulenter fœni,
Rivus surgit et me capit,
Et in flumen alte rapit;
'Quorsum?' clamant, 'Nuper erro
A Wansforth-brigs in Anglo-terra.

It is somewhat singular that so little is known of the author of 'Drunken Barnaby's Journal;' though his witty and ingenious Poem has now

DENTON was part of the estate of the *Cottons* of Connington, who had large possessions in this quarter of Huntingdonshire; and by one of whom, Sir John Cotton, the *Church* was partly rebuilt about the year 1665: in the east window is a shield of arms, displaying quarterly; first, Cotton; second, Bruce; third, Scot; and fourth, Earl Waltheof.* .

Denton was the birth-place of the famous antiquary SIR ROBERT COTTON, to whom Literature has been so much indebted for the establishment of that invaluable collection the *Cottonian Library*, now in the British Museum. He was born on the twenty-second of January, 1570; being the fourth son of Thomas Cotton,

been in circulation upwards of a century and a half. It has been said that he was a 'graduate of Oxford;' and it is generally supposed that his name was *Harrington*, from the following passage in his third Journey.

Veni *Harrington*, bonum omen!
Vere amans illud nomen,
Harringtoni* dedi nummum,
Et fortunæ penè summum,
Indigenti postulanti,
Benedictionem danti.

This occurs in his route from Huntingdon towards 'Sawtry-lane' and 'Gidding,' where he notices the College of the Ferrars. Now there is no such place as Harrington on that road; the place meant appears to be the small village of *Hammerton*, and by that name if he should be again sought for in the Oxford lists, he will probably be found. He seems, from various incidental notices in his Journal, to have lived in the reigns of James the First, and his successor Charles, and to have written his Poem about the time of the Civil Wars. The English version is so very inferior to the original Latin Poem, which abounds with wit and humorous satire, that it is hardly possible to imagine it can have been composed by the same person.

* A *Harrington* was a small coin, token-piece, or tradesman's token, current in the early part of the seventeenth century. 'I will not bate a Harrington of the sum.' *Ben Jonson, in 'The Devil's an Ass.'*

* Cotton MS.

Cotton, Esq. and Elizabeth, daughter of Francis Sherley, Esq. of Stanton, in Leicestershire. He completed his education at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he became Bachelor of Arts;* and afterwards returning to his paternal home, passed some time there; but finding this retirement inconsistent with his pursuits, he went to London, and was soon admitted a Member of the Society of Antiquaries, then but recently established. He now begun to prosecute the study of antiquities with great zeal, and in 1599, or 1600, accompanied Camden to Carlisle, at which time he collected those Roman monuments from the neighbourhood of the Picts Wall, that are now preserved at Trinity College. On the accession of James the First, he was created a knight; 'and during this whole reign he was very much courted, admired, and esteemed, by the greatest men in the nation; and consulted as an oracle, by the Privy Counsellors, and the rest of the Ministers, upon every difficult point relating to our Constitution.' In 1608 he was appointed one of the Commissioners to inquire into the state of the navy; and soon afterwards he begun to direct his attention "towards the 'manner and means how the Kings of England have, from time to time, supported and repaired their estates;' for King James having prodigally exhausted his treasury, new projects, as they were then called, were to be contrived to fill it up again." Among the expedients suggested by Sir Robert, and others, for this purpose, was the creation of Baronets; one of whom he himself became, being the twenty-sixth that was created. In the first Parliament of Charles the First he was a Member, and took a very active part in public affairs till the year 1629, when he was arrested by order of the Privy Council, 'for having in his custody a pestilent tractate, which he had fostered as his child, and had sent it abroad into divers hands; containing a project how a prince may make himself an absolute tyrant.' On this occasion his library and papers were seized by the

* In 1575, according to the Biog. Brit. which professes to quote the College Books; yet this could not be true, as he was then only five years old.

government; and though, in the course of the proceedings, it appeared that the tract complained of, and which bore for its title, 'A Proposition for his Majesty's Service, to bridle the Impertinency of Parliaments,' had been actually written by Sir Robert Dudley, whilst in exile at Florence, in the reign of James the First, and had been copied and circulated entirely without the knowledge of Sir Robert, by his librarian, yet his collections were still withheld from him; and, in a letter written but a short time before his death, it is asserted, that, before he died, 'he requested Sir Henry Spelman to signify to the Lord Privy Seal, and the rest of the Lords of the Council, that their so long detaining his books from him, without rendering any reason for the same, had been the cause of his mortal malady.' He died at Cotton House, Westminster, on the sixth of May, 1631; and was buried in the south chancel of Connington Church, near his family seat in this county.

Besides numerous publications, and other works yet in manuscript, written by Sir Robert, he assisted all the learned men of his time with the most useful communications. Speed's History derives great part of its value from his labours, and the coins and seals engraved in it were copied from his collections; as were those given in Camden's Britannia. He furnished Knolles with important documents for his Turkish History; and aided both Sir Walter Raleigh, and Lord Bacon, with the use of books, and other materials, for their respective histories. The learned Selden was greatly indebted to him; and, "in short, this great and worthy man was the generous patron of all lovers of antiquities; and his house and library were always open to ingenious and inquisitive persons. Incredible is the service that has been done to learning, and especially to the history of these three kingdoms, by his securing, as he did, his valuable *Library* for the use and service of posterity."*

GLATTON CUM HOLME formed the liberty so called, which, in the time of Charles the Second, belonged to Sir John Cotton, Bart.

* Biog. Brit. Vol. IV. p. 300. A more particular account of Sir Robert's library will be found under the head British Museum, in Vol. X. of this Work.

Bart.* Glatton was afterwards possessed by the *Castells* and *Sherrards;* and since by Mr. Wells, ship-builder at Chatham; who built the *Glatton*, of fifty guns, now in the Mediterranean, and lately commanded by the brave but unfortunate Captain Seccombe, who was mortally wounded on the coast of Calabria in February, 1808, whilst aiding in the attempt to recover some Sicilian gun-boats that had been taken by the French. In the sixteenth of Edward the Second, Hugh Despencer the younger obtained a grant in fee of Glatton.† According to the returns in 1801, this Parish contained seventy-two houses; that of Holme, fifty-one.

CONNINGTON, which became celebrated as the seat of the *Cottons,* was anciently, says Camden, 'holden of the Honour of Huntingdon,' and there 'within a square ditch, are traces of an ancient *Castle,* the seat, as also Saltrey, by gift of Canute, of Turkill the Dane.' On his exile in the reign of Edward the Confessor, it was granted by the King to Waltheof, afterwards Earl of Northumberland and Huntingdon, who married Judith, niece to William the Conqueror, and whose daughter Maud conveyed her inheritance in marriage, first, to Simon de St. Liz; and secondly, to 'David, son of Malcolm the First, King of Scotland, and the holy Margaret his wife, niece to King Edward the Confessor, grand-child to Edmund, surnamed Atheling; by which marriage the stem-royall of the Saxons became united with the blood-royall of the Scottish Kings, in whose male line that Earldom and this Lordship continued until *Isabell,* the daughter and heiress of David, Earl of Huntingdon, and brother to Malcolm, William, and Alexander, successively Kings of Scotland, brought them both, by her marriage with *Robert de Brus,* into that family. —She gave this Lordship of Connington, with the other large possessions in England, to her second son, Bernard de Brus; and after four descents in that stem, they were, by the marriage of Anne, daughter and co-heir of Sir John de Brus, with Sir Hugh de Wesenham, conveyed into his family. After three more descents, Mary, niece and heiress of Thomas Wesenham, married William,

* Cotton MS. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

second son of Sir Richard Cotton, of Ridware in Staffordshire, from whom Sir John Cotton, Bart. is lineally now descended to this Lordship of Connington, and hath here, and hereabouts, great possessions."* The *Cottons* took their surname from Cotton in Cheshire; and from 'William de Cotton, who lived in that county, are derived all the eminent families of that name in England.'† William, who married the heiress of the Wesenhams, was slain at the battle of St. Albans in 1455: he was great-great-great-grandfather to *Sir Robert Cotton*, who 'having collected,' says Camden, 'the remains of venerable antiquity from all parts, has here formed a cabinet, from which he has often with singular kindness furnished me light in my dark pursuits.' Through this descent from the Bruses, Sir Robert was related to the blood-royal both of Scotland and England; 'on which account King James was wont to call him cousin; and he used frequently to write his own name *Robert Cotton Bruce.*'‡

Sir John Cotton finding the mansion at Connington in a ruinous state, and having a superior predilection for that of Stratton, in Bedfordshire, 'took it down, excepting a stone colonnade of the front. It was built by Sir Robert Cotton, and stood at the west end of the Church fronting the north, but is now succeeded by a modern farm-house.'§ On a terrace in the garden were two octangular stone summer-houses, one of which was fitted up with the Roman inscriptions and altars brought from the wall of Severus, some of which are now fixed up at the foot of the library stairs in Trinity College, Cambridge; they having been given to that College by Sir John Cotton.‖ Connington is now the seat of John Heatheote, Esq. late Member of Parliament for Rippon, in Yorkshire: the grounds, though not extensive, are pleasant, and are watered by a small stream.

Connington Church is a large and handsome building, consisting of a nave, chancel, and aisles, with a north and south chapel, and an embattled tower at the west end. Here are many monuments,

* Cotton MS. † *Vita Cottoni* scrip. T. Smiths, p. 1.

‡ Ibid. § Gough's Cam. Vol. II. p. 161. ‖ Ibid.

ments, chiefly of the *Cottons;* and against the north wall the honorary inscription, *Prince Henry of Scotland, Lord of Connington, and Imperator, Rex Franciæ, Anglo-Saxonum, Angliæ, Scotiæ.* Among the monuments are four large marble *Medallions* with inscriptions for Sir Robert Cotton; his son Sir Thomas, who died in 1662; and his grandson Sir John, and his second wife, both of whom deceased in 1702. The epitaph on Sir Robert is as follows:

ROBTUS COTTONUS *Miles et Baronettus, Dns hujus*
Manerii de Connington,
Antiquæ et nobilis Familiæ Bruceorum ejusd.
Manerii Dominorum, per parentalem successionem hæres;
Sagacissimus Antiquitatum hujus gentis indagator,
Et conservator notissimus.
Natus 22 Januarii MDLXX Dentoniæ;
Obit 6 die Maii MDCXXI in domo sua
Westmonasteriensi,
Et juxta hic conditur expectans Resurrectionem fælicem.
Communis mundo superest rogus.

The inscription written by Dr. Smith for his son Sir Thomas, who died in May, 1662, commences thus:

THOMAS COTTONUS, *Baronettus Rob. filius, hæres, et imitator paternæ sedulitatis in conquirendis Britannicarum Antiquitatum monumentis H. S. E. Oppressæ patriæ et Regi Caroli I. fidem præstitit. Bibliothecam inestimabilem summo studio nec minoribus impensis conservavit, locupletavit, et posteritati eruditæ dicavit.* &c.

On a blue marble slab in the chancel is inscribed, 'Under this stone resteth the body of *John Cotton*, fourth son of Thomas Cotton, Lord of this Manor of Connington: he lived eighty-eight years. To his family he gave the mannors of Glatton, Holme, Sawtrey, Beawmes, Steeple Gidding, and Denton. He deceased on New-year's day, An. Dom. 1635.'

STILTON, a well-known village on the high north road, has obtained additional celebrity from giving name to a peculiar kind of *Cheese*, which has not unfrequently been called the English

Parmesan. Marshall, in his Remarks on the Agriculture of the Midland Counties, asserts, that, 'this cheese was first made by a Mrs. Paulet, of Wymondham, near Melton Mowbray in Leicestershire, who was related to, or intimately acquainted with, the celebrated *Cooper Thornhill*, who kept the Bell Inn in this village, and that she supplied his house with this new manufacture, which he frequently sold as high as half-a-crown per lb. hence it acquired the name of *Stilton* cheese from the place of sale.'* Thornhill was a famous rider, and it is recorded of him, that "he rode three times to London in eleven hours;" and that he won the cup at Kimbolton with a mare which he took accidentally on the course, after a journey of twelve miles. He had a corn-rick of the value of 800*l.* at Stilton, which, though placed on high stones, was found to have the whole inside eaten through by rats and mice, when intended to be threshed. The number of houses in this Parish in 1801, was 111; that of inhabitants, 509.

Stilton is thus characterized in the pages of Drunken Barnaby.

Veni Stilton, lento more,	Thence to Stilton slowly paced,
Sine fronde, sine flore,	With no bloom nor blossom graced;
Sine prunis, sine pomis,	With no plums nor apples stored,
Uti senex sine comis,	But bald, like an old man's forehead;
Calva tellus, sed benignum	Yet with inns so well provided,
Monstrat viatori signum.	Guests are pleas'd when they have try'd it.

At NORMAN CROSS, near where the road branches off to Peterborough, have been built, during the late and present war, very extensive *Barracks*, partly of wood, and partly of brick. They were erected principally for the reception of French prisoners, several thousands of whom are now confined here, and for whom it has become the principal inland depôt. They include a very large area, and are surrounded by a high wooden pallisade.

YAXLEY,

* Some account of the process of making Stilton cheese will be found in the general description of Leicestershire, Vol. IX. of this Work, p. 326—328.

YAXLEY,

A SMALL but ancient market-town, called *Takesle* in the Domesday Book, has of late increased in importance, from the contiguity of the Barracks at Norman Cross. The market was for a long time discontinued, but has of late been revived: it was originally granted to the Abbots of Thorney, one of whom, surnamed *De Yakesley*, who died in 1291, was a native of this town. The *Church* is a handsome fabric, and particularly remarkable for its well proportioned spire, which is seen at a considerable distance on all sides round. The number of houses in this Parish, in 1801, was 215; that of inhabitants, 986.

ELTON, formerly *Aylton*, was the seat 'of the famous and ancient family of the Sapcotts;' one of whom, Sir Richard Sapcott, Knt. was Sheriff of Huntingdonshire and Cambridgeshire in the ninth of Edward the Fourth. Camden mentions a private Chapel here 'of singular workmanship, and most beautiful (painted) glass windows, that was built by Elizabeth Dinham, widow of Baron Fitz-Warin, who married into the Sapcott family.' The Manor-House was rebuilt after the Restoration, by Sir Thomas Proby, Bart. who married a daughter of Sir Thomas Cotton, of Connington, and represented this county in several Parliaments. His collateral descendant, John Joshua Proby, K. P. created Earl of Carysfort by his present Majesty in 1789, is now owner. A curious *Tower* of the old mansion is still remaining here.

SAWTREY ALL-SAINTS, SAWTREY JUDITH, and SAWTREY ST. ANDREWS, are all contiguous parishes, crossed by the high road between one and two miles southwards from Connington. *Sawtrey All Saints*, alias *Moygne*,* so called from an

* In the Cotton MS. is the following copy of a grant of arms, made by 'Thomas Grendall to William Moigne, before the reduction of the Heralds under one regulation.' *A touz ceux que c'este presente Lettres verront ou curont, Thomas Grendale de Fenton, Cosyn & heir a* JOHAN BEAUMEYS, *jadys de Sautre, Saluz en Dieu. Comme les Armes d'Ancestry*

ancient family of that name, contains about seventy houses, and 450 inhabitants. *Sawtrey Judith*, corruptly *Ivit*, was the site of a Cistercian ABBEY, founded by the second Simon de St. Liz, Earl of Huntingdon, about the year 1146, on the land which had belonged to the Lady Judith, wife to Earl Waltheof. It was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and supplied with monks from Warden Abbey, in Bedfordshire. At the period of the Dissolution, its revenues supported an Abbot, twelve Monks, and twenty-two servants; and were then estimated at the annual value of 141l. 3s. 8d. according to Dugdale; or at 199l. 11s. 8d. according to Speed. Henry the Eighth afterwards granted the Abbey, and its appurtenances, to his favorite, Sir Richard Cromwell; and by this grant the Church of All Saints at Fulbourn, in Cambridgeshire, passed as appendant to Sawtrey. The buildings have been long destroyed. Richard Bruce, Lord of Annandale, was buried here; and *Henry Saltrey*, a writer on Purgatory, was either a native or monk of this place.* The number of houses in this parish in 1801, was thirty-eight; in that of Sawtrey St. Andrews, twenty-nine. 'Roman urns were found in Sautre Field, about a mile from the town, in 1772.'†

Sawtrey *Beaumes* is thought to have been the birth-place of BEAUMAIS, Bishop of London in the time of Henry the First, and surnamed *Rufus*, to distinguish him from his nephew, who was

d'Ancestry du dit Johan, apres le jour de son moriant, soient par Loi, & droit d'Eritage à moy eschoietz com à son proschein Heir du son linage: Sachetz moy l'avant dit Thomas avoir donnes & grantee per y cestes les entiers avant dittes Armes, oue leurs appurtenante a WILLIAM MOIGNE, *Chivaler, quelles Armes c'est a scavoir sont d'argent oue une crois d'asure, oue cinque garbes d'or en le crois. A avoir & tenir touz les avant dittes Armes, que leur appurtenantz au dit Monsieur William, a ces heires & assignes a tous jours. En Tesmoignance de quelle chose a cestes presentes Lettres J'ay mis mon sealx. Donne a Sautre le vint seconde jour de Novembre, l'an du Regne de Roy Richard Seconde, quinzisme.*

* Gough's Cam. Vol. II. p. 161.

† Ibid. from Spalding Soc. Min.

was afterwards Bishop of the same See. He was appointed the first Warden of the Marches of Wales, and afterwards Governor of the whole of Salop: he died in January, 1127,-8.

UPWOOD, near Ramsey, anciently *Upwode*, was given by King Edgar to Duke Ailwin,* who passed much time here in the 'sports of hunting and hawking.' He also died here in his Hall, or Court, which he had previously granted, with the Manor, and its appurtenances, to the monks of Ramsey. After the Dissolution, the Manor became the property of Sir Richard Cromwell, whose eldest son and heir, Sir Henry, gave it, with other lands, to his third son, Henry Cromwell, Esq. who resided here, and was chosen a Member for Huntingdon in the first Parliament of James the First. He bequeathed it to his nephew, eldest son of Sir Oliver Cromwell, of whom it appears to have been purchased during the Protectorate, by Sir Peter Phesant, Judge of the *Upper Bench*. It has since passed through various hands, by purchase and otherwise, to Sir Richard Bickerton, Bart. Knight of the Crescent, and Vice Admiral of the White, who derived it from his father, Rear Admiral Sir R. Bickerton, Commander in Chief, and Governor of the Dock-yard of Plymouth. The latter, who was created a Baronet in 1778, and died of an apoplexy in 1792, made considerable improvements in UPWOOD HOUSE, which also appears to have been altered by the Cromwells in the time of James the First.† The late Admiral was buried in Upwood *Church*; as was also *Sir Peter Phesant*, and several of the Cromwell family; but the latter have no memorials. The monument of Sir Peter, which is placed up against the north wall of the chancel, is thus inscribed:

M. S.

* Hist. Ram. chap. 24.

† At Upwood is a *Chimney-piece* (removed from its situation by the late Sir Richard Bickerton) carved with the arms of Henry Cromwell, Esq. and his second wife, Margaret, second daughter of Sir Thomas Wynde, Knt. of South-Wotton, Norfolk; and representations of two naked figures, a man and a woman, crowned with laurel, with the initials H. C. and M. C. beneath them. *Noble's Crom. Vol. I. p. 28.*

M. S. PETRI PHESANT modo Senioris (bis Solius) Justiciarii de Banco, Pietate erga Deum, probitate erga Homines, Christiani felicis, natu et moribus verè Generosi, Juris Scientiâ, Æquitatis conscientia, Lenitate erga bonos, Severitate in malos. Justitia ad omnes, Judicis eximii: inconcussa denique in Patriam (etiam in Periculis) constantia, propugnaculi fidelis. Nec non *Mariæ* (ab antiquâ Familiâ de Bruges in Comit. Glocestrensi ortæ) Uxoris ejus, Matrisq. Liberorum Charissimæ. Quæ post 40 annos Conjugii et Amoris illeesi, sub hoc Lapide simul quiescunt, adventum ejus expectantes, qui Caput est Anguli, Lapis excisus e Monte sine Manibus.

BROUGHTON was the head of the Barony of the Abbots of Ramsey, and had 'annexed to it in this shire, four Knight's fees.' It was granted to the Abbey by King Æthelred the Second; and, after the Dissolution, to Sir Richard Cromwell, by Henry the Eighth: the village contains about fifty thatched cottages.

RIPTON ABBOTS, and RIPTON REGIS, or *King's Ripton*, are two small villages; the former containing forty houses, the latter twenty-one. Ripton Abbots was given to Ramsey Abbey by Henry the Second, in the time of James the First: it was the inheritance, with *Wennington* adjoining, of Oliver St. John, Earl of Bolingbrooke.* *Tobias Bland*, M. D. Sub-almoner to Queen Elizabeth, and Prebendary of Peterborough, was Rector of this Parish. Ripton Regis 'is ancient demesne, and the patron of the Church is the King.'†

GREAT AND LITTLE STUKELEY, or STEWKLEY, are two neighbouring villages on the high road from Huntingdon towards Stilton; the former consisting of sixty houses, the latter of forty-seven. Some lands here, by the name of *Stivecle*, were given to Ramsey Abbey in the Saxon times; but the paramount Manor 'was granted in fee, by the last David, Earl of Huntingdon, to his three servants, St. Liz, Lakervile, and Camoys.'‡ Sir Ralph de Camois died seized of this Manor of Styvekele in the fifth of Edward the First: his grandson, Sir Ralph, procured a charter of free warren for his demesne here and elsewhere. The Manor of Camoys,

* Cotton MS. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

Camoys, in Great Stukeley, was afterwards purchased by John Stone, Serjeant at Law, of Sir Oliver Chauney, Knt. who had acquired it by his marriage with Frances, daughter and co-heiress of Richard Tryte.* Serjeant Stone afterwards bought the 'impropriate parsonage of Sir Oliver Cromwell; and in the reign of Charles the Second, the Manor was still in his family. This place gave name to the family of *Styvecle*, one of whom, Sir Nicholas de Styvecle, Knt. purchased the subordinate Manor of PRESTLEY, in this Parish, about the time of Richard the Second. Several of the *Stones* lie buried in the Church. This was the native place of RICHARD BROUGHTON, author of the *Monasticum Britannicum*.†

ALCONBURY, says Camden, "was given by King John to David, Earl of Huntingdon; and John the Scot, his son, bestowed it on *Sir Stephen Segrave*; which I the rather mention, as he was one of those noblemen that serve as instances of the instability of power. He reached the summit of his ambition with difficulty, supported himself there with much trouble, and met with a sudden fall. 'In his youth, from clerk he turned a soldier: though of low birth, by his diligence he acquired so much wealth and honour, that he was reckoned among the chief men of the kingdom, was appointed Justiciary of England, and managed almost all the affairs of the nation as he pleased.' At length he quite lost the King's favor, and lay concealed till his death in a Monastery; 'and thus he, who at first, through pride, renounced the priesthood for the army, returned to the tonsure he had left."‡ He was the principal confident of Peter de Rupibus, Bishop of Winchester, the great statesman of the reign of King John and Henry the Third; and succeeded Hubert de Burgh in his office of Chief Justiciary, when that Judge was dismissed from his employments through the influence of the Bishop.

In the *Church*, says the Cotton Manuscript, 'the twelve Apostles, and the twelve Patriarchs, are portrayed upon the walls; likewise

* Cotton MS. † Gough's Cam. Vol. II. p. 101.

‡ Ibid. p. 155.

likewise the tomb of Queen Elizabeth; and in the chancell, the portraitures of the four Evangelists.' In the pavement of the nave is a slab inscribed to the memory of '*Anthonina*, daughter of Bishop Barlowe, and wife to Bishop Wickham:" she died on Ascension-day, 1598. Here is likewise an inscription in commemoration of *Thomas Wolriche*, Esq. and *Elizabeth*, his wife, daughter of Sir Richard Wingfield, K. G. 'of Stonar Castle, in Kent, and Kimbolton Castle, in this county.' This Parish contains about eighty houses, and 500 inhabitants.

THE GIDDINGS are three contiguous Parishes, distinguished by the names of GREAT GIDDING, STEEPLE GIDDING, and GIDDING PARVA. *John de Engaine*, who died in the twenty-fifth of Edward the First, '*tenet unam Cameatam terræ in Magna Gidding Com. Hunt. per Serjantiam currendi ad Lupum, Vulpem, et Cattum et amovendi omnem Verminam extra Forestam Dni Regis in Comitatu isto.*'* In the time of Charles the Second, this Manor belonged to Lewis, Earl of Rockingham. *Steeple Gidding* was part of the inheritance of the Cottons, of whom Thomas Cotton, Esq. Lord of this Manor, was buried here in April, 1640. *Little Gidding* grew into much notice in the time of Charles the First, through being made the retreat of the religious family of the *Ferrars*, and the scene of their severe though pious establishment.

The FERRARS derived their descent from Walkeline de Ferrariis, who came into England with the Conqueror, and whose descendants branched out into several different counties. One line settled in Yorkshire, from which sprung Nicholas Ferrar, Esq. a merchant adventurer of great repute in the city of London; whose table was frequented by those distinguished seamen, Hawkins, Drake, and Raleigh. He married Mary, daughter of Laurence Wodenoth, Esq. of the ancient family of that name, who had been seated at Savington Hall in Cheshire nearly 500 years. They had several children, the fourth of whom was *Nicholas*, the founder of the society at Gidding. He was born on the twenty-second of February, 1592, in the Parish of St. Mary Stayning, in

* Pla. Co. 14 Ed. I. Rot. of Dorso. Hunt.

in Mark Lane, London. His mind was early imbued with the principles of piety and virtue, by the conversations and example of his parents; and being fond of learning, he acquired a very rapid knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages. In his fourteenth year he was admitted of Clare Hall, Cambridge; and he afterwards became Fellow of that Society. In 1613, he took the degree of Master of Arts; and in the same year commenced his travels on the Continent, where he acquired a knowledge of Low and High Dutch, Italian, French, and Spanish; and studied some time at the then famous Universities of Leipsic, in Germany, and Padua, in Italy. After passing five years in Holland, Germany, Italy, and Spain, he returned to his native country, and within a short time, was, from his acknowledged talents, appointed King's Counsel for the Virginia Plantation, in place of his brother John, who was at the same time chosen Deputy Governor of the Virginia Company. To this office, also, Nicholas succeeded in about three years afterwards; but he held it not long; for the King, James the First, instigated by Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador, had the charter of the Company declared 'null and void,' under a writ of *quo Warranto;* and in defiance both of law and equity. In the following year, 1624, he was elected a Member of Parliament; and on the change in the administration of public affairs, he was appointed, in conjunction with Lord William Cavendish, and Sir Edwyn Sandys, to draw up the charge made against the Lord Treasurer Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex, for taking bribes, and for other mal-practices in the execution of his office. This was one of his last public acts: the seriousness of his disposition had long led him to contemplate the advantages of religious retirement with a sort of enthusiastic fervour, and he now determined to carry his ideas into effect. He therefore purchased the Lordship of Little Gidding, " which he found, with respect to privacy of situation, exactly suited to his wishes. It was a Parish that had been for some time depopulated: nothing was left, but one extremely large Mansion-house, going hastily to decay; and a small Church, within thirty or forty paces of the house, and at that time converted into a barn." The raging of the *Plague*

in

in London, anno 1625, accelerated his preparations for retirement; and every thing being in order, in the same year, himself, his brother John, and his mother, now seventy-three years of age, with her daughter and son-in-law, and their numerous family, were finally seated at Gidding, where, with servants, &c. they formed a community of nearly forty persons.

In 1626, Mr. Nicholas Ferrar was ordained Deacon; and the Church and Mansion* having been put into complete repair, and properly furnished, during that and the two following years, he completed his establishment. The regularity of the arrangements, and the exactness with which the rules were observed, attracted much of popular attention; and the common people gave the name of *Protestant Nunnery* to this seminary for religious and moral instruction; for such it truly was, though founded upon principles inconsistent, perhaps, with the general concerns of life.

Among the provisions made for the employment of those hours that were not appropriated to religious offices, was the reading, in rotation, of certain short histories, characters, and moral essays, written by Mr. Ferrar; who also, in a curious way, composed several 'Harmonies of the Evangelists;' and translated Valdesso's 'Hundred and Ten Considerations,' &c. from an Italian copy: he also wrote and translated various other works, all of a pious or moral nature, and altogether forming many large volumes.'†

The

* 'The house being very large, and containing many apartments, Mr. Ferrar allotted one great room for family devotions; this he called the Oratory: adjoining to it were two other convenient rooms; one used as a night oratory for the men, the other a night oratory for the women. He also set out a chamber and closet for each of his nephews and nieces: three more he reserved for the masters whom he had provided for teaching as well the children of the family, as those of the inhabitants of the neighbouring places. His own lodgings were so contrived, that he could conveniently see that every thing was conducted with decency and order. Without doors, he laid out the gardens in a beautiful manner, and formed in them many fair walks.'

† It may be remarked as a most singular circumstance, and deserving of further investigation, that the list of histories, &c. given in Dr. Peckard's

The fame of this institution was at length so generally spread, that in May, 1633, the King himself (Charles the First) stepped out of his road, when on his way to Scotland, to make inquiries at Gidding. He was met by the family at the extremity of the Parish, and, in 'the form of their solemn processions,' conducted to their Church; and, after examining into all the particulars of their public and domestic economy, he departed much pleased. At his Majesty's request also, signified in the following years, Mr. Ferrar composed a 'Harmony of the Evangelists;' and another of 'the two books of the Kings, and the Chronicles,' for the King's own use. From this period a sort of friendly acquaintance was preserved between the Ferrars and the King, who visited Gidding several times: the last was during his secret journey northwards, to throw himself under the protection of the Scotch army. This was on the second of May, 1646; and though Mr. Nicholas Ferrar had then been dead some years, 'the King, having an entire confidence in the family, made himself known;' and Mr. John Ferrar conducted him, for better concealment, to the obscure hamlet of Coppinford, near Gidding, where he slept that night in safety, and on the next day went on to Stamford.

The decease of Mr. N. Ferrar occurred in December, 1637; his mother died at the age of eighty-three, two years previously. His own days were partly shortened by the severity of his application to religious observances. 'In his latter years, wrapping himself up in a loose frieze gown, he slept on a bear's skin upon the boards. He also watched either in the Oratory, or in the Church, three nights a week. His nephew, of the same name, who was a youth of most extraordinary accomplishments, also died from the effects

Peckard's 'Memoirs of Mr. Nicholas Ferrar,' from which this sketch of his life has been drawn up, perfectly corresponds with the titles of the chapters in Fuller's 'Holy State!' Nor is there in that work but one character, bearing the title of the *Traytour*, which is not in the list. The date of the Holy State, the whole credit of which, though somewhat covertly too, Dr. Fuller assumes in his address to the reader, is 1648; and yet Mr. John Ferrar was then alive.

effects of a too severe application to his studies, and pious duties, when in his twenty-first year. He composed several works from the Scriptures for the use of Prince Charles; among them was a *New Testament* 'harmoniously arranged,' in *twenty four different languages;* and he afterwards composed a second, in *twenty-six languages!* To the latter was annexed the Lord's Prayer in sixty different tongues. His varied talents determined the King to place him at the University of Oxford, under his own immediate protection; but the ensuing troubles in the state, and the premature death of the youth, prevented it. He died in May, 1641. The poet Crashaw, who was intimately acquainted with the Ferrars, wrote a sepulchral eulogy on his memory.

During the tempestuous period of the Civil Wars, many falsehoods were circulated by puritanical zealots respecting the establishment at Gidding. The unfortunate appellation of *Nunnery* seems to have rendered it more particularly obnoxious; and it was at length broken up by one of the common events of those disastrous times. Some soldiers of the Parliament army resolved to plunder it; and the family, having notice of their approach, thought it prudent to fly, that they might, as to their persons at least, escape the intended violence. 'The military zealots, in the rage of what they called reformation, ransacked both the Church and the Mansion. In doing this, they expressed a particular spite against the organ, which they broke into pieces, and making a large fire with them, thereat roasted several sheep, which they had killed in the grounds. This done, they seized all the plate, furniture, and provision, which they could conveniently carry away; and in this general devastation, perished those works of Mr. Nicholas Ferrar which deserved a better fate.' This outrage was committed but a short time before the execution of the King.

In the Church-yard are several memorials of the *Ferrars*, and their alliances: among them is a brass plate, on which is graven, on a bend cottised, three horse-shoes with nails; the crest, an arm holding a sword, with an inscription for 'John Ferrar, Esq. Lord of this Manor, who departed this life the 28th of Septem-

ber, 1657. In the year 1801, this Parish contained only five houses; and that of Steeple Gidding no more than eight.

At HAMMERTON was an estate of the *Bedells*, which, by a co-heiress, was carried in marriage to Sir Francis Compton, Knt. who acquired most of the remaining part of the Manor by purchase, from Sir Thomas Leventhorp, Bart. and afterwards sold the whole to Erasmus Smith, Esq. of London. *Sir John Bedell*, Knt. who died at the age of threescore and seventeen, in April, 1613, lies buried in the Church, with others of his family.

LEIGHTON BROMESWOLD was "given by Earl Waltheof" to the Church of Lincoln, which afterwards shared it into two prebends: one, the Parsonage impropriate, which still remaineth; the other (the Lordship) was resumed by Henry the Eighth, and by the heirs of D'Arcy matched to the Lord Clifton, became the seat of his barony. Here Sir Gervas Clifton, Knt. Baron Clifton, began to build a goodly house, &c. The *Church* is, for the workmanship, a costly Mosaic; for the form an exact cross."* Sir Gervase Clifton did not live to finish his building; and this Manor passed, by his only daughter and heiress, to the Dukes of Lenox and Richmond; and from them, by a female also, to Richard Butler, Earl of Arran, who, in the twenty-fifth of Charles the Second, was created a Baron of England, by the title of Lord Butler of Weston; that is, OLD WESTON, a small village about two miles north-westward from Leighton.

KESTON, or KEYSTONE, was "given, by Henry the Second, to Saucto (alibi Saliaco) de Quincy, Earl of Winchester, by whose heir generall, Ferrars, it came to the Earl of Essex, and by exchange to the Crowne. Edm. Lord Ferrars of Chatley, in Staf. died 14th Hen. VI; and was buried at Keston. This goodly manor did belong to Robert, Earl of Essex, in the reign of Queen Eliz. Edward, Earl of Manchester, hath a third part of the Ldp. worth about 1000l. per an. Keston Parsonage is worth about 250l. per an. to the parson."†

* Cotton MS † Ibid.

GREAT CATWORTH, which contains about eighty houses, and 400 inhabitants, was the birth-place of SIR WOLSTON DIXIE, Lord Mayor of London in 1585. He was a considerable benefactor to Emanuel College, Cambridge; and 'erected and endowed a Free-School at Bosworth, in Leicestershire, where his family flourisheth in a worshipful estate.'*

SPALDWICK was "given, by Henry the First, to the Church of Lincoln, for ever, for amends of a loss when he erected the Bishopric of Ely, taken out of the Diocese of Lincoln. *Spaldwick cum soca (viz. Stow, Barham, Easton) Curia Visus Fr. pleg. cum curiâ Baronis, Dnæ nostræ Elizab. anno Regni 42. ten. per Robtum Paige Deput Gervasii Clifton Milit. Senescallumibm.*"†

KIMBOLTON.

'THE east side of this county,' says Camden, 'is adorned with the *Castle* of KINNIBANTUM, now *Kimbolton*, anciently the seat of the *Magnavilles;* afterwards of the *Bohuns* and *Staffords:* and now of the *Wingfelds.*'‡ Sir Richard Wingfield, K. G. twelfth son of Sir John Wingfield, of Letheringham, in Suffolk, Knt. and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, married, first, Katherine, daughter of Richard, Earl Rivers, and widow of Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, after whose attainder, he obtained a grant of Kimbolton Castle and Lordship from Henry the Eighth, with whom he was highly in favor. He dying whilst Embassador in Spain, was buried at Toledo; and his son, Sir James, sold Kimbolton to Sir Henry Montagu, afterwards first Earl of Manchester, whose lineal descendant, the present Duke of Manchester, is now owner.

The MONTAGUES claim a descent from the illustrious family of that name, who were Barons from the time of the Conquest, and were anciently *Earls of Salisbury;* yet there is sufficient reason to suppose, that, if they really are descended from that noble stem, it

* Cotton MS. † Ibid.

‡ Gough's Cam. Vol. II. p. 155.

it is from an illegitimate branch; and that James Montacute, natural son of the last Earl of Salisbury, who lies buried at Luddesdown, in Kent, was the actual progenitorof the present family: the bordure round their arms may be adduced in support of the conjecture.

Sir Edward Montagu, the immediate ancestor of the Earls and Dukes of Manchester, was the youngest son of Thomas Montagu, Gent. who lies buried at Hemington, in Northamptonshire. He was born at Brigstock, in that county, and "being entered in the Middle Temple, became such a proficient in the study of the laws, that, in the 16th of Henry the Eighth, he was chosen Autumn Reader of that Society, to which none but persons of great learning were then elected. He was also of such authority and account, credit and countenance, in the House of Commons, of which he was Speaker, that a bill for subsidies not passing, he was sent for to his Majesty, who said to him, 'Ho! will they not let my bill pass?' And laying his hand on the head of Montagu, (kneeling before him,) said, 'Get my bill to pass by such a time to-morrow, or else by such a time this head of yours shall be off.' Sir Edward, considering the danger wherein he stood in regard of the displeasure of such an impetuous Prince, wrought so effectually, that, before the time prescribed, the bill passed with the approbation of the House, and to his Sovereign's satisfaction. In the twenty-third of Henry the Eighth, he was called to the degree of serjeant at law, and, with others then elected, kept such a magnificent feast at Ely House, in London, for five days, that it wanted little of a feast at a coronation; the King and Queen, and the whole court, honouring them with their company. In the twenty-ninth of Henry the Eighth, he was constituted the King's Serjeant at Law, and had the honour of knighthood conferred on him the year following, and was advanced to the office of Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench. In 1545, he resigned that office, and was constituted Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; a transition which Fuller calls a 'descent in honour, but an ascent in profit.' He was also of the Privy Council, and in such high favour and esteem with his Sovereign, Henry the Eighth,

that he appointed him one of these sixteen executors of his last will and testament, who should also be regents of the kingdom, and governors to Edward the Sixth, his son."* In 1547, he was one of the Commissions of Claims at the young King's Coronation. On the accession of Queen Mary, he was dismissed from his office of Judge, and imprisoned in the Tower, for his concern in the settlement of the Crown upon the Lady Jane Grey. He died in February, 1556-7, and was succeeded by his eldest son *Edward*, who was knighted by Queen Elizabeth in 1567; and died in January, 1601-2.

His successor was his third surviving son, *Henry*, the purchaser of Kimbolton, who, like his grandfather, was bred to the law in the Middle Temple, and became one of its chief luminaries. After various promotions, he was advanced to the dignity of Lord High Treasurer by James the First, at Newmarket, in December, 1620; and about a fortnight afterwards, he was created a Baron, by the title of Lord Montagu of Kimbolton, and Viscount Mandeville; 'those titles being chosen by him, because he was then in possession of the Castle and Lordship of Kimbolton, which many ages before had belonged to the family of Mandeville.' In February, 1626, he was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Manchester, after a temporary disgrace, through losing the favor of the Duke of Buckingham. Clarendon says, "he was a man of great industry and sagacity in business, which he delighted in exceedingly; and preserved so great a vigour of mind even to his death, when he was very near eighty years of age, that some who had known him in his younger years, did believe him to have much quicker parts in his age than before:" he died in November, 1642.

EDWARD, his eldest son by his first wife, Catherine, daughter of Sir William Spencer, succeeded to his titles and estates. This was the celebrated Parliamentary General. It is probable that he was born at Kimbolton Castle, as Collins mentions his being a countryman of Cromwell's. He was educated at Sidney College, Cambridge, where he took the degree of Master of Arts. At the Coronation

* Collins's Peerage, Vol. II.

Coronation of Charles the First, he was made a Knight of the Bath; and he afterwards represented Huntingdonshire in four Parliaments, till he was called by writ to the House of Peers, as Baron of Kimbolton, his father being then living. In 1640 he was one of the Commissioners appointed to treat with the Scots at Rippon, and he now became extremely popular, from his endeavours to support the sinking liberties of his country. In the following year, through the fatal counsel of the Queen, and the Lord Digby, the King had him accused of High Treason, together with five leading Members of the House of Commons. This act tended greatly to exasperate the nation; and when the plots and divisions of both parties had caused them to appeal to arms, the Lord Kimbolton, engaging in the service of the 'Parliament, had the command of a regiment in the battle of Edge Hill, October the twenty-third, 1642; and on November the seventh following, succeeded his father as *Earl of Manchester*. In June, 1643, he and the Earl of Bolingbroke were the two Lords who, with four Commoners, had the authority of Keeper of the Great Seal: and having, by his conduct and courage, gained the reputation of an experienced officer, he had committed to him, the same year, the charge of the associated counties of Essex, Hertford, Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk, Huntingdon, and Lincoln, with power to levy money out of the sequestered estates in the said counties, towards payment of his army. His Lordship was no sooner entered on his command, but he forced the town of Lynn, in Norfolk, to surrender to the Parliament; and defeated the Earl of Newcastle's army at Horn Castle, in Lincolnshire, on October the eleventh, killing 500 on the spot, and taking 800 prisoners, 1500 horse, and thirty-five colours. In April, 1644, he was ordered with 4000 horse, and 5000 foot, to attend the motions of Prince Rupert; and in May following he took the city of Lincoln by storm;' the particulars of which enterprise may be found in Rushworth.*

* Vide Hist. Coll. Vol. V. p. 620,-24.

Soon afterwards he marched to the leaguer before York; and in the battle of Marston Moor, July the third, the victory was principally gained by the horse commanded by himself, and Cromwell. After some other successes, he fought the battle of Newbury, October the twenty-seventh; but having dissatisfied the Parliament by not pursuing his advantages, and a charge having been exhibited against him by Cromwell, he was at last 'removed from all trust,' 'for no other reason,' says Clarendon, who has drawn his character with all the minute touches of his pen, 'but because he was not wicked enough.'—"It was some evidence," remarks the same noble historian, "that God Almighty saw his heart was not so malicious as the rest, that he preserved him to the end of the confusion; when he appeared as glad of the King's restoration, as he had heartily wished it long before; and very few, who had a hand in the contrivance of the rebellion, gave so manifest tokens of repentance as he did: and having for many years undergone the jealousy and hatred of Cromwell, as one who abominated the murder of the King, and all the barbarous proceedings against the lives of men in cold blood, the King, upon his return, received him into grace and favor, which he never after forfeited by any undutiful behaviour." The Earl, indeed, had been particularly instrumental in promoting the Restoration; and when the Parliament met in April, 1660, he was called to the Chair of the House of Peers. In the same month he was made a Knight of the Garter; and he had also various other dignities conferred upon him. He died suddenly at Whitehall, in May, 1671, in his sixty-ninth year, and was buried at Kimbolton, as his father had likewise been: he was five times married.

Robert, his eldest son, by his first wife, Susannah, daughter of John Hill, Esq. of Honily, in Warwickshire, succeeded him. He had been one of the six Lords, Members of the House of Commons, deputed to wait on Prince Charles at the Hague, and invite him 'to return to the government of the kingdom.' He died at Montpelier, in France, in May, 1682; but was brought to England, and interred near his father at Kimbolton. *Charles*, his eldest surviving son, fourth Earl, and first Duke, of Manches-

ter, 'had all the advantages of education, both at the University of Cambridge, and abroad; and, being early distinguished for a manly behaviour, and polite address, was appointed carver to the Queen at the Coronation of James the Second.' Not approving, however, of the measures of that reign, he retired from Court; and, at the Revolution, secured Huntingdonshire for the Prince of Orange, by raising a body of horse, whilst the Prince was landing. He assisted at the Coronation of King William; and, in 1690, accompanied him to Ireland, where he was present at the battle of the Boyne, and at the siege of Limerick. In 1696 he was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary to the Republic at Venice; and three years afterwards was sent in the same situation to Louis the Fourteenth of France. In 1707 he was again sent on an extraordinary Embassy to Venice; but had no further employment during the reign of Queen Anne. On the accession of George the First, he was made one of the gentlemen of his Majesty's bed-chamber; and finally, in consideration of his great services, was created Duke of Manchester in April, 1719. He died in January, 1721,-2, and was buried with his predecessors, and wife, in the family vault at Kimbolton. His Grace married Dodington, youngest daughter and co-heiress of Robert Grevile, Lord Brook, by whom he had several daughters, and two sons, William and Robert, successively Dukes of Manchester.

William, second Duke, was born in France in 1700, during his father's Embassy. He bore the Golden Spurs for the Earl of Essex, at the Coronation of George the Second; and in 1737 was constituted Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard. He died *(sine prole)* at Bath, in October, 1739; and was succeeded by his brother *Robert*, who was Vice Chamberlain both to Queen Caroline, and her present Majesty. He died in May, 1762; and was succeeded by *George*, his eldest son, by Harriot, daughter and co-heiress of Edmund Dunch, Esq. of Little Wittenham, in Berkshire. He was a Lord of the Bedchamber, and Master of the Horse, to our present Sovereign. On his decease, in September, 1788, *William*, his eldest surviving son, by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Dashwood, Bart. of Oxfordshire, succeeded to

the family honors and possessions. His Grace, who is the fifth and present Duke of Manchester, was born in October, 1771; and in October, 1793, married the Lady Susan Gordon, a daughter of the Duke of Gordon, by whom he has several sons and daughters. About the commencement of the present year (1808) he was appointed Governor of Jamaica, where he is now resident.

KIMBOLTON CASTLE, the seat of the Earls and Dukes of Manchester, is of unknown, but very remote, origin. "The Castle," says Leland, "is double diked, and the building of it metely strong: it longed to the Mandevilles, Erles of Essex.—Sir Richard Wingfeld built new fair lodgyns and galleries upon the old foundation of the Castle. There is a plotte now clene desolated, not a mile by west from Kimbolton, called Castle Hill, where appear ditches and tokens of old buildings."* This Castle was the jointure, and became the retirement, of Queen Catherine, after her divorce from Henry the Eighth. Henry, first Earl of Manchester, expended large sums in making it a comfortable residence; and Robert, his grandson, the third Earl, made further and very considerable alterations, and many additions.

In Kimbolton *Church* many of the Montagues lie buried, and various memorials have been erected to their memory. The costly monument of HENRY, first Earl of Manchester, on which is his effigies, is thus inscribed: he died November the seventh, 1642.

> Here lyeth Sir Henry Montagu, Knt. Lord Kimbolton, Viscount Mandeville, Earl of Manchester, who in his younger years professed the Common Law, was chosen Recorder of London, and afterwards made the King's Serjeant at Law, thence Chief Justice of England, afterwards Lord High Treasurer of England, then Lord President of the King's Most Honble Privy Counsell, and dyed Lord Privy Seale.

Among the other monuments are those of *Essex*, daughter to Sir Thomas Cheeke, of Pergo, in Essex, and *Anne*, Lady Mandeville, daughter to Robert, Earl of Warwick, two of the five wives

* Itin. Vol. I. p. 2.

wives of Edward, second Earl of Manchester: the former died in September, 1658; the latter in February, 1641. Here also is an inscribed slab for the 'Lady Essex, daughter of Robert Rich, the first Earl of Warwick of that familie, and wife to Sir Thomas Cheeke, of Pergo.' The town of Kimbolton is but small, and presents no other objects of particular import. The number of houses in 1801, was 252; that of inhabitants 1266; the number of the males and females were then equal.

At STONLEY, a short distance south-eastward from Kimbolton, was a small PRIORY of Austin Canons, founded, according to Leland, by William Mandeville, Earl of Essex, about 1180, and dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. Here, at the time of the suppression of the Lesser Houses, were seven canons, whose revenues were valued at 62l. 12s. 3½d. The site of the Priory was granted to Oliver Leder, who, says Leland, 'had a pretty house hard by the Church at Stoughton, and pretie commodities about it.'*

The Manor of GREAT STOUGHTON, with other considerable estates, became the property of the Knightly family of Wauton, by marriage with the heir-general of Sir Adam de Cretinga, who distinguished himself in Edward the Third's wars in France, and dwelt here at Cretingsbury. John de Wauton, or Waweton, was a Knight of the shire for Huntingdon in several Parliaments during the reign of the above King, and in that of his successor, Richard the Second. His descendant, Sir George Wauton, who was knighted by James the First in 1604, held this Manor of the Bishop of Lincoln, as subordinate to his Manor of Buckden, by the fourth part of a Knight's fee. Between this gentleman and Sir Oliver Cromwell, uncle to the Protector, there was a particular friendship, which most probably led to the marriage of *Valentine Wauton*, Esq. his relation, and successor in this Manor, with Margaret, sister to the Protector Oliver. An alliance of this kind was well calculated to secure a zealous co-operation where the principles of action were similar; and we accordingly find that Valentine

* Itin. Vol IV. p. 48.

Valentine strenuously assisted his brother-in-law in forwarding the designs of the Parliament; and it was in a great measure through his aid, that Cromwell intercepted the University Plate when sent from Cambridge for the King's use. "He was of the strictest republican principles. His name occurs in almost every public and private sitting of the Commissioners of the High Court of Justice, erected for trying the King; and his hand is also to the warrant of his execution. This, with his relationship to Cromwell, procured him many places of consequence, which his abilities and services in the cause deserved. He was one of the Council of State in the years 1650, 1651, and 1652; and Governor of King's Lynn, and Croyland, with all the Level of Ely, Holland, and Marshland."* He was greatly dissatisfied at Oliver's assumption of the Protectorate, and lived in retirement and neglect, till the ascendancy of the Parliament, after the deposition of the feeble Richard, brought him from his retreat, and he was nominated one of the seven Commissioners for governing the Forces in October, 1659. In February, 1660, 'he was joined with General Monk, and three others, for governing the army; and he was also appointed one of the twenty-one Commissioners for managing the affairs of the Admiralty and Navy.' Shortly afterwards, perceiving that Monk's design was to restore the Monarchy, he retired to the Continent, 'where he lived in great privacy in Flanders, or the Low Countries, under a borrowed name, and in the disguise of a gardener; and he died there in the following year.'† His estates were seized by the Crown; and Great Stoughton was afterwards granted to the Earl of Manchester.

The *Church* is a venerable fabric, consisting of a nave, chancel, and aisles, with an embattled tower on the west. At the east end of the south aisle is a costly monument, now partly mutilated, erected by Sir Oliver Cromwell, K. B. to the memory of his friend Sir GEORGE WAUTON, who died at the age of seventy-two in 1606, and is represented in armour lying upon a high table, supported by two male figures, standing upon elevated pedestals. Among the other memorials, in the chancel are inscribed

* Noble's Crom. Vol. II. p. 224. † Ibid. p. 226.

scribed slabs for *John Baldwin*, Esq. one of the Committee-men for Huntingdon in 1647, who died in 1657; and *Anna*, his wife, daughter to Sir Oliver Cromwell by his second wife: and against the north wall is a monument of the *Deyers*, Knights, of whom *Sir James Deyer*, some time Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, who died in March, 1582, and *Sir Richard Deyer*, who died in December, 1605, lie buried here with their respective ladies. Great Stoughton forms a considerable village: the number of houses in 1801, was 173; that of the inhabitants 850. In this Parish is GAINS HALL, a seat and manor anciently belonging to the Abbots of Ramsey, and since to the knightly families of Lake and Beverley: it is now the property and residence of J. Duberley, Esq. Another SEAT in this Parish belongs to Earl Ludlow, of whose family was the celebrated Republican General of that name.

At HAILWESTON, says Camden, "a very small village, are two little *Springs*, one of fresh water, the other somewhat salt: the latter is reckoned, by the neighbours, good against itch and leprosy; the former against dimness of sight." Hailweston now contains about sixty houses.

ST. NEOT'S

Is a considerable town, pleasantly situated on the banks of the Ouse River, and connected with the village of EYNESBURY, or *Aynsbury*, by a handsome stone Bridge of several arches, two of which are of more than ordinary span. The river is here pretty wide, and gently meandering through the meadows, forms, in combination with the surrounding objects, some very beautiful scenes. In Leland's time the Bridge was of timber.

'St. Neot's,' says Camden, 'commonly called *St. Need's*, had its name from Neot, a learned and holy man, who spent his whole life in propagating the Christian Religion, and whose body was translated hither from Neotstock, in Cornwall; and in honor of him Alfric turned the Palace of Earl Elfrid into a Monastery, which, after the Norman Invasion, was enriched with many fair possessions by Dame Roisia, wife to Richard, Lord of Clare: before

fore this, the place was called *Ainulphsbury*, from Ainulph, another holy man, which name still remains in a part of it.'

It would seem, from the Ramsey History, that this account is not entirely correct, as at the second dedication of the Church at Ramsey, about 992,* the Monastery, 'which is *now* called St. Neot's,' says the historian, was then named, '*Enolfesbury*;' and it at that time had 'Earl Ailwyn for its long-accounted patron and guardian.' According to the inscribed tablet at St. Neot's, in Cornwall,† St. Neot himself resided at Ainsbury after the Danish incursions had obliged him to fly from Oxford, and before he sought refuge in that distant country. Whatever of his remains were subsequently interred here, were afterwards removed to Croyland. Soon after the Conquest, the Monks, who were of the Benedictine Order, were expelled by Gilbert de Clare; but the Monastery was restored, and granted, with the Manor, to the Abbey of Bec, in Normandy, by the Lady Roisia, wife to Richard, the Earl's son, about the year 1113. During the wars with France, it was seized, with the other alien houses; but being made '*prioratus indigena*,' it continued till the Dissolution in the reign of Henry the Eighth, when its annual revenues were estimated at 256l. 1s. 3½d. according to Speed; or 240l. 11s. 4d. as Dugdale. The site and appurtenances of the Priory were afterwards granted to Sir Richard Cromwell, Knt. and now belong to the Earl of Sandwich. The remains of the Priory buildings, which stood near the present Church, are very inconsiderable.

The *Church* is the noblest building of the kind in the whole county: the architecture is of the more beautiful style of Henry the Seventh's time; and it appears to have been built about 1507. Its plan is perfectly regular, and consists of a nave, aisles, and chancel, with a finely proportioned and ornamented tower, 150 feet high, at the west end. The interior is very neat; and it is provided with a good organ, first put up about the year 1750. In

* See under Ramsey, p. 516,-17.

† This Inscription, and some curious particulars of St. Neot's, have been given in Vol. II. p. 390—95.

In a chapel here, called Jesus Chapel, that was laid open to the Church about the same time, were the remains of a monument said to have once contained the relics of St. Neot; a regal crown sculptured in stone, belonging to it, is still preserved. The windows are large, and elegant; they were formerly highly adorned with stained glass, and some fragments of draperies yet remain.

St. Neot's consists of a large market-place, and several streets, and has a lively and respectable appearance. The inhabitants, in 1801, amounted to 1752, of whom 794 were males, and 958 females; the number of houses was 370: most of the buildings are of brick. At this town the Earl of Holland, with other noblemen who had taken up arms against the Parliament, were defeated in July 1648: the Earl was afterwards made prisoner at St. Ives. In the Cotton Manuscript, the following persons are recorded as being natives of this town. HUGH, of *St. Neot's*, a Carmelite Friar at Hitchin, made a Doctor at Cambridge; SIR ROBERT DROPE, Lord Mayor of London, 1414; SIR JOHN GEDNEY, Knt. Draper, Lord Mayor of London in 1427, and 1441; FRANCIS WHITE, Bishop, first of Carlisle, then of Norwich, and last of Ely; and his brother, the Rev. JOHN WHITE, Chaplain to King James in Ordinary, who died in 1615.

EYNESBURY Manor is now the property of the Earl of Sandwich. The *Church*, and its tower, stand separate; the latter is on the south-east side. In the chancel, by the north wall, 'is a stone tombe, or coffin of stone, in which, as said, Saar de Quincy was buryed.' In the Register of this Parish is the following copy of a license granted to '*Eate Fleshe*' between the years 1556 and 1568. "Whereas by a Statute made in the 5th yeare of the Quene's Majestyes Raygne, that now is called the *Statute of Narygacion*, yt is graunted, that Persons notoryouslye *sycke* maye be lycensed by the Parson of the Paryshe where the Partyes dwell, to enjoy the Benefyt of *eatynge of Fleshe* on the Daies prohybyted by the saide Statute, for the recoverynge of theyre Healthe; (yf yt pleasith God:) Let yt be knowne to the seere hereof, that Jhon Burton, of the Paryshe of Eynesburye in the Countye of Huntingdon, being verye sycke, ys *lycensyd to eate Fleshe* for the Tyme

his sycknes, soo that he enjoyeinge the Benefytt of the Lycence, his sycknes contynewinge 8 dayes, do cause the same to be regestered into the Regester Booke in the same Paryshe, accordynge to the tenor of Statute in that behalfe; & this Lycence no longer to indure than his sycknes doth laste: by me Wyllyam Samuell, Parson of Eynsburye."

EVERTON CUM TETWORTH, a small detached Parish at the southern extremity of this county, and wholly insulated by Bedfordshire, was the birth-place of SILVESTER DE EVERTON, Bishop of Carlisle, who died in 1254; and also of the famous JOHN, LORD TIPTOFT, created Earl of Worcester by Henry the Sixth. In the *Church*, which is dedicated to St. Mary, is a monument for "SIR HUMPHREY WINCHE, alias DE LA WINCHE, Knt. who, in the 4th. year of King James, A°. Dñi. 1606, was sent by him to serve in Ireland, as Chief Baron and Counsellor of State for that kingdom; from whence recalled, he served his Majesty as one of his Justices of his Court of Common Pleas, &c. until an apoplexy seized on him in his robes the 4th. day of February, 1624, in the seventy-first year of his age, whereof about twenty-four hours after he died in Chancery-lane, London; whose corps imbalmed was buried here below," &c. Sir Humphrey was Lord of the Manor of Everton.

WARESLEY was an estate and seat of the *Hewitts*, Baronets, who purchased it of the *Marshes*, in the time of Charles the First. In the *Church* are memorials for both families: among them, those of "THOMAS MARSHE, Esq. of Stanmore, co. Middlesex, where he was buried at the age of fifty-nine, anno 1587; and seven years afterwards his bones were taken up, and removed hither: he was *Clerk of Councell of the Star Chamber* for the space of twenty years together," &c. and *Sir John Hewitt*, Bart. who died in 1657, and *Catherine*, his wife, daughter to Sir Richard Bevill, K. B. of Chesterton; she died in February, 1638: their 'portraitures' are represented kneeling upon cushions; and beneath them, those of their five sons, and two daughters. Waresley consists of about forty houses.

GREAT

GREAT GRANSDEN was, in the reign of Henry the Sixth, the property of John Fitz-Alan, Earl of Arundel. In the time of Charles the First, Sir Charles Cæsar, Knt. Master of the Rolls, had a Manor here: he also possessed the Manors of TOSELAND and YELLING; and, when on his death-bed, he ordered them to be given to his sons by a nuncupative Will, two days before his decease, which happened on December the sixth, 1642.* The following extract is given from an attested copy of the Will.† "I have now gotten the *Small Poxe* after I am three-and-fiftie yeares of age, though I had them *heretofore in my younger days;* but I thanke God I am reasonable well; yet if I growe worse, if you bee not afraid to come to me, I will send to you to make my will in writinge:" and then further said these words; "As I have often declared that my sonne Henry should have all my lands att *Toseland*, soe it is my will still; and I doe will that all those lands, and all my lands in *Yelling*, I meane both the Yellings, shall be for Henrie and his heires; and that all my lands in *Gransden* shall bee to my sonne Charles and his heires; and for my lands in *Benington*, and *Lincolneshire*, I have alreadie settled them on my sonne Julius. The lands att Toseland and Yelling are worth fower hundred and fiftie pounds a yeare; and Gransden is worth about two hundred pounds a yeare, which will be somewhat for younger brothers." The Small-pox was particularly fatal to the Cæsar family; the Julius mentioned above, died of it a few days only after his father. In 1801, the number of houses in Great Gransden Parish was eighty-five; in that of Toseland, twenty; and in that of Yelling, fifty-one.

FENNY STANTON, a considerable village adjoining to the road from Huntingdon to Cambridge, and near the borders of the latter shire, was granted, by William the Conqueror, to Gilbert de

* It has been said under Bennington, p. 198, on the authority of Chauncy and Salmon, that Sir Charles died there in 1643; but the attestations to the Will prove that "he died att his house called the Rolls in Chancery-lane," on the day above stated.

† *Penes Me.*

de Gaunt. It afterwards escheated to the Crown, and was given, by Henry the Third, to Joan, Queen of Scots, his sister, who bestowed part of it on the Nunnery of Turrent, in Dorsetshire; 'the rest reverting, being given to Segrave, descended to the Berons of Berkley.* 'The Earl of Northampton is now Lord of this Manor and HILTON, which made one Parish with Fen-Stanton; though there is a Church at each.'† In the ninth of Edward the Second, 'John de Segrave obtained license for a market for this his Manor of Fenny-Stanton; as also a fair every year on the eve and day of the Apostles Peter and Paul, and six days following.'

The little villages of OFFORD CLUNY and OFFORD D'ARCY, are, like that of Great Paxton, situated on the road from St. Neot's to Huntingdon, and immediately adjacent to the Ouse River. The houses are principally thatched, and inhabited by persons engaged in husbandry. In the small *Church* at Offord Cluny, are two Piscinas; one in the chancel, the other in the north aisle, where there seems to have been a Chantry Chapel. Offord D'Arcy *Church* displays some remains of Norman architecture in the columns and arches of the north aisle. In the south wall of the chancel is a Piscina; and within the altar-rails some memorials of the *Nailours*, formerly Lords of this Manor. In the south aisle is a half length *Brass* of a Knight in complete armour, between his two wives, with this inscription beneath:

Hic Jacent Laurenti' Nailenham miles, qui obijt x° die mens' Junij A° Dni M°. CCCC°. et Dna Elizabetha uxor dicti Laurenti, una trium Sororum ac Filiarum et Haeredum Dni Johis. Engeyne Dni de Engeyne quae obijt 23 die Mens'. Sept. an. Dni. 1377. Ac Dna Johanna secunda Uxor dicti Laurentii filia AEgidii Daubeney Militis, quorum, &c.

GREAT PAXTON is a small mean village, chiefly consisting of scattered mud-walled and thatched cottages; the number of which, according to the returns in 1801, was thirty-six, and that of inhabi-

tants

* Cotton MS. † Ibid.

tants 217. 'Little Paxton, and Toseland, having both been chapels of ease to Great Paxton, the minister is called Vicar of Three Steeples.'* In the south wall of Great Paxton *Church* is a double *Stone Seat* for a Deacon and Sub-deacon, with a Piscina; and in one of the windows of the north aisle, is the Tudor rose in stained glass, with other fragments.

At LITTLE PAXTON, which, in 1801, contained forty-four houses, and 225 inhabitants, are the SEATS of Henry P. Stanley, Esq. and Richard Reynolds, Esq.

At SOUTHOE, 'the land of Eustachius the Sheriff,' says the Cotton Manuscript, '*Lovetote* made the seat of that Seignory, on which, in this Shire, thirteen Knights fees and a half depended: but from his line, by gift of Verdon and Vesey, drowned were these in the Honour of Gloucester.' In the thirty-sixth of Edward the Third, John of Gaunt possessed this Manor in right of his wife, the Lady Blanche. In the time of Charles the Second, *Southoe cum Lovetoft* belonged to Sir Henry Rickering, Bart. of Whaddon, in Cambridgeshire, as did the Manor of Paxton Parva.

STIRTLOE, in Doddington Parish, is the pleasant seat of Laurence Reynolds, Esq. who was High Sheriff of Huntingdonshire in 1806.

At BUCKDEN, or BUGDEN, as it has been frequently written, is the venerable PALACE of the Bishops of Lincoln, to whom this Manor was granted by the Abbot of Ely, in the time of Henry the First, in return for the leave given to him to "make his Abbacy a Bishoprick." The Palace is principally of brick, and partly surrounded by a moat. It consists of two quadrangular courts, with a square tower, and entrance gateway: over the latter is the Library; the apartments are large. 'Bishop Rotherham,' says Leland, 'built the new bricke tower at Buckden: he cleve translated the Hall, and did much coste there beside.' His successor, Bishop Russel, built most of the remaining part, and is commemorated by a hawk cut on the dormants of the Dining Room, with the sentence JE SUIS LE RUS-CELLUY surrounding

* Cotton MS.

rounding it. Bishop Williams, in the reign of James the First, and Bishop Sanderson, in that of Charles the Second, also expended much money on this building. Its situation is pleasant; but the grounds are not extensive. In the *Church*, which is a handsome fabric, the following Bishops of Lincoln lie buried: *William Barlow*, who died in 1613; *Sanderson*, who died in 1663; *Thomas Barlow*, in 1691; *Reynolds*, in 1743; and *Green*, in 1779. The living is held by *Dr. Maltby*, one of the first scholars, and most respectable clergymen, in England. In 1801 this Parish contained 165 houses, and 869 inhabitants.

END OF HUNTINGDONSHIRE.

KENT.

KENT is one of the most interesting counties in England; whether considered in respect to the advantages of its situation for trade and commerce; its extent, the general fertility of its soil, the important events that have been transacted within its limits, the peculiar division of its lands, its numerous antiquities, the acknowledged bravery of its inhabitants, the ecclesiastical pre-eminence of its chief city, its produce, or its proximity to the Continent, to which, many learned antiquaries suppose it was originally united by a narrow isthmus, extending between Dover and Calais.*

The arguments advanced in support of the idea of Great Britain having anciently formed part of the Continent, are principally derived from the great resemblance which the cliffs of Dover have to those of Boulogne and Calais, on the opposite coast of France. On both shores, these cliffs consist of chalk, with flints intermixed: their faces are rugged and precipitous, appearing as if they had been rent asunder by violence; and their length on both coasts is similar, it being about six miles. In the strait immediately between them, the sea is also much shallower than on either side; and to this may be added, that a narrow ridge of sand, with a stony bottom, called the *Rip-rapps*, extends between Folkstone and Boulogne, its distance from the former being about ten miles, and its length the same: this ridge, at low spring tides, is covered with only fourteen feet water; and another ridge, called the *Vane*, about six miles off Dover, has scarcely more water on it at the same times, though immediately on each side of both ridges, which are but narrow, the depth increases to twenty-five fathoms. Whatever may be the fact, however, history is silent as to any

* Among those who uphold this opinion, are Camden, Wallis, Somner, Burton, Twine, Verstegan, Harris, and Hasted.

isthmus that might once have united Great Britain with the Continent; and all that can be offered to establish the supposition, rests only on the basis of probability.

"Time," observes the great Camden, "has not yet stripped this county of its ancient name: but as Cæsar, Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, Ptolemy, and others, call it CANTIUM, so the Saxons, as Nennius tells us, named it *Cant-guar-lantd*, or, in other words, the country of the people inhabiting *Cantium*." This name our author conjectures to have been derived from the old Gaulish language, and to be descriptive of the angular form of Kent on the eastern side, or that towards France. In this, however, he appears to be mistaken: *Caint* is a British word, and is still the name of this county in Welsh, as it is also written in the most ancient British manuscripts; and the name of *Caer Gaint*, occurs in Nennius for Canterbury, in his list of British cities. The term *Caint* is descriptive of a country abounding with clear, fair, or open downs, and this is the general characteristic of Kent. The British Tryads record, that, after the Island was first settled by the *Cymry*, three other colonies came here by sufferance; of these two were from Gaul; the one from Belgium, the other from the country about the mouths of the Loire river. The Belgæ most probably peopled Kent, and afterwards lost their proper name in the word *Cantii*, from the name of the county. In the Domesday Book, it is written thus, *Chenth*.

At the period of the Roman Invasion, the inhabitants of this district were in a more advanced state of civilization than those of the more inland parts, through their vicinity to the Continent, and continued intercourse with it. If Cæsar's pretext for engaging in the conquest of Britain be true, viz. 'that its inhabitants furnished the enemies of the Commonwealth with continual supplies during his wars with the Gauls,' it was probably the men of Kent that had most offended, and it is certain that they were the first sufferers; for Cæsar having determined on the invasion, embarked his forces at Boulogne, in the 699th year after the foundation of Rome, and fifty-five years before the birth of Christ; and about one o'clock in the morning of the twenty-sixth of August, according

ing to Dr. Halley's computations,* made sail for the coast of Britain. The Britons, who had been apprised of his design, had not been backward in preparing to assert their independence; and on Cæsar's arrival off Dover, about ten the same morning, he found the cliffs covered with armed men, and their advantageous position convinced him that he could not attempt a landing at that point without great loss. He therefore again made sail at three in the afternoon, and proceeded about eight miles further, bringing up his ships on a plain, open shore; which, according to Horsley, Gale, and other eminent antiquaries, must have been near Richborough, or *Rutupiæ*. The Britons, who had sent forward their horsemen and chariots, now followed with the rest of their army, to oppose his descent; and, during some time, had the advantage; for the larger Roman ships could not lie near the shore; and the Roman soldiers being encumbered with heavy armour, and forced, at the same time, to contend with the waves, and with their enemy, were thrown into some disorder, which Cæsar perceiving, gave orders for the gallies to advance before the rest of the fleet, and to assail the Britons from their slings, and other missive weapons. This movement proved of service; the Britons were alarmed at the sight of military engines, to which they had not been accustomed, and fell back; while the Roman soldiers, encouraging each other, leaped boldly into the sea, and pressed forward. The conflict, however, was still sharply maintained; and the Romans, not being able to keep their ranks, and being unacquainted with the ground, were in danger of complete discomfiture, till the boats and pinnaces of the Roman fleet were filled with fresh troops, and dispatched, by Cæsar, to the relief of those who were most pressed. The Britons were at length driven back; and the Romans forming upon dry ground, succeeded in maintaining their advantage, but could not pursue their retreating enemy for want of cavalry.

The Britons, apparently with the view of gaining time to assemble a greater force, soon afterwards sent messengers to demand peace; and Cæsar having upbraided them for their breach of promise

* Philosophical Transactions, No. 193.

mise to submit to the Roman Empire, consented to make a treaty, but demanded hostages for its fulfilment; some of which were immediately given, and others promised to be sent in a few days. In the mean time, Cæsar appears to have continued in his camp, waiting the arrival of his cavalry, which, on the fourth day, appeared in sight, in eighteen vessels; yet, before they could reach the coast, they were dispersed by a sudden storm, and again obliged to bear away for the Continent. On the same night, the moon being at full, the water rose so high with the spring tide, that the whole of the Roman vessels, some of which were at anchor, and the others drawn up on shore, were greatly damaged, and several of them entirely destroyed.

As soon as the British chiefs who had been assembled to perform their agreement with Cæsar, knew of this, and that the Romans were without horses, ships, and provisions, they determined to break their late engagements; and privately withdrawing from the camp, begun to assemble their forces in secrecy and haste. Cæsar, who suspected some design of this kind from the delay in the delivery of the remaining hostages, and other circumstances, sought assiduously to repair his ships, and to furnish his camp with provisions. While thus employed, the out-guards of his camp gave him notice, that they observed a great cloud of dust rising in that part of the country where the seventh legion had been sent to forage. Apprehensive of what proved to be the real cause, he quitted the camp with two cohorts, and giving orders for the rest of his army to follow, advanced to the relief of his foragers, who had been surprised while reaping corn; and some of them being slain, the remainder were surrounded by the horses and chariots of the Britons, and were in great danger of entire defeat. On Cæsar's arrival, the Romans recovered from their panic; and the Britons drew off, but did not disperse; yet Cæsar thinking it imprudent, at that time, to risk a general engagement, retreated to his camp.

Emboldened by this event, the Britons sent messengers to all parts, to give information of the smallness of the Roman army, and to invite others to their assistance, by displaying the glory and booty that would result to them from vanquishing the invaders in

their

their own entrenchments. By these efforts, they increased their forces greatly; and, on the clearing up of the weather, which had for some days prevented any hostile attempts, they advanced to attack the Romans in their camp. Cæsar, who penetrated their design, judged it most prudent to prevent it, which he did by drawing out his legions in front of the works; and when the battle joined, the discipline and valor of the Roman soldiers prevailed over the numbers of their assailants, who were routed, and pursued to some distance, with considerable slaughter. The same day, the Britons again sent deputies to solicit peace, when Cæsar contented himself with demanding, that twice the number of hostages which he had before agreed to receive, should be sent after him into Gaul; for "the autumnal equinox being near, he did not think it safe to remain on the coast, or to sail with such weak ships in the winter season." Seizing, therefore, the first favorable opportunity of the wind's being fair, he set sail soon after midnight, and reached the Continent in safety.

Such is the general account which Cæsar has given in his Commentaries, of his first expedition into this Island; yet even this will warrant the conjecture, that his sudden departure, if not the immediate consequence of real defeat, was the only prudent method he could take to avoid it; and there are passages in Horace, Tibullus, and Lucan, which seem to confirm this supposition, as well as in the writings of Tacitus, and Dion Cassius. All the transactions which attended his descent, took place in this county; and, most probably, within a very few miles of the shore; though the particular scenes of the different actions cannot now be easily assigned.

The inadequacy of Cæsar's force to effect the reduction of the Island in his first expedition, is fully evinced by the magnitude of his preparations for accomplishing it in the ensuing year, when he again set sail for Britain, with five legions of infantry, and 2000 horse, distributed on board a fleet of about 800 sail, about three-fourths of which had been built for the invasion. The next day, at noon, he arrived on the coast, near the same spot where he had landed in the preceding year, and reached the shore without opposition,

sition, the number of his fleet having affected the Britons with so much terror, that they had quitted the coast, and retreated to the higher grounds. Cæsar having formed a strong camp, marched in quest of the foe, whom he found stationed on the banks of a river, and preparing to dispute his passage from the rising grounds. He, however, repulsed them with his cavalry; on which they retreated to the woods, where they took shelter within an entrenchment, which both Art and Nature had contributed to fortify in an extraordinary manner.* All the passages to it were blocked up by heaps of trees, which had been felled for the purpose, and the Romans were at first unable to enter the works, but at length succeeded, and compelled the Britons to quit the woods; yet Cæsar declined to pursue them, from his ignorance of the country, and from his desire of employing the rest of the day in entrenching himself on the field of action.

The next morning, Cæsar divided his army into three bodies, and again advanced in pursuit of the Britons; yet before he had marched far, some horsemen arrived from the fleet, to inform him,

* "Various have been the conjectures of our antiquaries concerning this place of the Britons fortified by Nature and Art. Horsley thinks it likely, that this engagement was on the banks of the river Stour, a little to the north of *Durovernum*, or Canterbury, in the way towards Sturry, which is about fourteen English miles from the Downs. Others, well acquainted with this part of Kent, have conjectured it to have been on the banks of the rivulet below Barham Downs, and that the fortification of the Britons was in the woods behind Kingston, towards Bursted; and the distance, as well as the situation, of this place, add strength to the conjecture. Some have placed this encounter below Swerdling Downs, three miles north-west from Bursted, and the entrenchment, in the woods above the Downs behind Heppington, where many remains of entrenchments, &c. are still visible. Perhaps the *engagement* was fought below Barham Down; the *fortification* might be that near Bursted, as before mentioned; and the remains above Swerdling, probably the place to which the Britons retreated after they were put to flight by the Romans; and where Cæsar again found them, with their allies, under the command of Cassivelaun."

Hasted's Kent, Vol. I.

him, that a dreadful storm had happened in the night, and had shattered most of his ships, and driven many of them on shore. On receiving this intelligence, he countermanded his forces, and returned to the fleet, when he found that about forty sail were entirely lost, and that the remainder could not be refitted without great difficulty and fatigue. He therefore determined to have the whole fleet hauled on shore, and to inclose it within the lines of his camp: in the execution of this project, his soldiers labored ten days and nights with little intermission; "and at this day," observes Hasted, "upon the shore, about Deal, Sandown, and Walmer, there is a long range of heaps of earth, where Camden supposes this ship-camp to have been, and which, in his time, as he was informed, was called, by the people, *Rome's Work*: though some have conjectured, and, perhaps, with probability, that the place of Cæsar's naval camp was where the town of Deal now stands."

When the shipping were all drawn on shore, and securely entrenched, Cæsar once more advanced in search of the foe, to the scene of his previous victory. Here he found the Britons assembled in far greater numbers than before, under the command of the brave Cassivelaunus, whose territories were divided from those of the more southern states by the river Thames, but who, on this important occasion, had been chosen to lead the army of the confederated Britons. Whilst the Romans were pursuing their march, they were briskly attacked by the British cavalry and chariots, and many were slain on both sides; and shortly afterwards, as Cæsar was busily employed in strengthening his camp, his advanced guard was surprised by a sudden assault, on which he sent two cohorts to their assistance, who being somewhat intimidated by the British manner of fighting, permitted the Britons to break through their ranks without loss; but some fresh cohorts coming up, they were at last repulsed.

The ensuing day, the Britons took post among the hills, at some distance from the Roman camp, and appeared to be more disposed to wait for some accidental advantage, than to risk a fixed battle. Accordingly, about noon, they made a fierce

and sudden attack on a detachment of three legions, and all the cavalry, which Cæsar had sent out to forage; but they were received with so much vigor, that they were quickly driven back; and being closely pursued by the cavalry, were routed with great slaughter, the Romans giving them no time either of rallying or forsaking their chariots. This battle proved decisive in favor of the Romans; for many of the British chieftains now withdrew from the confederacy, and submitted to Cæsar; who following up his success, marched towards the banks of the Thames, and crossing it in the face of a strong force, notwithstanding the Britons had driven many sharp stakes into the bed of the river, entered the territories of Cassivelaunus. This Prince, despairing of success in a general battle, disbanded a considerable part of his forces, but retained about 4000 chariots, with which he hovered round the foraging parties of the Romans, and sometimes assailed them to advantage.

Still further to retard the conquests of Cæsar, he sent orders to the four petty Kings by whom Kent was then governed, and whose names were Cingetorix, Carvilius, Taximagulus, and Segonax, to raise all the forces they could, and make a sudden attack on the camp where the Roman ships were laid up. These directions they obeyed; but they were repulsed with much slaughter; and in a sally made by the Romans, Cingetorix was taken prisoner. After this misfortune, Cassivelaunus thought it prudent to solicit for peace, particularly as many of the British states had already submitted, and as his principal city had been forced to surrender to the Roman arms. Cæsar, who had determined to winter in Gaul, most probably through the strong opposition which had been exerted against him by the Britons, and from his conviction, that their unwillingness to bow to the Roman yoke would prompt them to seize every opportunity to vindicate their freedom, readily hearkened to his proposals; and having received hostages for the payment of an annual tribute, returned to his camp on the sea-shore, where finding his ships refitted, he prepared to re-embark, which he did in a

few days, and returned to the Continent, without garrisoning a single fortress, or leaving one soldier to secure his conquests.*

From this period, till nearly the expiration of ninety years, the independence of Britain was not disturbed by a foreign foe; but about the year 42, after the birth of Christ, the refusal of the Emperor Claudius to deliver up some fugitives who had fled to Rome to avoid punishment, occasioned Togodumnus, son of Cunobiline, who then reigned over the Trinobantes, to withhold the tribute imposed by Cæsar, and to prohibit all commerce with the Romans. Claudius eagerly seized the opportunity to declare war, and in the year 43, commanded Aulus Plautius, then *Prætor* in Gaul, to conduct his army into Britain. This was obeyed, and Plautius dividing his forces into three bodies, landed the whole without opposition in this county; for the Britons, deceived by a report of a mutiny among the Roman soldiers, had neglected to make preparations to oppose them. Plautius, though at first successful, was in the end obliged to retreat, and fortify himself in a strong camp, on the Kentish side of the Thames,† there to await the arrival of Claudius, who had assembled a numerous army to assist in the reduction of Britain. Claudius brought with him several elephants, and having landed, marched immediately to the camp

* These circumstances may be regarded as decisive proofs that Cæsar's triumph was not so complete as from his Commentaries would appear. "It serves," says Mr. Hasted, "to confirm the testimony of Lucan, who taxes him with 'turning his back upon the Britons;' of Dion Cassius, who says, 'the Roman infantry were entirely routed in a battle by them,' and 'that Cæsar retired from hence without effecting any thing;' and of Tacitus, who writes, that 'Cæsar rather shewed the Romans the way to Britain, than put them in possession of it;' and who, in another place, makes one of the Britons say, that 'their ancestors had driven out Julius Cæsar from this Island."*

† This camp is supposed to have been on *Keston Down*, near Bromley, where the entrenchments are very strong and extensive.

* Lucan, lib. ii. ver. 572. Dion Cassius, lib. xxxix. and xl. Tacitus in vit. Agric. cap. 13. and Annal. lib. xii. cap. 34.

camp of Plautius, and assuming the command, crossed the Thames, and defeated the Britons with great slaughter. He afterwards pursued his success, and having taken Camalodunum, (Colchester,) the capital of the British Kings, reduced the adjacent country into a Roman province, and appointed Plautius, *Proprætor*, he returned to Rome.* From this period, the dominion of the Romans, over the southern parts of Britain, was completely established; and Kent becoming firmly attached to the Roman government, was included, by Constantine, in the division called BRITANNIA PRIMA.

After the final departure of the Romans, whom the distresses of their own country had forced to abandon this Island, about the middle of the fifth century, Vortigern was elected King, in a general assembly of the Britons, but he being a man of inadequate capacity in the then perilous situation of affairs, had recourse to foreign aid, instead of bravely exciting his people themselves, to resist the barbarous incursions of the Picts and Scots, who had committed the most horrid depredations in the northern provinces, and were rapidly advancing to the south. His expedient of inviting the assistance of the Saxons, being approved by his effeminate council, deputies were dispatched to Germany for the purpose, and Hengist and Horsa, the sons of Wetgiffel, great-grandson to the celebrated Woden, put to sea with about 1500 men, and landed at *Ebbsfleet*, in the Isle of Thanet, in this county, a little to the north of Richborough Castle, about the year 449.† Vortigern immediately concluded a treaty with them, by which they engaged to defend the Britons against all foreign enemies; and were, in return, besides pay and maintenance, to have the Isle of Thanet as an habitation. By their assistance, the Picts and Scots were worsted in several successive battles, and at length driven back into their own country: but Hengist discovering the weakness and incapacity of Vortigern, and being captivated by the fruitfulness and beauty of the land, determined to make a permanent settlement

* See further particulars of this expedition of Claudius, Vol. V. p. 287—292.

† Sax. Chron. H. Huntingd. lib. ii. Lamb. peram. p. 101.

settlement in this Island; and to that end, persuaded Vortigern, that a reinforcement of Saxons was necessary, not only to enable him effectually to repulse the northern enemy, but even to secure him from the insolence of the Britons themselves, who had become convinced of his incapacity to govern, and made loud complaints at his conduct.

Vortigern fell into the snare, and, by his permission, a fresh body of 5000 Saxons, besides women and children, were admitted into Britain. Among them was Oisc, or Escus, the son of Hengist, and Rowena, his daughter, whose charms so excited the passions of Vortigern, that he demanded her in marriage, though he had then a wife, and several children. Hengist artfuly raised objections to the match, till at length, the British King, having divorced his former wife, and invested Hengist with the entire government of Kent, to the utter exclusion of Guorongus, its Prince and Sovereign, was permitted to raise Rowena to his bed. Hengist, whose thirst for empire seems to have increased with his acquirements, now begun to think of conquering the whole kingdom, and under similar wily pretences to those he had before employed, prevailed on Vortigern to send for another reinforcement of Saxons. These new auxiliaries came over in forty ships, under the command of Octa, and Ebusa, the son and nephew, or, as some write, the brother and nephew, of Hengist; and having sailed round the Orcades, and ravaged the countries of the Scots and Picts, obtained permission of the King to settle in Northumberland, under the specious pretence of securing the northern parts, as Hengist did the southern.

Still encroaching on the weakness of Vortigern, the Saxon chief continued, by degrees, to strengthen his own army by fresh bodies of his countrymen; till at last, supposing his strength adequate to his designs, he sought a quarrel with the Britons, and, aided by his countrymen in the north, begun to overrun and lay waste the whole country. In the mean time, Vortigern, to whose ill-fated alliance all these latter calamities were attributed, was compelled by the Britons to associate his son, Vortimer, with him in the government, and to confide to his administration every thing relating

to

to public affairs. Under the direction of this brave youth, the Britons again made head against their insidious and cruel foes, and in an encounter on the banks of the Darent, in this county, the Saxons were worsted, and retreated to *Aylesford*. Thither Vortimer pursued them, and in a desperate and bloody battle, fought in the year 455, is said, by the British historians, to have obtained a complete victory; though the Saxon writers, according to Rapin, unanimously affirm, that, in this very year, and immediately after this battle, Hengist first assumed the title of KING OF KENT.* Horsa, the brother of Hengist, and Catigern, brother to Vortimer, fought hand to hand in this engagement, and were both killed on the spot;† though some writers affirm, that Catigern was slain by Hengist himself.‡

The war still continuing with various success, another battle was fought between Hengist and Vortimer, about two years afterwards, anno 457, at *Crecanford*, now Crayford, in this county, in which the latter was defeated, with the loss of 4000 men, and obliged to abandon Kent, and retire to London. About this period, the dissensions among the Britons themselves became so great, that they generated a civil war, of which the Saxons took every advantage, yet they were not able to effect the conquest of the country; and when the Britons had once more associated under Vortigern and Ambrosius, after the death of Vortimer, Hengist felt himself compelled to submit to peace, and to have his power confined within the limits of Kent. What he could not effect by open force, however, he endeavoured to accomplish by treachery; and knowing the fondness of Vortigern for pomp and dissipation, he invited him to a splendid entertainment; and while his unsuspecting guest, with 300 of his principal nobility, were enjoying the festivities of the table, he purposely excited a quarrel, and

* Tindal's Translation, Vol. I. p. 33.

† Hen. Hunting. lib. ii. Matt. West. ad an. 455. Nennius, cap. 46. Will. Malm. lib. i. cap. 1.

‡ Annal. Sax. Ranulph Cestr. Polychron. R. Higden. Flor. Wigorn.

and his partizans, on a given signal, drew out their daggers, or short swords, which they had concealed for the purpose, and basely murdered every Briton present, except Vortigern, who was spared by order of the Saxon chief, but obliged to compound for his ransom, by consenting to deliver up that large tract of land, out of which the kingdoms of Essex, Middlesex, and Sussex, were afterwards formed. Having thus extended his dominions, and also made himself master of London, Winchester, and Lincoln, Hengist invited over fresh bodies of his countrymen, and, in particular, the fierce Ella, who landed in Sussex, where he afterwards firmly established himself. From this period, the progress of the Saxons, though for a time impeded by the valiant exertions of the British Princes, Ambrosius and Arthur, was never effectually interrupted, and at length they succeeded in acquiring a firm dominion over the chief part of Britain.

Hengist died in the year 488, and was succeeded by his son Oisc, or Escus, who being a Prince of little enterprise, permitted Ella, who had worsted the Britons in several battles, to assume the title of King of Sussex, which he durst not do while Hengist was alive: he was also chosen the chief or general of the Saxons in Britain, in the room of the latter. Oisc died in the year 512, leaving the kingdom of Kent to his son Octa, in the twenty-seventh of whose reign, Erchenwin, who had governed in Essex and Middlesex, taking advantage of his Sovereign's weakness, persuaded the inhabitants to accept himself for their Monarch, and formed those provinces into the kingdom of the East Saxons. In the reign of Hermenric, who succeeded Octa in the year 534, the Northumbrian Saxons also threw off their allegiance from the Kings of Kent, and, under the famous Ida, established the kingdom of Northumberland. Hermenric dying in 564, was succeeded by his son Ethelbert, whom he had previously associated with himself in the exercise of royalty. This Prince became one of the most celebrated of the Saxon Heptarchy; for remembering with regret, the authority which his predecessor, Hengist, had exercised over the Saxons, he determined to assert his right to the supreme dignity by force of arms, and declared war against Ceaulin, King of Wessex,

Wessex, who was then acknowledged as the chief. Being worsted, however, in two battles, he was soon compelled to sue for peace: but Ceaulin himself, having seized the kingdom of Sussex, gave offence to the other states, and a general confederacy, of which Ethelbert was appointed head, being formed against him, he was defeated, and dying soon afterwards, Ethelbert obtained the object of his wishes. His ambition, however, was not yet satisfied; and by degrees, he assumed a right to succeed to all the vacant thrones in the Heptarchy, in virtue of his descent from Hengist; and though he desisted from acting up to the full extent of his claim, from an apprehension of a general league being made against him by the other Sovereigns, yet he continued to extend his authority over all the Saxon states, but that of Northumberland. His reign became otherwise memorable, from the introduction of Christianity into Kent, under the auspices of his Queen, Bertha, daughter to Charibert, King of Paris, and the subsequent conversion of himself, and principal subjects, to that faith; an event that prepared the way for its further progress through all the Saxon kingdoms. After a prosperous reign of fifty-three years, Ethelbert died in the year 616, and was interred within the porch of St. Martin, in the Abbey Church at Canterbury.

Eadbald, his son and successor, rendered slothful by his vices, lost part of the supremacy which his father had gained, and relapsed into the errors of Paganism, though he afterwards reformed, and re-embraced the Christian faith. After his decease in 640, Ercombert, his younger son, found means to ascend the throne, and by his zeal, greatly contributed to the spreading of the newly-adopted religion. He dying in 664, was succeeded by Egbert, who proved an encourager of learning; though his glory was stained by the murder of his two nephews, lest they should disturb him in the possession of the crown. On his death, in 673, Lothair, his brother, assumed the vacant seat, but this usurpation gave origin to a civil war; for Edric, the eldest son of Egbert, assisted by Adelwalch, King of Sussex, bravely contended for his inheritance; and after several battles, fought with various success, Lothair was vanquished; and dying of his wounds, was buried in

the Monastery at Canterbury. Edric was then crowned: but, after a reign of hardly two years, in which this province became desolated by civil warfare, was slain by his own subjects, and was succeeded, anno 686, by his brother Widred; who, however, was forced to admit one Swabert as his partner in the throne. Soon after their accession, Cedwalla, King of the West Saxons, imagining that the intestine divisions of Kent would render it an easy conquest, sent an army thither, under the command of his brother Mollo, who overrun, and plundered, great part of the country. His outrages roused the vengeance of the two Kings, who uniting their forces, worsted him in battle, with much slaughter: Mollo, himself, being closely pursued, sought refuge, with twelve others, in a house, which they valiantly defended for some time; but at length it was set on fire, and they all perished in the flames. Cedwalla, exasperated at the miserable fate of his brother, whom he tenderly loved, entered Kent with a formidable army, and so reduced it by fire and the sword, that it never afterwards regained its importance among the states of the Heptarchy.

"The two Kings, Widred and Swabert, enjoyed no repose till the year 691; when, having got rid of some other petty Princes, who pretended a right to part of their territories, they divided the government between them, and the country was again restored to peace and quietness. Cedwalla, not content with the revenge he had himself taken on account of his brother's death, strongly recommended the pursuit of it to his successor, Ina; who, in 694, made great preparations to invade this kingdom; and having actually marched hither, put the whole country in a consternation. The Kentish-men, after having tried various means to persuade him to relinquish his design, found money the only prevailing argument: on which, they offered him 30,000 marks of gold, which he accepted, and immediately returned home. Soon afterwards, Swabert dying, Widred reigned alone, and continued in peace to the time of his death, which occurred in the year 725."*

Widred

* Hasted, Vol. I. from Bede, lib. iv. cap. 26; Flor. Worcest. p. 506; Will. Malm. lib. i. cap. 1; Thorne, Col. 1770; Chron. Sax. ad an. 687; Hen. Hunt. lib. iv. Brompton, Col. 742, 758.

Widred was succeeded by Ethelbert, his son, who, according to some writers, associated with him his brothers, Eadbert and Aldric; and afterwards, on the death of Eadbert, in 748, Ardulph, his son. Ethelbert himself died in 760; about which time, observes Hasted, "one Sigeward was King of a part of Kent; if any credit is to be given to a grant of his, printed in the Textus Roffensis, in which he styles himself *Rex dimidiæ partis provinciæ Cantuariorum.*" Before this period, indeed, it seems probable, that Kent had been subdivided into several petty states, though there was still a nominal Sovereign of the whole.

Aldric, who was at the head of the sovereignty after the deaths of Ethelbert and Ardulph, was several times obliged to defend himself from the encroachments of the other states; and was at length defeated in a great battle, fought at Otford, in this county, by Offa, King of Mercia; who was only prevented from entirely subjugating Kent, by the jealousies of the other Saxon states, and the invasion of his own country by the Welsh. After the death of Aldric, with whom ended the right line of the Saxon Kings of Kent, of the race of Hengist, Eadbert-Pren succeeded; but was not suffered long to enjoy his supremacy; for Cenulph, King of Mercia, having ravaged the country from one end to the other, had its ill-fated Monarch conveyed to Mercia, where he ordered his eyes to be put out, and his hands to be cut off. After this, Cenulph placed Cudred on the vacant throne, who having reigned obscurely about eight years, died in 805; and was succeeded by Baldred, his son. This Prince was the last sole Monarch of Kent; for when he had reigned about eighteen years, he was driven from his throne by the forces of the great Egbert, King of the West Saxons, who finally succeeded in subjugating all the states of the Heptarchy, and uniting them into one kingdom, in the year 827, or 828.

Kent having thus become an integral part of the kingdom of England, was afterwards governed by Dukes and Earls; till these offices growing merely titulary, the local administration was vested in the Sheriffs, who had before acted in a relation subordinate to the Earls. Alcher, or Aucher, who was the first Earl and Duke

Duke of Kent, fell in battle with the Danes, who first commenced their piracies upon the coast of Kent in 832. In that year they landed in the Isle of Shepey; and having plundered the adjacent country, withdrew to their ships. Five years afterwards, they again committed the most horrid ravages in this county; and on being defeated in some other parts of the kingdom, seized on the Isle of Thanet, and wintered there. The next spring they were defeated at Sandwich, both by sea and land, by Athelstan, who appears to have been a sort of Viceroy of Kent, under his brother, Ethelwulph; or, as some write, his son. In 853, they again invaded the Isle of Thanet with a considerable force; and, on being attacked by the Kentish-men, under the above Earl Alcher, aided by Huda, Earl of Surrey, with his forces, they obtained the battle after a severe contest, in which both Earls were slain.

During the successive reigns of Ethelbert and Ethelred, and in part of that of Alfred, the Danes continued to infest this county, and often wintered in the Isles of Thanet and Shepey: at length the superior genius of Alfred obliged them to succumb, and for some years, the kingdom was freed from their ravages; though, towards the end of the reign of that great Sovereign, Kent was once more infested by these marauders, under the command of the celebrated Hastings.* Edward the Elder maintained the advantages which his father had acquired; and the Danes that had settled in England, remained in general in a state of subordination, till the time of his descendant, Ethelred, surnamed the Unready. The sluggish inactivity of this Prince proved the source of the greatest calamities; for the Danes renewing their piracies, began to ravage every part of the kingdom in a merciless manner. Kent, from its situation, was, as before, the frequent scene of their depredations. In 980, 991, 993, 4, and 5, it was a particular sufferer; and again in 998, when Sweyn, or Svein, King of Denmark, sailed up the Medway to Rochester, and ravaged that city, with other places in the vicinity.

* See in Life of Alfred, Vol. I. p. 147, 8.

The dreadful massacre of the Danes, in 1002, was the fruitful source of new woes; for Sweyn, whose own sister had been barbarously murdered, together with her children, in this fatal period, vowed to revenge the manes of his countrymen; and during the three following years, he plundered and depopulated every part of the country of which he could obtain possession. In 1006, the Isle of Thanet again became the residence of the Danes, as it also did in 1009, when they wintered there; but issuing from their retreat in the spring, they extended their conquests over a very large part of the kingdom; till at length, the cities of London and Canterbury, were almost the only places of strength that resisted their power. Even the latter city was taken after a siege of twenty days, and reduced to ashes, most of the inhabitants being destroyed at the same time; and the Archbishop himself was afterwards barbarously put to death at Greenwich, where the Danish fleet then lay.

The miserable policy of Ethelred, and his spiritless counsellors, could, even in this extremity, provide no other means of relief, than that of bribing the Danes to leave the kingdom; an expedient that had been often tried, and as often proved a merely temporary remedy, obtained at the expense of fresh insult. It was, indeed, the fatal means of inviting new enemies; and even in this instance, though the sum said to have been given, amounted to 48,000l.* the nation had hardly enjoyed a twelvemonth's tranquillity, before it was again exposed to all the horrors of invasion. Sweyn, whose implacable enmity was never at rest, arrived at Sandwich with a numerous fleet, fully determined to attempt the conquest of the whole kingdom. He thence sailed to the north, and entering the Humber, made himself master of all the northern provinces; then suddenly marching to the south, he laid siege to London, where Ethelred was shut up; but not being sufficiently provided with necessaries, he raised the siege, and ravaged the western counties. In the mean time, Ethelred, fearing to fall into his hands, fled with

* Matt. West. S. Dunelm. Brompton and the Sax. Chron. say only 8000.

with his family into Normandy; and Sweyn, to whom the capital now surrendered, anno 1013, was proclaimed King of England without further opposition. After the death of Sweyn, which happened within a twelvemonth from this period, Ethelred was recalled by the English, and prepared to contest the sovereignty with Canute, Sweyn's son, whom the Danes had exalted to the vacant throne. This Prince unexpectedly relinquished his new kingdom, and set sail for Denmark; Harold, his younger brother, having seized on that country for himself. When Canute had regained his inheritance, he returned to England, in the year 1015, and having remained a short time at Sandwich, sailed round to the western counties, which he quickly subdued, and prepared to extend his conquests. In the mean time, Edmund Ironside had succeeded to the crown, on the decease of his father, Ethelred, and bravely contended with the Danes for his rightful inheritance. He fought several battles with various success; and in one of them, defeated Canute in this county, and obliged him to take refuge in the Isle of Shepey. At length, a partition of the kingdom being agreed to by the contending Sovereigns, the Thames was made the chief boundary of their respective dominions; but on the death of Edmund, who was basely assassinated by the contrivance of his brother-in-law, Edric Streon, within a few months afterwards, Canute became the sole Monarch. On the death of Hardicanute, the fourth King of the Danish line in England, the Saxon race was restored in the person of Edward, surnamed the Confessor, son of Ethelred and Emma of Normandy, in whose reign, Sandwich, and its neighbourhood, was once more plundered by some piratical Danes. The remaining events, of historical importance, relating to this county, will be noticed in the description of the places wherein they were transacted.

KENT is a maritime county, situated in the south-easternmost part of Great Britain, and including the angle nearest to France, from which its nearest point is about twenty-four miles distant. Its figure is irregular; but approaches more to the trapezium than to any other. On the north, with the exception of a small tract on the Essex side, it is bounded by the River Thames: on the east,

and part of the south sides, it opens to the German Ocean, and British Channel; on the south, it is skirted by Sussex; and on the west, by Surrey. Its medium length, from west to east, is about sixty-six miles; and its breadth about twenty-six: its circumference is nearly 174 miles. On the west side, its bounding limits are chiefly artificial; on the south-west, and south, they are principally formed by the smaller branches of the rivers Medway and Rother. Anciently, this county is supposed to have extended some miles further westward than at present, and even to have included within its bounds, the original site of London, which Ptolemy and Ravennas speak of as situated on the south side of the Thames.* In its present circuit, it contains 832,000 acres,† five laths, sixty-three

* "There is no doubt," observes Mr. Hasted, "that before the landing of the Romans in Britain, the space of country between Deptford and the Thames, as high up as Lambeth, was a swampy marsh, great part of which was constantly overflowed by the tide, and as such, of little or no use; and, indeed, uninhabitable. This space, then, with the channel of the Thames at its extremity, might be looked on both by the *Trinobantes*, and the *Cantiani*, as a kind of barrier between them, which might mislead the ancient geographers, who supposed that the territories of the former were bounded by the Thames, and, in consequence, assigned this space of country to the adjoining Cantiani; whereas, in fact, it belonged to, or at least was claimed by, neither. The Romans afterwards, to secure this barrier, drained as much of the lands here as served their purpose, erected a station here, and made roads to it; but on their further conquests, removed to the other, or north side of the river, where London now stands. After which, neither of the above people claiming this district, it became part of the country of the *Regni*, who inhabited Sussex and Surrey, in which [latter] county it has continued to this time. Even subsequent to the Norman Conquest, the inhabitants of Surrey seem to have encroached on the county of Kent, the parish of Deptford having been, by all accounts, wholly within the latter, though now the former claims that part of it, in which are the manors of Hatcham, Bredinghurst, &c." *Hist. of Kent. Vol. I.*

† Boys's Gen. View of the Agriculture of Kent: others have estimated the number of acres at upwards of 1,200,000.

three hundreds, fifteen liberties, 414 parishes, two cities, and thirty-four market-towns.* The number of houses, according to the returns under the Population Act of 1800, amounted to 52,998; that of inhabitants to 307,624: of whom 151,374 were males, and 156,250 females. It returns ten Members to Parliament, viz. two for the shire, two for the city of Canterbury, two for the city of Rochester, two for Maidstone, and two for Queenborough. The ecclesiastical jurisdiction is divided between the Archbishopric of Canterbury and the Bishopric of Rochester; the former having eleven deanries belonging to it, and the latter, four.

For local purposes, this county has been long divided into the two districts of *East* and *West Kent:* the eastern division contains the laths of Sutton at Hone, and Aylesford, and the lower part of the lath of Scray; the western division, the laths of St. Augustine and Shipway, and the upper part of the lath of Scray: within these laths are comprehended all the smaller divisions, as bailiwicks, hundreds, liberties, &c. In each of the great districts of East and West Kent, a Court of Sessions is held four times every year; that is, twice originally, and twice by adjournment. The Justices, though appointed for the whole county, generally confine their attention to that particular district in which they reside.

The present flourishing condition of Kent has, doubtless, originated from the peculiar customs by which the descent of landed property is regulated, and which are comprehended under the term, GAVEL-KIND. These customs are of very remote date; and if any reliance can be placed on similarity of names, that of *Gavel-kind* may be derived from the ancient British GAFAEL, *to hold;* and CENEDL, *a family;* which is certainly as good a derivation as the Saxon *Gif-eal-cyn*, give-all-kind. Lambard, and Somner, eminent Kentish antiquaries, conceive the term to have originally denoted the nature of the services yielded by the land, and therefore have compounded the word GAVEL, which signifies a *Rent*, or

 customary

* Hasted, Vol. I. Some of these, however, are discontinued, though privileged as such; and Eleham Market is only held thrice yearly.

customary performance of husbandry, and of *Gecynde*, implying the nature, kind or quality of the performance; so that the proper definition of Gavel-kind, is lands which were held by rent, in opposition to land subject to military tenure; and which yielded no rent or service, in money, provision, or works of agriculture. This opinion is also espoused by Mr. Robinson,* who declares it "to be the most natural and easy account, as doing the least violence to the words, and as best supported both by reason and authority." But, in order to support the opinion thus induced, the latter author is constrained to surmise, "that the partible quality of the land was rather intrinsic, and accidental to Gavel-kind, than necessarily comprehended under that term." An inquirer must therefore be in suspense, till future ingenuity shall start a more happy derivation.

The law of Gavel-kind comprehends the joint inheritance of all the sons to the estate of the father; and should the father survive, the inheritance devolves to his grandsons, if there are any, or else to his daughters. The partibility of this custom is not restrained to the right line of consanguinity; for all brothers may jointly inherit the estate of a deceased brother; and, agreeable to the same rule, nephews and nieces, by the right of representation, are, in their degrees, intitled to the same division of property.

This transmission of an equal part of the parent's possessions to those of his family who were equally connected with him by the dearest and most tender affections, was certainly a method of distribution, equally obvious, impartial, and reasonable; it was, therefore, undoubtedly, an universal law of antiquity, till the scheme of policy being refined, it was judged useful, or rather found necessary, to raise such distinctions as nature never intended. To those nations who have least deviated from this equitable mode of descent, there is due a proportionate degree of commendation; and it is highly to the credit of our ancient British ancestors, that this equitable transmission prevailed here. By a law of Canute, is implied, that our Danish progenitors admitted daughters, as well

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* Essay on the Customs of Gavel-kind.

as sons, to an equal share both of real and personal estate. The Saxons do not seem to have been so complaisant to the fair sex in this respect; and some of their unpolished legislators are suggested to have assigned a sarcastic but false reason for their partial distinction;—"that the worthiest of blood were preferred."

At the Norman Conquest, it is evident that the eldest son did not inherit to the exclusion of his brethren; and it was at that tyrannical period, that the custom was introduced, of the right of sole succession in preference to the divisible practice of inheritance; and it was introduced by William the First, as a striking specimen of the military and arbitrary domination which he intended to establish. The men of Kent resisted so deprecated an incroachment with success; but the other parts of the nation were gradually brought to acquiesce in acceding to the claim of primogeniture, except a few insignificant boroughs and manors.

Various are the causes which might induce the men of Kent to resist so generally the slavery to which the rest of their countrymen were subjected: the following motive, mentioned by Somner, seems the most plausible and best supported conjecture.

"The Kentish-men, (the commons there, I mean,) like the Londoners, more careful, in those days, to maintain their issue for the present, than their houses for the future, were more tenacious, tender and retentive of the present custom, and more careful to continue it, than generally those of most other shires were; not because (as some give the reason) the younger be as good gentlemen as the elder brethren; (an argument proper, perchance, for the partible land in Wales;) but because it was land, which, by the nature of it, appertained not to the gentry, but to the yeomanry, whose name or cause they cared not so much to uphold by keeping the inheritance to the elder brother."*

"And this account," according to Mr. Robinson, "agrees well with the genius and temper of the people;" "for," says Lambard,† in this their estate, they please themselves, and joy exceedingly; insomuch, as a man may find sundry yeomen (although otherwise

* *Somner on Gavel-kind*, p. 89, 90. † *Peramb.* p. 14.

for wealth comparable with many of the gentle sort) that will not, for all that, change their condition, nor desire to be apparelled with the titles of gentry."

So predominant is Gavel-kind in Kent, that all lands are presumed to be subject to that usage, till the contrary is proved; and formerly, such lands only were exempted from it, as were holden by knight's service. Anciently a royal prerogative was exercised, by changing the customary descent as well as the tenure; and in some instances, this prerogative was delegated to subjects, and particularly by King John, in the third year of his reign, to Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, and his successors. Contrary interpretations have, however, been, at different times, put upon this tenure; but it is evident that the legislative authority alone can over-rule the custom of an equal partition among the sons, or other collateral descendants.

For this purpose, several statutes have been made, the first of which was in the reign of Henry the Seventh, at the request of Sir Henry Guldeford: another act, on the same dis-gavelling principle, passed in the fifteenth of Henry the Eighth: another statute was obtained by Sir Henry Wiat. In the thirty-first year of the reign of the same Prince, the lands of thirty-four noblemen and gentlemen were dis-gavelled in the same manner; and a similar liberty was allowed to forty-two others, by a statute of the second and third of Edward the Sixth. The lands of three gentlemen only, were dis-gavelled during the long reign of Queen Elizabeth; and of the same number, in that of James the First; and it does not appear that any act, of the same nature, has passed since the first year of the latter Monarch.

These dis-gavelling acts divested the lands to which they related of their partible property only, without affecting, in the least, their other incidental qualities; which remained the same, because they were not expressly altered by the letter of the law; else the owners of Gavel-kind lands would have suffered great prejudice by the loss of their usual privileges, instead of the benefit intended by the acts. One of these privileges is, that lands in Kent do not escheat to the King, or other Lord, of whom they are holden, in cases of conviction

and

and execution for felony; but the heir of a tenant in Gavel-kind, notwithstanding the offence of his ancestor, shall enter immediately, and enjoy the lands by descent, after the same customs and services by which they were before holden. This peculiar immunity is comprised in the old vulgar proverb:

"The father to the bough,
"And the son to the plough."

The privileges attached to Gavel-kind, do not, however, extend to cases of treason: for any person attainted, in the smallest degree, of this high offence, forfeits all the lands which he holds by this tenure, to the Crown, according to usage. Heirs are also deprived of the title of possession, if their ancestors, being indicted for felony, should abscond, and consequently become outlaws: and in the times of Papal jurisdiction, if the tenant had taken refuge in a consecrated place, or had abjured the realm, the immunity ceased; because an offender, before he could avail himself of sanctuary, was obliged to make a full confession of the crime laid to his charge; and flight always excited a strong presumption of guilt. By the like custom, a wife's dower in lands of the nature of Gavel-kind, is in no case forfeitable for her husband's felony, except where the heir is liable to be debarred of his inheritance. This was a privilege almost peculiar to the widows of tenants in Gavel-kind; nor was the severity of the common law mitigated in this particular, till a statute was passed, in the first year of the reign of Edward the Sixth, allowing every wife her dower, notwithstanding her husband's having been attainted of felony.

There ever was, and still is, a very material difference between such lands as are Gavel-kind, and those which are without that rule, in respect to the proportion, or the rent assigned for dower. Thus by the common law, a widow has a right to a third part only of her husband's real property; but by the law of Gavel-kind, a moiety is due of all the estates possessed by the husband at the marriage, and at any time during the coverture. One disadvantage, however, is incident to dower in Gavel-kind, to which the doweries of lands holden under many other tenures are not subject; namely,

ly, that a tenant of the former does not enjoy it absolutely for life, but only as long as she continues unmarried and chaste. A very circumstantial proof of incontinency was formerly required; and, before a forfeiture of dower could be incurred, it was necessary to attaint a widow of child-birth. This is explained by Lambard's translation of a French manuscript, intituled, *The Custumal of Kent*, in the following manner:

"If when she is delivered of a child, the infant be heard cry, and that the hue and cry be raised, and the country assembled, and have the view of the child so born, and of the mother, then let her lose her dower wholly; and otherwise not, so long as she holdeth her a widow; whereof it is said in Kentish,

"He that doth wende her, let him lende her."*

In the present practice in these cases, it is sufficient to shew that a widow in Gavel-kind has been caught tripping, to deprive her of her dower, without producing actual evidence of this casual, though frequent, effect of a breach of chastity.

The different terms of restraint imposed upon the two sexes by the Gavel-kind law, betrays, however, a notorious partiality. A widow must keep herself not only *sole*, but *chaste*, or she loses her dower; whilst a widower, if he has a sufficient degree of resolution to avoid forming a second matrimonial connection, may, without possessing the gift of continence, remain, by the courtesy of Kent, a tenant to half of the lands that belonged to his deceased wife.

Another distinguishing property of Gavel-kind is, that the tenant is of sufficient years to alienate his estate at the age of fifteen; but it must be by feoffment, that being a method of conveyance

* In two other copies of the Custumal, we meet with a different reading of this proverb. In one it is, *Sey is wedne, sey is levedne.*—In the other, *Seye is wedne, seye is lenedy.*—And Mr. Hasted, in the Preface to his History of Kent, gives it more intelligibly thus:

"He that does turn or wend her,
Let him also give unto her, or lend her."

veyance of every other the most proper, lest there be any suspicion of fraud and imposition. This privilege makes the tenant some compensation for his being kept in ward one year longer than is permitted by the course of the common law. And infants in Gavel-kind always enjoyed several advantageous immunities formerly denied to other persons during their minority. In the "Custumal of Kent," the noble usage claimed in behalf of wards, is expressed in the following terms:

"And if the heir or heirs shall be under the age of fifteen years, let the nutriture be committed, by the Lord, to the next of the blood to whom the inheritance cannot descend, so that the Lord take nothing for the committing thereof. And let not an heir be married by the Lord, but by his own will, and by the advice of his friends, if he will. And when such heir, or heirs, shall come to the full age of fifteen years, let all their lands and tenements be delivered unto them, together with their goods, and with the profits of the same lands remaining above their reasonable sustenance: of the which profits and goods, let him be bound to make answer which hath the education of the heir, or else the Lord, or his heirs, which committed the same education."

It was formerly "the custom of this county to divide the chattels, after the funeral expenses and debts of the deceased were paid, into three parts, if he left any lawful issue; of which, one portion was for the performance of legacies; another towards the education of his children; and the third towards the support of his widow.

"If the tenant of Gavel-kind lands withdraws from his Lord his due rents and services, the custom of Kent gives the Lord a special and solemn kind of *cessavit*, denominated *Gavelet*, by which, unless the tenant redeems his lands by payment of the arrears, and makes reasonable amends for his neglect or contumacy, they become forfeited to the Lord, and he enters, and occupies them as his own demesnes.

"The tenants in Gavel-kind also claim the privilege, that where a writ of right is brought concerning Gavel-kind lands, that the grand assize shall not be chosen in the usual manner, by four

Knights, but by four tenants in Gavel kind, who shall not associate to themselves twelve Knights, but that number of tenants in Gavel-kind; and trial by battle shall not be allowed in such a writ for those lands."*

The invaluable benefits of the various privileges of the tenants in Gavel-kind, cannot be more clearly shewn, than by contrasting with them the burthens of the military or feudal tenure.

"The heir," says the learned Sir William Blackstone, "on the death of his ancestor, if of full age, was plundered of the emoluments arising from his inheritance, by way of *relief* and *primer seisin;* and if under age, of the whole of his estate during infancy."†

Sir Thomas Smith, in his Commonwealth,‡ has the following remarks on this head: "*When the heir came to his own, after he was out of wardship, his goods were decayed, houses fallen down, stock wasted and gone, lands let forth and ploughed to be barren:* to make amends, he was yet to pay half a year's profits as a fine for sueing out his livery; and also the price and value of his marriage, if he refused such wife as his Lord and guardian had bartered for, and imposed upon him; or twice that value, if he married another woman. And when, by these deductions, his fortune was so shattered and ruined, that, perhaps, he was obliged to sell his patrimony, he had not that poor privilege allowed him, without paying an exorbitant fine for a *license* of *alienation.*"

The grievances thus established in consequence of the feudal system, were occasionally mitigated by several acts of Parliament; but were not wholly abolished by the legislature, till the twelfth year of the reign of Charles the Second.

Whatever opinion may be entertained of the story related by Sprot, of the Men of Kent impeding the Conqueror in his march, and, with the Archbishop of Canterbury at their head, obliging him to consent to the preservation of their ancient liberties, and which story has been exploded by different writers, it may be observed,

* Hasted's Kent, Vol. I. p. 315.

† Commentaries. ‡ L. iii. c. 5.

served, that the continuance of such peculiar privileges must have originated in some important cause, though that cause be now forgotten. They not only succeeded in preserving their lands from a state of servitude, thus complicated and diffusive, but likewise maintained an old claim highly favorable to the natives of Kent, by which it was insisted, "That all the bodies of Kentish-men be free, as well as the other free bodies of England." This is the first article in the Custumal. The privilege extended to every native of the county, and to their children, at a period when other English subjects were held in an hereditary state of bondage; and when the Lords of Manors exerted a legal power of claiming, recovering, and transferring, the persons of villains, in the same manner as they did of their horses and their oxen.

It is a curious circumstance, that, since the passing of the Dis-gavelling Acts, the continual change of property, the extinction of the Court of Wards, and of the *Inquisitiones post Mortem*, the want of knowledge where records are deposited, and the great expense of searching for them, the difficulty of proving what estates the persons named in the Dis-gavelling Statutes were seized of at the time of making them, together with that of shewing what lands were formerly subject to military tenures, which has daily increased since their abolition, have occasioned difficulties so accumulated, and so insurmountable, that the land-holders entitled to the benefit of those acts, wave their privilege, and suffer their lands to pass in common with those of their neighbours, rather than enter into a labyrinth of litigation and cost. "The consequence is," says Robinson, "that at this time, there is almost as much land in the county of Kent subject to the controul of the custom of Gavel-kind, as there was before the Dis-gavelling Statutes were enacted."

The general aspect of Kent is very beautiful; arising from the inequality of the surface, the diversity of the scenery, and the variety in the verdure. "The whole county," observes Mr. Hasted, "excepting the marshes and the Weald, is a general cluster of small hills; two chains of which, higher than the rest, run through the middle of Kent, from west to east, in general at about eight miles

distance from each other, (though at some places much less,) and extending from Surrey to the sea." These are called the Upper and Lower Hills, and are mostly covered with coppice and woodlands. The northern range, and, indeed, the whole north side of the county, is composed principally of chalk and flints, as well as a large tract on the east coast: the southern range is chiefly of iron-stone, and rag-stone: more westerly, clay and gravel prevail on the eminences.

In the Agricultural Survey of this County by Mr. Boys, he has divided it into eight districts, according to the nature of the soil and produce, and this division will be here followed, as being best calculated to convey a complete idea of the whole: these districts respectively comprehend the Isle of Thanet, the upland farms of East Kent, the rich flat lands in the vicinity of Faversham, Sandwich, and Deal, the hop-grounds, &c. of Canterbury and Maidstone, the Isle of Shepey, the upland farms of West Kent, the Weald of Kent, and Romney Marsh.

The *Isle of Thanet* forms the north-east angle of Kent, from the main land of which it is separated by the river Stour, and the water called the Nethergong: its length is about nine miles, and its breadth about five. This district is in a very high state of cultivation, and of very remarkable fertility; its soil, though originally a light mould on a chalky bottom, having been greatly improved by the inexhaustible store of manure supplied by the sea. The whole Island contains about 3500 acres of excellent marsh land, and 23,000 acres of arable: those of the latter, which border on the marshes, are the most productive; though even the up-lands are rendered extremely fertile through the excellent modes by which they are cultivated. The deepest and best soil, says Mr. Boys, "is that which lies on the south side of the southernmost ridge, running westward from Ramsgate to Monkton:" it is there a deep rich sandy loam, mostly dry enough to be ploughed flat, without any water furrows; and, indeed, so rich and productive, that there is seldom occasion to fallow it; though this, in a great measure, arises from the care and industry bestowed on its management. The soil of the marshes is a stiff clay, mixed with sea-sand

and

and small shells. The general routine of crops on the lighter soils, is fallow, barley, clover, and wheat; but a crop of peas is occasionally introduced in place of the fallow; and sometimes beans in room of the clover. Where the round-tilth course is pursued in the rich sandy loam lands, the general routine is beans, wheat, and barley. Canary-seeds are likewise grown here in great quantities; as well as radish, spinach, mustard, and cabbage, and other esculant plants for the London markets. The harvest for wheat generally commences in the first week in August; and for barley, oats, and peas, the last week in July. The marsh lands are principally applied to the fattening of sheep and cattle: the sheep are chiefly of the Romney Marsh breed; the cattle are mostly of the Welsh kind. Many pigs are reared in this district: the hogs are of various sorts, both small and large; the former are mostly a cross from the Chinese breed. But very little wood is now growing in this Island; though, from the names of various places, it would seem to have been anciently abundant. The farm-houses are in general good, and even elegant buildings; and the roads are in excellent order. The sea-weed is sometimes burnt into kelp, and exported to Holland. The air in the higher parts is extremely favorable to health; but the inhabitants of the lower parts, bordering on the marshes, are subject to agues and intermittent fevers.

The *Upland Farms of East Kent* may be described as including an open and dry tract of land, lying between the city of Canterbury and the towns of Dover and Deal; and another tract, inclosed with woods and coppice, extending from Dover by Elham and Ashford, to Rochester, in length, and from the Isle of Shepey to Lenham, &c. in breadth. The former tract includes a great variety of soils, hardly that of any two farms being similar. The prevailing soils are chalk, loam, cledge,* hazel-mould, and stiff clay; with intermixtures of flint, gravel, and sand. The stiff clays are principally met with on the tops of the highest hills about Dover; the flinty tracts occur in the vallies in the same neighbourhood, and about Stockbury, near Maidstone. The routine, and nature

* Cledge is a stiff tenacious earth, intermixed with flints, and sometimes with small particles of chalk.

nature of the crops on these various soils, are, of course, very dissimilar: on the chalk lands, artificial grasses form a considerable portion of the produce; the loamy soils are mostly under the round-tilth system, viz. barley, beans, and wheat; the cledge is fallowed once in four years, and generally cropped with oats, clover, and wheat; on the hazel-mould, which is a light soil on a clay bottom, more or less mixed with flints and sand, the course of crops is very different, according to the caprice of the farmer, or the situation of the land; the routine on the stiff clays, is generally fallow, wheat, beans, and barley. In this district, the harvest is commonly from fourteen to eighteen days later than in the Isle of Thanet. The sheep, cattle, horses, and hogs, are of similar breeds to those in that Island. The hop-grounds are but few; the principal are almost confined to the parishes of Woodnesborough, Ash, and Wingham.

The woodlands in the eastern part of Kent, are dispersed principally between the great road from Rochester to Dover, and the chalk hill that runs from Folkstone, by Charing to Detling. These furnish the adjacent country with fire-wood, and the dock-yards with timber for ship-building: but the most material part of their produce is the immense quantity of hop-poles cut out for the neighbouring plantations. The chalky soils are principally productive of ash, willow, and hazel; the stiff clays, of oak, birch, and beech. When the wood is fit for cutting, it is generally sold to the dealers by the acre. In the woodland district, which extends from Chatham Hill to Charing, the soil is mostly flint and clay, with a chalky sub-stratum. The wood is generally cut at from ten to fourteen years growth, and is valued in proportion to the quantity of hop-poles produced: the best poles are those of chesnut, ash, willow, and maple; the former are in most estimation. The wood is found to degenerate after every fall, unless replenished from the nursery, from which the plants should be removed with as much earth round their roots as possible, and care should be taken not to injure the small suckers.

The *Rich Flat Lands* in the vicinity of Faversham, Sandwich, and Deal, lie nearly on a level, are extremely fertile, and excellently

lently managed under a general system. These lands are almost entirely arable: the soils are a rich sandy loam, intermixed with a larger or smaller quantity of sand, and a stiff wet clay. The former produces abundance of wheat, beans, barley, oats, and peas; the latter, when well drained and weeded, is also very productive in wheat, beans, and canary seed. The dry loamy soils are chiefly cultivated under the round-tilth system of East Kent, viz. barley, beans, and wheat: much of the stiff wet clay is under a two-fold course of beans and wheat alternately; but canary is often sown in place of wheat. In the vicinity of Sandwich, are many orchards, which in some years produce large quantities of good apples, most of which are carried by the coal-vessels to Sunderland and Newcastle; the remainder is sent to the London market. The live stock in this division of the county, is similar to what has been noticed in the preceding districts.

The *Hop Grounds* extending from Maidstone and Canterbury, and from thence to Sandwich, are very productive, and under a good system of management; though the soils are different, as well as the kind of hops cultivated. The plantations have of late years been greatly increased, particularly in the vicinity of Maidstone, Faversham, and Canterbury: the plantations called the City Grounds, extend through a circuit of two miles and a half round the latter city, and are estimated to include from 2500 to 3000 acres. The hops grown here, and in the grounds running hence to Sandwich, are very rich in quality, and in much request for their great strength; if well managed, they are also of a good color. The most productive grounds are those which have a deep rich loamy surface, with a sub-soil of deep loamy brick earth; and this kind of land forms the principal part of the plantations of East Kent; though there are some good grounds where the surface is very flinty.* The produce is subject to great fluctuation; in some

 seasons,

* Boys's Gen. View of the Agriculture of Kent. When a piece of ground is intended to be planted, the first thing is to plough the land very deep, early in October, and to harrow it level; it is then meted each way with a four-rod chain, and pieces of reed, or stick, are placed at every tenth

seasons, the hops amount to fourteen or fifteen hundred weight per acre; in others, they do not weigh two hundred per acre.

In drying hops, a small quantity of brimstone is sometimes used, in order to suffocate the insects, and occasion a more speedy evaporation of the superfluous moisture: by the use of the sulphur, the hops are thought also to be brightened in color. In the plantations of Maidstone and its vicinity, very great crops of hops are grown, but they are inferior in quality to those of Canterbury and East Kent. The soil is what is locally termed stone shatter; that is, where there is a greater or less mixture of small pieces of stone and sand; the sub-soil is called Kentish rag, and burns into good lime. The hop plantations furnish employment to great numbers of the poorer classes, not only of this, but of other counties; and the motley groups that assemble to assist in hop-picking, are truly amusing. Hops are generally regarded as having been introduced into this country about the time of Henry

tenth link, to mark the place of the hills, which in this way amount to 1000 per acre. This is the general method; but some few grounds are planted eight, and some twelve hundred per acre: some are planted wider one way than the other, in order to admit ploughing between the hills, instead of digging; but this practice does not seem to increase, on account of the extra expense, and difficulty incurred, in those parts where the plough cannot reach. When the hills are marked out, holes are dug about the size of a gallon measure, and the nursery plants placed in them. Some put three plants, others two, and some only one good plant to each hole. If the land is planted with cuttings instead of nursery plants, the holes are dug in the spring, as soon as cutting time commences; some fine mould is then provided to fill up the holes, in each of which are placed four or five cuttings, of three or four inches in length: they are then covered about an inch deep with the fine mould, and pressed down with the hand. When the land is planted with cuttings, no sticks are required; but if nursery plants are used, they require sticks, or small poles, six or seven feet high, the first year. In both cases the land is kept clean during the summer by horse and hand hoeing: the next winter it is dug with a spade; and early in the spring the old binds are cut off smooth about an inch below the surface; a little fine mould is then drawn over the crown of the hills. As soon as the young shoots

ry the Sixth; and in the year 1428, they were petitioned against as a *wicked weed*. This, however, can only refer to the use of them; for they are found wild in almost every part of Britain, and have even a British name, *llewig y blaidd*, or *bane of the wolf*.* They came into more general use in the reigns of Henry the Eighth and Elizabeth. Nearly one-fourth of the whole produce of the hop-duty is paid from the plantations of East Kent.

Besides its hop-grounds, the neighbourhood of Maidstone is celebrated for its apples, cherries, and filberts; many small fields, of from one to ten and perhaps fifteen acres, being planted with different species of these kinds of fruit: it is also a very common practice to plant hops, apples, cherries, and filberts, all together; and sometimes the apples and cherries are planted in alternate rows, with two rows of filberts between each of them. The apples intended for cyder, are generally gathered about the twentieth

shoots appear, so that the hills may be seen, they are stuck with small poles, from seven to ten feet long, in proportion to the length it is expected the bind will run: these poles are called seconds, and three of them are placed to each hill. As soon as the binds become about two feet in length, women are employed to tye them to the poles. In the following summer, the land is kept clean, as before, by horse and hand hoeing. The proper time for gathering the hops, is known by the leaf rubbing freely off the string, and the seed turning brown. They are picked in baskets, containing five bushels each; and are carried to the *oast* in bags, at noon and evening, for drying; in which process great care and skill is requisite. When dried, and sufficiently cool to get a little tough, so as not to crumble into powder, they are put into bags, or pockets; the former contains two hundred weight and a half, and the latter one hundred and a quarter: they are then trodden very close, and weighed. The second year after planting, full-sized poles, that is, poles from fifteen to twenty feet in length, according to the strength of the land, are placed to the hills instead of the seconds, which are removed to the younger grounds.—Fifty cart-loads of well rotted farm-yard dung and mould, once in three years, are generally esteemed sufficient for an acre land. *Ibid. p.* 56, 58.

* Pennant's Journey to the Isle of Wight, Vol. I. p. 50.

of October, and after being laid in heaps to ripen, under cover, are manufactured for use. In plentiful years the cyder fruit sells for fourteen-pence per bushel. The apples appropriated for domestic uses, are sold to fruiterers, who send them to London by the hoys, or to the north of England by the coal vessels. The cherries,* which are of the white and black-heart, Hertfordshire-black, red, and Flemish, or Kentish, kinds, are usually sold to higlers, who retail them on the sea-coast by the sieve or basket, containing forty-eight pounds each; or else they are sent by water to London, and consigned to the fruit-factors. The filberts are mostly disposed of in the same manner. The cherry-gardens continue in full-bearing about thirty years; and during that time they are more profitable than orchards, but afterwards less so.

The *Isle of Shepey* is separated from the rest of Kent by an arm of the sea, called the Swale, which is navigable for vessels of 200 tons burthen: its length is about eleven miles, and its breadth, eight. About four-fifths of this Island consists of marsh and pasture lands; the remainder is arable. The prevailing soil is a deep, strong, stiff clay, through which the plough can hardly be forced. The marshes have also a thick clay beneath, but are covered with a rich black vegetable mould; great numbers of sheep having been regularly fed on them for many years. On the arable lands, which are in a high state of cultivation, beans and wheat are grown alternately; a fallow being occasionally substituted for the bean crop. The wheat is very excellent, and frequently weighs sixty-four pounds the Winchester bushel. Much clover is also grown here; and on the few gravelly tracts in the higher parts, oats and barley are sown: the clover is generally mown twice; the first time for hay, and the last for seed. The upland pastures are applied to the feeding of lambs and young lean sheep: the ewes are generally put

* "The Romans introduced this delicious fruit into our Island, about 130 years after Lucullus had brought it out of Pontus to Rome: but the *Kentish* cherry, or the old English variety, with a short stalk, was brought out of Flanders by our honest patriot, Richard Harrys, fruiterer to Henry the Eighth, and planted at Teynham."

Pennant's Journey to the Isle of Wight, Vol. I. p. 51.

put to the rams about the middle of November, and the lambs are weaned in August. On the best of the marsh lands, the more forward sheep and cattle are fed: the sheep are mostly of the Romney Marsh breed; the cattle are almost wholly of the Welsh sort. The horses are of a kind that has been bred in the Island from time immemorial, and are somewhat smaller than those of the other parts of Kent. The arable lands have been greatly improved by being manured with cockle-shells, great quantities of which are continually thrown on the shores by the sea, and are spread on the lands at about thirty loads per acre. The sea frequently undermines, and gains ground on, the cliffs, which skirt the north and north-east sides, and extend about six miles in length. These cliffs contain an abundance of extraneous fossils and petrifactions, as well as pyritæ, or copperas-stone: the latter are collected by poor people employed for the purpose, and left on the shore in heaps, till a sufficient quantity has been obtained to load a vessel.

The *Upland Farms of West Kent* include a great variety of soils, and are cultivated under various systems of husbandry. This district is more inclosed than the eastern part, and produces greater quantities of timber and underwood, particularly on the upper or westernmost side. The best cultivated tract in this division lies between Rainham and Dartford, and is about five or six miles in breadth. Parallel with this, and of nearly the same breadth, is the range of chalk hills which extends from the sea near Folkstone to Surrey near Westerham, and from being the most elevated land in the county, has obtained the local name of the Hog's Back of Kent. The soil on the flat top of this hill is a cold, stiff, flinty clay; so much so, as generally to require six horses to plough it. Between this hill, and the borders of the Weald, and confines of Surrey, the country is pleasantly diversified by hill and dale, the hills shelving in almost every direction. This part produces great quantities of hops and fruit, with some corn and grass: much timber and coppice-wood is also grown here. In the gravelly and sandy soils about Dartford and Blackheath, early green peas, turnips, rye, winter tares, clover, oats, &c. are produced. The rotation of crops on these different soils is so very variable, that no general course can be said to exist. Sainfoin, trefoil, and rye-grass,

are frequently grown on the chalky soils, after one, two or three courses of turnips, clover, barley, and wheat. On the clay lands the routine is frequently fallow, wheat, clover and trefoil, and oats, or wheat again; and sometimes peas. In this district the barley, and oats, after cutting, are commonly raked together by hand, and carried loose into the barn. The early green peas are generally drilled in rows, eight or nine to the rod; and are sold by the acre to persons who gather them, and send them to the London markets. The dairies are mostly small, many of them not keeping more than eight or ten cows. The sheep are mostly of the South Down kind, bought in at the autumnal fairs on the downs, and the west country breeds from Wiltshire and Dorsetshire: these are frequently fattened on turnips, oil-cake, and hay. The waste and common lands of this district form an extent of many thousand acres.* The turnpike-roads are mostly in good condition; but the cross-roads of West Kent are frequently impassable for carriages.

The *Weald of Kent* is a considerable and remarkable tract, stretching along the south side of the county, from Romney Marsh to Surrey: on the north it is bounded by the range of hills which enters the county near Well Street, and extends in nearly a due west direction, to Sutton and Egerton, and thence stretches south-eastward to Hythe: on the south it extends to the confines of Sussex, and includes the Isle of Oxney.† This district was in ancient times an immense wood, or forest; wholly destitute of inhabitants, and stored with hogs and deer only. By degrees, however, it became peopled, and is now every where interspersed with towns and villages; though it still contains some extensive and flourishing woodlands. Its present name is Saxon, and signifies a woody country; but the Britons called it *Coit Andred;* the great chace, or forest. The whole was ancient demesne of the Saxon Kings; and there are still certain privileges annexed to the possession of the

* These include Black-heath, Bexley-heath, Cox-heath, and the heaths of Charing, Dartford, and Malling: the other heaths are smaller.

† It is generally supposed, that the Weald extended anciently much further; and that it formerly began at Winchelsea, in Sussex, and was 120 miles in length, and thirty in breadth.

the lands, which induce the proprietors to contend for their being within its limits. "It is said," observes Mr. Hasted, "that within the Weald, the proof of woodlands having ever paid tithe, lies on the parson, to entitle him to take tithe of it, contrary to the usual custom in other places, where the proof of the exemption lies on the owner: nor are the lands in it subject to the statute of woods; nor has the Lord waste within the Weald; the timber growing thereon belongs to the tenant. This latter custom of excluding the Lord from the waste, is called *land-peerage.*"

The Weald, when viewed from the adjoining hills, which command the whole extent, exhibits a most delightful landscape, interspersed with small eminences, highly cultivated, and animated by farm-houses, seats, and villages, promiscuously scattered among towering oaks, and other trees. The soil is principally clay, with a sub-stratum of marle: in some places strong and heavy, but in others so pliant, that the ploughing is performed by oxen, unshod. The other soils are sand, hazel-mould, and gravel; but those do not exist in any quantity. The parish of Bethersden is celebrated for a variegated lime-stone, called Bethersden marble: in the parts adjacent to Sussex, much iron-stone is obtained. Wheat, oats, barley, rye-grass, clover, turnips, and beans, are among the chief productions of this district: the pastures are also very rich and fertile, and great numbers of cattle are annually fattened in them. The highways in this district are in general very indifferent, and frequently impassible for carriages, even in tolerable weather: in winter, even horses cannot keep the main roads, but are obliged to pass along the narrow paved tracts that have been formed at the sides.

Romney Marsh is an extensive level tract of rich marsh land, lying on the southern coast, and in itself comprehending about 23,925 acres; but when described, as it frequently is, in connection with Walland Marsh, which adjoins it on the south-west, and Denge Marsh, which connects with the latter on the south-east, it includes about 43,326 acres: of these 16,489 are contained in Walland Marsh, and 2912 in Denge Marsh. The whole level, however, is yet more extensive; for Guildford Marsh, which ad-

joins Walland Marsh on the west, comprises 3265 acres: most of this latter tract is in Sussex.

The beautiful appearance of these levels in the summer season, when the entire surface is clothed with luxuriant verdure, and covered with numerous flocks of sheep, and droves of cattle, cannot fail to excite considerable interest in every observer. Drayton, who may be regarded as the most picturesque (and most fanciful, perhaps) of our old poets, describes the *Marsh* as a female enamoured of the beauties of the river Rother; and

> Appearing to the flood, most bravely like a Queen;
> Clad all from head to foot, in gaudy summer's green;—
> Her mantle richly wrought with sundry flow'rs and weeds;
> Her moistful temples bound with wreaths of quiv'ring reeds;
> And on her loins a frock, with many a swelling plait,
> Imboss'd with well-spread horse, large sheep, and full-fed neat;
> With villages amongst, oft powthered here and there.
>
> With lakes and lesser fords, to mitigate the heat
> In summer, when the fly doth prick the gadding neat.
>
> POLY-OLBION, Song xviii.

The Marsh is defended against the violence of the sea by an immense wall of earth, of vast strength, called Dimchurch Wall, extending in length somewhat more than three miles. This wall is the sole barrier that prevents the sea from overflowing the whole extent of the level; and as it is for the general safety, so "is it supported," says Hasted, "as well as the three grand sluices through it, which are for the general drainage of the marshes, by scots levied over the whole of it: but the interior drainage, which is portioned out into a number of divisions, called waterings, is provided with sewers, and maintained at the expense of the respective land-holders, by a scot raised separately on each," in proportion to the extent of their own watering.

In that proportion of the Marshes within this county, are comprehended the two corporate towns of New Romney and Lydd, and sixteen other parishes. The inclosures are principally formed by ditches, and a rail fence. The roads, which are wide, are only the

the Marshes fenced off; the soil of which being remarkably deep, makes travelling on them very unpleasant after the least rain. Excepting the villages, which consist of but a very few houses, standing close round the churches, there are hardly any others interspersed in it, and most of these are very mean. The inhabitants are chiefly such as are hired to look after the grounds and cattle; the owners and occupiers of which live in general in the neighbouring towns, or upland country.*

The soil of these spacious levels has been almost wholly deposited by the sea, and principally consists of a fine, soft, rich loam and clay, with a greater or less proportion of sea-sand intermixed. The sub-soil consists of alternate layers of sand and clay, with sea-beach occasionally intervening. In many places throughout the Marsh, at the depth of three or four feet, have been frequently dug up oak leaves, acorns, &c. together with large trees lying along in different directions; some across each other; some appearing with the roots to them, as if overturned by a storm, or other convulsion of nature; and others as if cut down with an axe, or sharp instrument; the color being as black, and the wood as hard, as ebony.†

These Marshes are almost entirely appropriated to the grazing and fattening of sheep and cattle, but chiefly to the former, which are bred and fed here in immense quantities; their number, perhaps, "exceeding that of any other district in the kingdom."‡

"Every grazier, whose business is complete, has two sorts of land, namely, breeding land, and fattening land. The breeding land is stocked with ewes in the autumn for the winter; and every field has such a number put into it, as the occupier supposes it will sustain; which is from two and a half to three and a half, and, in some cases, to four, per acre, in proportion to the strength of the field. The rams are usually put to the ewes, allowing one to forty or fifty, and sometimes sixty, about the middle of November;

* Hasted, Vol. VIII. p. 470, 1, 8vo. Edit. † Ibid. p. 476.

‡ Boys's Gen. View of the Agri. of Kent, p. 99.

ber; and they remain with them about five weeks. The ewes live entirely on the grass, without any hay, during the winter; though in deep snows they lose flesh, and sometimes become very poor by their yeaning time. This Marsh produces many twins; but a great number are lost; so that most graziers consider their crop not a bad one, if they wean as many lambs as they put ewes to ram. The lambs are weaned the first or second week in August, and very soon after are put out to keep to the upland farmers of the county; where they remain till the fifth of April, at from two to three shillings per score per week. When they return to the Marsh, they are put on the poorest land, or on such fields as want improvement by hard stocking, which is here called tegging a field, and is held to be of great service." They are afterwards distributed over the fields in proportion to the richness of the feed, and to the number which it is judged each field will maintain from the beginning of April till August; which varies, on the average, from five to twelve per acre. In autumn the wether tegs "are removed to the fatting, and the ewe tegs to the breeding, grounds, among the two and three yearling ewes. The wethers remain till the July or August following, when, as they become fat, they are taken out, and sold either to the dealers at the Marsh markets, or to those of Smithfield. The two yearling wethers, when fat at this season, weigh from twenty to twenty-eight pounds per quarter; and some of the largest, and best fed, a few pounds more. The old ewes, here called *barrens*, are put to fatten as soon as their milk is dried after their third lamb, which is at the age of four years, on some of the best land, on which they are placed at from three to five per acre, for the winter. These, in favorable winters, are sometimes made fat, and are sold in the spring, time enough for the same field to take in a fresh set of wethers to fatten by the autumn; but this can only be done by light stocking."*

The breed of sheep thus encouraged, is known by the appellation of the Romney Marsh kind: the sheep, themselves, are much larger than those of the South Down, or west country breeds, yet by

* Boys's Gen. View, 101, 102.

by no means so large as those of Lincolnshire, and the lower parts of Norfolk. The wool is very fine and long: the produce from each sheep, on an average, is estimated at five pounds; and the whole quantity annually produced at about 4000 packs. The arable lands, though of inconsiderable extent, are extremely productive in wheat, beans, and peas; and have been somewhat increased of late years, owing to the small composition that is exacted in lieu of tythes.

Romney Marsh has generally been considered as unhealthy; and probably this belief has operated to keep it thinly peopled. Lambard describes the air, as 'bad in winter, worse in summer, and at no time good; fit only for those vast herds of cattle which feed all over it.' Latterly, however, its sanative qualities have been greatly improved; a change attributed to the attention that has been given to keep the ditches free from stagnant and putrid water.

The tract properly called *Welland Marsh*, is divided from Romney Marsh by the embankment named the Rhee-Wall, and extends about four miles in breadth, and five in length. The general level is here somewhat lower than in Romney Marsh; a circumstance which, jointly with some defects in the drainage, occasions many acres to be covered with water during great part of the year. The soil, however, is extremely rich and fertile, and large cattle are fattened here during the summer. The sheep are of the same kind as those of the adjoining marsh; and the general system under which they are bred and fattened, is similar.

The extent and rental of *Farms* in Kent are uncommonly various, as must be evident when the peculiar customs of the county are considered in connection with the diversities of the soils and surface. The number of freeholds in the county is stated, by Mr. Hasted, at about 9000; independant of the large estates of the Churches of Canterbury and Rochester, and of various corporate bodies. The copyhold and customary tenures are very few. The general distribution of the freeholds, and their close intermixture with each other, occasion a very frequent intercourse between the gentry and the yeomen, and thus generates that equality of sentiment so favorable to the interests of individual right.

The

The *Manufactures* carried on in Kent are various, though not particularly extensive. The Clothing trade, which once gave employment to great numbers of its inhabitants, is now nearly forgotten in the county. At Canterbury, muslins, brocaded silks, and stockings, are made; at Deptford and Whitstable, are large copperas works; at Stonar, in the Isle of Thanet, and likewise in the Isle of Graine, salt is manufactured; at Ospringe, is an extensive manufactory for gunpowder, erected by Government; and there is also another, near Dartford, in private hands: in the Weald, bordering on Sussex, are various iron furnaces; and at Dartford, and Crayford, are mills for the manufacturing of iron; at the latter place also, are extensive works for the printing of calicoes, and spacious grounds for the bleaching of linens; at Sevenoaks are large silk mills; and at Boxley, near Maidstone, "is the most extensive and curious manufacture of paper, perhaps, in Europe:"* paper is also made in the neighbourhood of Dartford, and of some other places. The various Dock-Yards, at Deptford, Woolwich, Chatham, &c. give employment to numerous artisans in all the different branches of naval affairs; ship-building is also carried on at other places on the sea-coast.

The *Religious Houses* in Kent were numerous, and their net annual income, at the periods of their dissolution, amounted to 9000l. Among them were two Abbies, three Priories, and five Nunneries, of the Benedictine Order; of the Cluniac, one Priory; of the Cistercian, one Abbey; of Secular Canons, five Colleges; of Regular Canons, four Abbies, and five Priories, one of which was Premonstratensian: of Friars, there was one Priory, and one Nunnery, of Dominicans; two Priories of Franciscans, one Priory of Trinitarians, three Priories of Carmelites, and four Alien Priories: there were also, two Commanderies of Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem; and fifteen Hospitals; besides various Hermitages, Chantries, and Free Chapels.†

The *Watling Street*, which entered this county from London, and extended to Dover, is supposed to have crossed Blackheath towards

* Hasted, Vol. I. p. 270. † Ibid. Vol. I. p. 323.

towards Shooter's Hill, nearly in the direction of the present road. On Bexley Heath it becomes plainly visible, directing its course south south-east to *Crayford*, where, or near which, Somner, Burton, Thorpe, and some other writers, have placed the NOVIOMAGUS of the Romans; though it does not appear that any antiquities, coins, or other remains, have been discovered, to support this opinion. Indeed, the exact situation of this station has been much contested: Camden places it at *Woodcot*, in Surrey; others have fixed it near *Keston*, in this county, where is a very large Roman Camp: that it was in this county is pretty evident from the distances of the Itinerary, yet those distances will not admit of this being the place, so that its real situation is still disputable. The Watling Street, having proceeded to Dartford, "shews itself very conspicuously on the south side of the high road between Dartford and the Brent, and when it comes to the latter, it shapes its course more to the south south-east, leaving the high road at a greater distance on the left, and entering among the inclosures and woods, in its way to a hamlet, called *Stonewood*." This lies to the right of Swanscombe, where some writers have placed the VAGNIACÆ of Antoninus, which Camden had fixed at Maidstone, and Horsley removed to Northfleet. Thorpe, however, apparently on better grounds, assigns it to *Southfleet*, where parched corn, Roman coins, a Roman milliary, the foundations of a mausoleum, with a sarcophagus containing glass urns inclosing human remains, a gold chain, an elegant sandal, &c. have been dug up at different times; and from which place the Roman road proceeded by Shinglewell, and Cobham Park, to *Rochester*.* This city was the DUROBRIVIS, or DUROBRIVÆ, of the Romans; and here the Watling Street crossed the Medway, and continuing up Chatham Hill, proceeded in nearly the same tract as the present high road to *Newington*, where Somner, Battely, Thorpe, and others, have placed the DUROLEVUM of the Itinerary, which Camden supposes to have been at Lenham; Ward, at Milton, or Faversham; Horsley, Talbot, Baxter, and Stukeley, at Sittingborne; and Bishop Gibson, at Bapchild. Beyond Key Street, probably from *Cait Stratum*, the Watling Street again becomes visible, and proceeds, in

* Custumale Roffense, p. 249, 252

in almost a direct line, by Sittingborne, Bapchild, Beacon Hill, Stone, Judde Hill, (where are remains of a strong Roman Camp,) and Boughton Street, across Harbledown, to Canterbury, the undoubted DUROVERNUM of the Itinerary. Hence it proceeded in a south-east direction, but in a straight line, across Barham Downs to Dover, the DUBRIS of the Romans; and at that station it terminated.*

Several other *Roman Ways* have intersected this county in different parts; of these, two appear to have led from Canterbury towards the stations called REGULBIUM, or *Reculver*, and RUTUPIUM,† or *Richborough*, which stations commanded the opposite entrances of the Roman Haven, called PORTUS RUTUPENSIS. A third Roman Road, which still bears the name of the *Stone Way*, i. e. *Via Strata*, run from Canterbury, nearly due south, to *Lime*, the Roman PORTUS LEMANIS, so called from its being at the ancient mouth of the river *Limene*, now the *Rother*. This road was intersected below the village of *Leminge*, or *Limingc*, by another Roman Way, that terminated at what is now called *Saltwood Castle*, where the Romans had a fort, built, according to Dr. Gale, to defend the Port of Hythe, after the Portus Lemanis had been deserted by the sea. This latter road appears to have been continued across the southern part of the parish of Wye, towards Charing, Lenham, and Aylesford; and it seems probable, that it proceeded onwards, by Malling, towards London. Some other ancient Ways have been traced in different parts; and with every probability, may be referred to the Romans, who had various *Encampments* in this county, besides those that have been mentioned. According to Lambard, Camden, and Selden, they had also a station near *Newenden*; which these antiquaries suppose to have been the ANDERIDA of the Notitia, and the *Caer Andred* of the Britons. The

* In Dr. Harris's History of this County, Vol. I. p. 263, 265, is a very particular account of the course of the Watling Street through Kent, deduced from his own and Dr. Plot's Observations.

† *Rutupiæ* seems to have been the plural under which both the stations and the haven were comprehended.

The number of *Castles* that have been erected in Kent is very considerable; and many of them yet remain either more or less perfect. Of these, the immense fortress at Dover may be regarded as the principal; and this is now garrisoned with a strong force, as are also several others on the sea-coast; but most of the Castles in the interior of the county, are dismantled, and mouldering in ruins.

The principal RIVERS that intersect or bound this county, are the Thames, the Medway, the Greater and Lesser Stoure, the Darent, the Cray, and the Ravensborne. The THAMES, the *Tamesis* of Cæsar, has a very important influence on the trade and commerce of this county, which it skirts on the north side, the entire distance from Deptford to the Nore. From Deptford, this 'first of rivers,' as it is called by Camden, passes the town and Royal Hospital of Greenwich; the buildings of which, with the adjacent country, compose a most delightful view, independent of the heart-felt interest which it excites, when regarded as the proud asylum of the brave defenders of their native land. Hence the river continues to flow in a bold sweep to Woolwich, an important Dock-yard and Arsenal, and proceeding towards Erith, has its prospects enriched by the plantations of Belvidere, the elegant seat of Lord Eardley. Between Erith and Long Reach, the Thames receives the united waters of the Cray and Darent, and rolling onward in a semi-circular course, flows between Tilbury and Gravesend in a broad stream of about a mile over. Thence rapidly increasing in width as it proceeds, it winds through the channel called the Hope, and opening due east, passes the Isle of Graine, and flows into the German Ocean at the Nore, where it also mingles its stream with the waters of the River Medway.

The MEDWAY, which is more peculiarly a Kentish river, was called *Vaga* by the Britons, a name descriptive of its very sinuous course and mazy wanderings. The Saxons altered this appellation to *Medweg* and *Medwege,* from which the present name is a corruption. This river has four principal sources, only one of which is in this county; two of the others being in Sussex, and the third in Surrey. That branch which enters Kent from the latter county,

rises in Blechingley Parish; and having been joined by several rills, flows on to Eaton Bridge, Hever Castle, and Penshurst, below which it is joined by one of the branches that rise in Sussex, and being augmented by various smaller streams, proceeds to Tunbridge, through a very beautiful country. A little above this town, the river separates into several channels, the northernmost of which is navigable, and is again joined by the other divisions within about two miles below Tunbridge. Thence proceeding to Twyford Bridge and Yalding, it receives the united waters of the two remaining principal branches; one of which flows from Waterdown Forest, in Sussex, and is swelled by the Bewle and Theyse rivulets: and the other of which rises at Goldwell, near Great Chart, in this county: this also receives several lesser streams in its progress, and is increased by the waters of the former branch above Hanton. From Yalding, the Medway flows in a winding direction to Maidstone, and thence in a wildly devious channel, gradually augmenting in depth and breadth, it pursues its picturesque course to Rochester, where the scenery becomes eminently beautiful. Proceeding hence towards Sheerness, it passes Chatham, Upnor Castle, and Gillingham Fort; after which, it greatly increases in width, and still preserving its meandering character, flows onward to the Thames, which it enters between the Isles of Graine and Shepey, having first united its waters to those of the Swale. This river, and its numerous tributary streams, are calculated to overspread a surface of nearly thirty square miles in the very midst of Kent: and the country which it flows through, abounds with most delightful prospects. The tide flows nearly as high as Maidstone; but at Rochester Bridge, it is exceedingly strong and rapid; and below that, all the way to Sheerness, a distance of about twenty miles, the bed of the river is so deep, and the reaches so convenient, that many of the largest line of battle ships are moored here, when out of commission, as in a wet dock, and ride as safely as in any harbour in Great Britain.

The Medway was first made navigable to Tunbridge about the middle of the last century, under the provisions of an Act of Parliament passed in the year 1740; though an act had been procured

for the purpose, as long before as the reign of Charles the Second. By the last act, the undertakers were incorporated by the style of 'the Proprietors of the Navigation of the River Medway;' and were empowered to raise 30,000l. to complete the work, which sum was to be divided into 300 shares, no person being permitted to retain more than ten. The trade on this river is very great, and includes a vast variety of articles, many of them of the very first necessity, and which, before the navigation was completed, could only be obtained by a circuitous land-carriage.

The Medway is plentifully stored with fish of various species; and was, in former times, much celebrated for its salmon and sturgeon; the latter, in particular, were so abundant, that a considerable part of the revenues of the Bishops of Rochester were derived from a duty levied on their sale. They have now, however, in a great measure, left the river, but are still occasionally taken of considerable bulk.* "On the Medway, and in the several creeks and waters belonging to it, within the jurisdiction of the Corporation of Rochester, is an *Oyster Fishery;* and the Mayor and citizens hold a court once a year, called the Admiralty court, for regulating this fishery, and to prevent abuses in it." The jurisdiction of this court has been established and enforced by two Acts of Parliament.

The *Greater Stoure* has two principal branches, both of which rise in this county: the first at Well Street, near Lenham; and the other among the hills between Liminge and Postling. These streams, having had their waters increased by several rivulets, unite near Ashford, where changing their course to the north north-east, they flow in one channel by Spring-grove to Wye. Thence proceeding through a beautiful country, the Stoure passes several villages in its way to Canterbury, through which it again flows in a divided stream, and unites a little below the city, having formed three small islands in its progress. Afterwards it proceeds in a

* Hasted mentions a sturgeon that was caught in July, 1774, near Maidstone, and weighed 160 pounds, its length being seven feet, four inches. *Hist. of Kent, Vol. I. p.* 281. 8vo.

north-east course to the Isle of Thanet, where it anciently joined the water called the *Wantsume*, which separated that Isle from the main land, and was once so considerable, as to admit vessels of great burthen to pass through it in their way to the Thames, and thus afford them a means of avoiding the danger and inconvenience of going round the North Foreland. This water was navigable throughout, so late as the time of Henry the Eighth, though it had continued to fill up through the depositions left by the tides through a long course of ages. Twyne, who lived in the latter part of that reign, is quoted by Hasted, as observing, that people were then living, who had often seen vessels of good burthen pass to and fro upon it, where the water at that period was totally excluded, especially towards the west; all which, he adds, happened 'because the fresh streams were not sufficient to check the salt water that shouked up the channel.'* The name of the Wantsume is now nearly lost in that of the Stoure, which, after directing a branch north-westward from Sarre, flows to the east, and is joined by the *Lesser Stoure*, and thus united, continues its course between the Isle and the main land to Richborough and Sandwich. In this part of its channel it flows in a complete semi-circle, south-east and by south; but having passed Sandwich, it suddenly winds to the north, and falls into the British Channel at Pepperness. That branch which directs its way northward from Sarre, takes the name of the *Nethergong*, and being joined by a stream from Chislet, flows into the sea at Newhaven.

The *Lesser Stourre* rises in the neighbourhood of Limnge, and directing its course northward, has its waters increased by several small rills, and sometimes by a temporary water called the *Nailbourn*, which, after continued rains, or sudden thaws, issues from several springs, and forms a strong current. It afterwards flows along the western skirts of Barham Downs, and passing various pleasant villages, in nearly a parallel line with the Greater Stoure, falls into that river about a mile beyond Stourmouth; near which, both rivers are supposed to have anciently flowed into the Wantsume.

* History of Kent, Vol. I. p. 286. 8vo.

borne. The appellation, *Stoure*, was most probably derived from the British *Es Dwr*, the Water; and many rivers in different parts of Britain have this name.

The *Rother*, formerly called the *Limene*, rises at Gravel-Hill, in the parish of Rotherfield, in Sussex, and flowing eastward, becomes the boundary of this county below Sandhurst, and Newenden; after which it skirts the south side of the Isle of Oxney, and suddenly turning to the south, empties its waters into Rye Harbour. This river, in ancient times, flowed round the north side of Oxney Isle to Apledore, and thence on to Romney, where forming an harbour, it extended over a considerable part of Romney Marsh, and in that direction fell into the sea; but the waves rolling over this tract, during a dreadful tempest in the reign of Edward the First, so altered the ancient channel, that the river was forced to take a new course; which it did by forcing a passage into the sea at Rye, from Apledore.

The *Darent* rises on the borders of this county and Sussex, near Westerham, whence flowing to the north-east, it passes Valance, Brasted, Chipsted, and other villages, to River-head, where it turns to the north, and in that direction flows past Shoreham, Eynsford, and Farningham, to South Darent. Hence winding to the north-west, it proceeds to Dartford, where it becomes navigable for small craft, and, under the new appellation of *Dartford Creek*, flows onward to the Thames, which it enters near Longreach, having first had its current enlarged by the waters of the Cray. In several parts of its course, the Darent flows in a divided stream, its banks furnishing many beautiful and picturesque views.

The *Cray* has its source at Newell, in Oppington Parish, and flowing almost due north, gives name to St. Mary Cray, Paul's Cray, Foot's Cray, North Cray, and Crayford; beyond which, winding to the north-east through Crayford Marshes, it falls into Dartford Creek.

The *Ravensbourne* rises on Keston Downs, near the ancient Roman camp, and flowing north north-west, between the parishes of Hayes and Bromley, is augmented by several rivulets; and proceeding past the pleasant village of Lewisham, receives another

considerable increase from a stream that rises in the parish of Beckenham. Beyond this, near Lee, it is joined by the *Lee Bourne*, and flows on to Deptford, where it becomes navigable for lighters, and small craft, and shortly afterwards falls into the Thames.

On entering into Kent from the Metropolis, the first place that attracts attention is DEPTFORD, a large, populous, and busy town, though not invested with the privilege of a market. Its situation on the banks of the Ravensbourne, gave origin to its present name, which was anciently spelt *Depeford*, from the deep ford over that river where the bridge now is. It was also named *Deptford Strond*, alias, *West Greenwich;* an appellation that was afterwards solely appropriated to what is now called the Lower Town, and is included in the Parish of Deptford St. Nicholas: the Upper Town is in that of Deptford St. Paul, which was constituted a distinct parish in 1730.

Deptford was anciently a small fishing village, and continued of comparatively but little importance, till the *Royal Dock* was established here by Henry the Eighth, in the beginning of his reign. Since that period, it has progressively increased; and its population, as Mr. Lysons has before observed, has augmented in the proportion of twenty to one within the last two centuries; though a considerable check was given to its increase in 1665, and 1666, during which years nearly 900 persons died here of the *Plague*.

The *Manor* of Deptford was given, by William the Conqueror, to Gilbert de Magnimot, who made it the head of his barony, and erected a *Castle* here, every part of which has been long since buried in its own ruins.* His great grandson, Wakelin de Magnimot, dying without issue, in 1191, this Manor devolved to his sister and coheiress, Alice, wife of Geoffrey de Say, who granted it to the Knights Templars; but his son Geoffrey recovered it, by giving the Templars the Manor of Sadlescombe, in Sussex, in exchange. His descendant, Geoffrey de Say, in the eighth of Edward the Third, obtained liberty of free warren for this and other lordships, then in his possession; and dying in 1359, was succeeded by William

* Hasted's Hist. of Kent, Vol. I.

liam de Say, whose daughter, Elizabeth, became heiress on the decease of her brother, a minor, in 1382. She married, first, Sir John de Fallesley; and secondly, Sir William Heron, Knt. who, in the nineteenth of Richard the Second, with his wife, by the appellation of Elizabeth, Lady Say, "levied a fine on this and all their other manors and lands in Kent, to the use of themselves and their heirs male, with remainder to the right heirs of the said Elizabeth." On this lady dying without issue in 1402, Sir William Clinton, and others, representatives of William de Say, were found to be her heirs; and they appear to have sold this Manor to Sir John Philip, and Alice, his wife. It was afterwards possessed by Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March; and subsequently to his death, by William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, whose grandson, John, Earl of Lincoln, had possession in his father's life-time, and was slain at the battle of Stoke, near Newark, fighting on the part of the House of York. His estates being thus forfeited, this Manor was granted, by Henry the Seventh, to Oliver St. John, and was possessed by his family during three generations: but it afterwards reverted to the Crown, and was sold, by order of the Parliament, in 1650, to different 'creditors of the State:'* on the Restoration, it was resumed by, and is still vested in, the Crown.

The Manor-House of Deptford, with its surrounding estate, which had obtained the name of SAYES COURT, from its having been so long held by the Says, was granted for a certain term to Sir Richard Browne, about the latter end of the reign of Elizabeth; and to his grandson, the site of Sayes Court, with about sixty acres of land, was confirmed by the Parliament, when the Manor of Deptford was sold in 1650. In the following year, it became the residence of John Evelyn, Esq. the celebrated author of the *Sylva*, who had married Mary, daughter and heiress to Sir Richard Brown, the younger; and to him, in the year 1663, Charles the Second granted a new lease of Sayes Court, and its appurtenances in Deptford, for the term of ninety-nine years, at a reserved annual rent of twenty-two shillings and sixpence. This gentleman passed much of his time in retirement 'at this his favorite

* Particulars of Sale in the Augmentation Office.

vorite spot, studying the practical part of gardening, the culture of trees, and the propagation of timber. His gardens at this place are said to have been the wonder and admiration of the greatest and most judicious men of his time: in the life of Lord Keeper Guildford, they are described as 'most boscaresque; being, as it were, an exemplar of his book of forest trees.'* The severe frost of the winter of the year 1682, did considerable damage here; but a more complete destruction was made by *Peter the Great*, to whom Mr. Evelyn lent his house and grounds, whilst he was obtaining a knowledge of the science and practice of naval architecture in the adjoining Dock-yard, in 1698. The pursuits of the Czar were not congenial to those of the author of the Sylva, and he ungratefully forgot the attentions that were due to the taste of a man who had relinquished his own abode for another's convenience. In one of the later editions of the Sylva, published in 1704, Mr. Evelyn speaks with great enthusiasm, of an "impregnable hedge of holly, 400 feet in length, nine feet high, and five in diameter," which, he continues, "I can still shew in my now ruined garden at Sayes Court, (thanks to the Czar of Muscovy,) at any time of the year, glittering with its armed and varnished leaves; the taller standards, at orderly distances, blushing with their natural coral! It mocks the rudest assaults of the weather, beasts, or hedge-breakers—*Et illum nemo impune lacessit.*"† Mr. Evelyn died in 1706. The house and gardens were afterwards entirely neglected; and there is not now the least trace of either: the present *Workhouse* was built on the site of the former in the year 1729. The estate, however, which includes the site of the Victualling House, and of Deptford Dock-yard, is still vested in the Evelyns, it having been granted, by

* Lysons' Environs, Vol. IV. p. 363.

† Tradition has represented the Czar as taking pleasure by being wheeled through this hedge in a barrow; but Mr. Lysons concludes, from Mr. Evelyn's description of his holly, and from the exulting manner in which he speaks of its being proof against the rudest hedge-breakers, that Peter rather chose any other hedge than this for his amusement.

by George the First, in the year 1726, to the Earl of Godolphin, and others, in trust for Sir John Evelyn, Bart. whose grandson, Sir Frederic Evelyn, Bart. of Wotton, in Surrey, is the present owner.

In the register of Deptford St. Nicholas, a lamentable fire is recorded to have happened at Deptford, in the year 1652; and nineteen years afterwards, the Lower Town was inundated by a great flood, which rose to the height of ten feet in the streets near the river, so that the inhabitants were obliged to retire to the Upper Town in boats. The adjoining marshes were also overflowed at the same time, and about 700 sheep, with a great number of oxen, cows, &c. destroyed. Holinshed relates, that Sir Thomas Wyat lay a night and a day at Deptford, with his army, in the year 1553.

The ROYAL DOCK, or *King's Yard*, as it is locally termed, from which the present consequence of Deptford has principally arisen, was established by Henry the Eighth, about the beginning of his reign; but it has been greatly enlarged and improved since that period. All its concerns are managed under the immediate inspection of the Navy Board: the resident officers are a Clerk of the Cheque; a Storekeeper; a Master Shipwright, and his Assistants; a Clerk of the Survey; a Master Attendant; a Surgeon; and various inferior officers. The number of artificers and laborers now employed here is about 1500: even in times of peace, the general number is upwards of 1000.

The whole extent of the Yard includes about thirty-one acres, which are occupied by various buildings; two wet docks, a double and a single one; three slips for men of war; a bason; two mast-ponds; a model loft; mast-houses; a large smith's shop, with about twenty forges for anchors; sheds for timber, &c. The *Old Store-House* is a quadrangular pile, and appears to have consisted originally only of the range on the north side; where, on what was formerly the front of the building, is the date 1513, together with the initials H. R. in a cypher, and the letters A. X. for *Anno Christi*. The buildings on the east, west, and south sides of the quadrangle, have been erected at different times; and a double front, towards the north, was added in 1721. Another store-

house, parallel to the above, and of the same length, having sail and rigging lofts, was completed a few years ago: and there is also a long range of smaller store-houses, that was built under the direction of Sir Charles Middleton, about the year 1780. The other buildings consist of various work-shops, and houses for the officers. Opposite to the Yard, affixed to the side of a vessel lying at anchor in the river, is a curious machine for removing and hoisting masts. Among the ships now in commission, that were built in this Yard, are the Windsor Castle, and the Neptune, two very fine second rates, of ninety-eight guns each: the Bombay, of seventy-four, and the Queen Charlotte, a first rate, of 110 guns, are now building here; and several frigates are fitting, or undergoing repair.

On the fourth of April, 1581, Queen Elizabeth visited the celebrated Drake, whom Lloyd quaintly describes as 'one of the first that put a sea-girdle about the world,'* at Deptford; and having dined aboard his ship, conferred on him the honor of knighthood, and gave him the *World in a Ship* for his arms. His vessel was afterwards laid up in this Yard, by the Queen's orders, in memory of his having first encompassed the globe; and it remained here many years; but was at length broken up; and part of the timbers being formed into an *Elbow Chair*, it was given to the University of Oxford, where it is yet preserved.

At a short distance from the King's Yard, on the north, but close to the river side, is the VICTUALLING OFFICE, sometimes called the *Red House*, from its standing on the site of a large range of store-houses, constructed with red bricks, which was burnt down in July, 1639, and all its stores consumed. It was afterwards rebuilt, and included in the grant of Sayes Court, to Sir John Evelyn, in 1726; and was then described as 870 feet in length, thirty-five wide, and containing 100 warehouses. These premises were for some time rented by the East India Company; but being repurchased of the Evelyns by the Crown, a new Victualling House was built on the spot in 1745, to replace the old Victualling Office on

* State Worthies, Vol. II. p. 381.

on Tower Hill, the lease of which was then nearly expired. This new building was also consumed by an accidental fire, in 1749, with great quantities of stores and provisions. The immense pile which now forms the Victualling Office, has been erected at different times since that period; and consists of many ranges of building, appropriated to the various establishments necessary in the important concern of victualling the navy. Besides store-houses of various kinds, and dwelling houses for the principal and inferior officers, it contains a wind-mill for grinding corn, with granaries, and bake-houses for making biscuit, an extensive cooperage, and brew-house, spacious slaughtering houses, and houses for curing beef, pork, &c. The whole presents an interesting spectacle; and the good order and skill observable in the different departments, merit every commendation.

Besides the King's Yard, there are two large private Docks for ship-building at Deptford, called *Dudman's* and *Barnard's;* where men of war of seventy-four guns are sometimes built; two ships of this force, to be named the Royal Oak, and the Sultan, are now building in the former Yard; and one, the Marlborough, of the same size, in the latter. Dudman's Dock-yard belongs to Sir Frederic Evelyn, and is described in the grant to Sir John Evelyn, his predecessor, as 'having a great depth of water, and as being the best private Dock upon the river.'*

Deptford contains two Churches; the oldest is dedicated to St. Nicholas, from time immemorial, the patron of sea-faring men; and the other to St. Paul. *St. Nicholas's Church* consists of a nave, chancel,

* "During Cromwell's usurpation, a project was set on foot by Sir Nicholas Crispe, of making a mole at Deptford, for the harbour of 200 sail or more, to ride in seventeen or eighteen feet water, without cable or anchor. The demesne lands of the Manor, being about 200 acres, lying now within the Parish of St. Paul, were purchased for that purpose, at the price of 6000l. and a considerable sum of money was expended in erecting storehouses, and setting up a sluice. After the Restoration, Sir Nicholas Crispe, joining with the Duke of Ormond, the Earl of Bath, and others who were embarked with him in this undertaking,

chancel, and aisles, with an embattled tower of flint and stone, of a date long prior to the body of the fabric; which was rebuilt in 1697, on account of the great increase of inhabitants: from the same cause the old Church had been much enlarged about the year 1630, chiefly at the expense of the East India Company, and of Sir William Russel, Treasurer of the Navy. The monuments, and sepulchral inscriptions, are numerous, and many of them record the memory of persons of celebrity. In the chancel, against the north wall, within the recess for the altar, is the monument of CAPTAIN EDWARD FENTON, who accompanied Sir Martin Frobisher in his second and third voyages, and had himself the command of an expedition for the discovery of a north-west passage; during which, he defeated a Spanish squadron, and sunk the Vice-Admiral's ship: he also again displayed his valor in the engagement with the Spanish Armada, when he was Captain to the Admiral: he died in 1603. Near this is a tablet inscribed to HENRY ROGER BOYLE, eldest son to Richard, Earl of Corke, who died at a school in Deptford, in 1615; and a neat mural monument erected "to the memory of GEORGE SHELVOCKE, Esq. late Secretary of the General Post Office, and F. R. S. who, at a very early period of life, attended his father in a voyage round the world, during the course of which, he remarkably experienced the protection of Divine Providence, and ever retained a most grateful remembrance thereof. He died the twelfth of March, 1760, and is buried with his father." The tomb of the latter, CAPTAIN GEORGE SHELVOCKE, is near the east end of the chancel, on the outside; he was descended of an ancient Shropshire family, and bred to the sea service under Admiral Benbow. In the years 1719,

ing, petitioned Charles the Second to grant them the land so purchased, in fee farm; and it was stated in the petition, that Sir Nicholas had formed this project principally with a view of ingratiating himself with the then ruling powers, that he might the better watch a favorable opportunity of bringing about his Majesty's restoration." The petition was not successful, and the design was relinquished.

Lysons' Environs, Vol. IV. p. 392, 393; from Documents in the Land Revenue Office.

1719, 20, 21, and 22, he circumnavigated the world; which, according to the inscription on his tomb, "he most wonderfully, and to the great loss of the Spaniards, completed; though in the midst of it, he had the misfortune to suffer shipwreck upon the Island of Juan Fernandez.—He died in November, 1742, in the sixty-seventh year of his age."* Against the east wall, to the north of the altar recess, is the monument of PETER PETT, Esq. a master shipwright in the King's Yard, whose family were long distinguished for their superior talents in ship-building; and who was himself, according to the inscription, the first inventor of that useful ship of war, a *Frigate:* he died in July, 1652, at the age of sixty. On the opposite wall is a mural monument, with a long inscription, in memory of SIR RICHARD BROWNE, Knt. of Sayes Court, who was "Governor of the United Netherlands, and was afterwards, by Queen Elizabeth, made Clerk of the Green Cloth, in which honourable office he continued under King James, till the time of his death, in May, 1604, aged sixty-five years;" of CHRISTOPHER BROWNE, Esq. his son, who died in March, 1645, at the age of seventy; of SIR RICHARD BROWNE, Knt. and Bart. "only son of Christopher:" and of their respective wives. The latter Sir Richard was a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to Charles the First, and Ambassador at the court of France, from the commencement of the Civil War till the Restoration: he was afterwards Clerk of the Council to Charles the Second, and died at the age of seventy-eight, in February, 1682, 3. Many other monuments and inscriptions are in this Church: among them, a slab in the pavement of the north aisle marks the burial-place of MR. JOHN BENBOW, eldest son of the gallant Admiral Benbow, who died at the age of twenty-seven, in November, 1706. This gentleman wrote a large work, intituled 'A complete Account of the South Part of the Island of Madagascar,' on which Island he was shipwrecked whilst a Mate on board the Degrave East

* A Narrative of his Voyage round the World, was published by himself, in 1726, in one volume 8vo. and a later edition was published by his son, who was one of the compilers of the Universal History.

East Indiaman, in 1702, and, according to his biographer, "obliged, after many dismal and dangerous adventures, to live with, and after the manner of, the Indians."*

The register of this parish, under the date of November 8, 1570, records the baptism of PHINEAS PETT, afterwards the celebrated ship-builder to James the First, and Charles the First, from whose manuscript of his own life, some interesting extracts were published in the twelfth volume of the Archæologia. In 1637, he built the 'Sovereign of the Seas,' the largest ship that had then been seen in England, and which was pierced for upwards of 160 guns. He is supposed to have been buried in 1647, at Chatham, where the following entry appears in the register: 'Phineas Pette, Esq. and Captain, buried August 21, 1647'. Among the instances of *Longevity* recorded here, are Maudlin Augur, buried in December, 1672, aged 106; Katherine Perry, buried in December, 1676, 'by her own report, 110 years old;' Sarah Mayo, buried in August, 1705, aged 102; and Elizabeth Wiborn, buried in December, 1714, in her 101st year.

St. Paul's Church is a handsome stone fabric, erected somewhat before the year 1730, under the provisions of certain Acts passed in the ninth and tenth years of Queen Anne, for the building of fifty new Churches in and near London. It consists of a nave, chancel, and aisles; with a well-proportioned spire at the west end: the roof is sustained by columns of the Corinthian order; the pews are of Dutch oak, and the whole interior is neatly fitted up. On the north side of the altar, against the east wall, is an elegant marble monument, by Nollekins, "in memory of JAMES SAYER, Esq. Vice-Admiral of the White, son of John Sayer, and Katherine, his wife, one of the daughters and co-heirs of Rear Admiral Robert Hughes, and Lydia, his wife, who all lie buried in the old Church of this town, with many of their issue. He first planted the British standard in the Island of Tobago. In the war of 1756, he led the attacks, both at the taking of Senegal and Goree; and was commander

* Biographia Britannica, Article, Benbow: the Account of Madagascar was never published.

commander in chief off the French coast at Belle Isle, at the time of making the peace of 1763. He died on the twenty-ninth of October, 1776, aged fifty-six years." On the south side of the chancel is a sumptuous monument, displaying a sarcophagus, surmounted by a large urn of statuary marble, partly covered with a mantle, in memory of MATTHEW FINCH, Gent. who died in March, 1745, aged seventy: and on the north side is another splendid monument in commemoration of *Mary Finch*, daughter of the above, and wife to Richard Hanwell, of Oxford, Gent. who died in 1754. Among the tombs in the Church-yard, is one in memory of MARGARET HAWTREE, a famous widwife, who died in 1734, inscribed with this singular distich:

She was an indulgent mother, and the best of wives:
She brought into this world more than three thousand lives!

When the Act for the separation of the two Parishes of Deptford was passed in the year 1730, the sum of 3,500l. out of the duty on coals, was allotted to purchase lands for the maintenance of the Rector of the new Church; and it was enacted also, that the Churchwardens, in whom four acres of glebe, taken out of the old Parish, are vested, should pay him 70l. in addition, annually, in lieu of fees for vaults and burials, except when the service is read in the Church.* The register records the burial of Margaret Haley, who died in March, 1739, 40, aged 100 and upwards. The *Rectory House* is a handsome edifice. This Parish contains about 1900 acres of land; of which about 900 are marsh and pasture, 500 arable, and 500 occupied by market gardeners, who are famed for the growth of asparagus, and onions. In Deptford are several Meeting Houses for Methodists, Independents, Quakers, Anabaptists, &c.

The CORPORATION or SOCIETY OF THE TRINITY HOUSE, the meetings of which are now held in a handsome building on Tower Hill, was originally established at Deptford in the reign of Henry the Eighth, and incorporated by the name of 'The Master, Warden,

* Lysons' Environs, Vol. IV. p. 390.

Warden, and Assistants, of the Guild or Fraternity of the most glorious and undivided Trinity, and of St. Clement, in the Parish of *Deptford Strond*.' The ancient Hall in which the Members continued to assemble at this place, was pulled down about the year 1787, on the erection of the Trinity House in London; but here are still two *Hospitals* belonging to the Corporation. The *Old Hospital*, which adjoins to St. Nicholas Church-yard, was founded in the time of Henry the Eighth, and originally contained twenty-one apartments; but on its being pulled down, and re-built in 1788, the number was increased to twenty-five. That called *Trinity Hospital*, which stands in Church Street, was erected towards the end of the seventeenth century, on a piece of ground given for the purpose, in 1672, by Sir Richard Browne, the younger, Bart. of Sayes Court, who was an Elder Brother, and Master, of the Trinity House. It consists of fifty-six apartments, forming a spacious quadrangle, in the centre of which is placed a statue of Captain Richard Maples, who, in 1680, bequeathed 1300l. towards the building. The pensioners in both Hospitals consist of decayed pilots, and masters of ships, or their widows: the annual allowance to the widows and single men, is about 18l. the married men receive about 28l. yearly.*

The charitable benefactions are numerous, and of considerable value; in all those given prior to the year 1730, both parishes have a joint interest. In Butt Lane is a *Charity School*, under the direction of twelve trustees, sufficiently endowed for the education and clothing of fifty boys, and an equal number of girls, who are apprenticed out as occasion may require. The School House was erected about the year 1722, on a piece of ground given for the purpose, by Mr. Robert Gransden, whose daughter, Mrs. Mary Gransden, in 1719, bequeathed 80l. towards the building; and also gave a farm in Essex, now let at about 40l. per annum, and the ground rents of two tenements in St. Bartholomew's-Lane, London, (since sold to the Directors of the Bank for 1300l.) towards the endowment of the School: the whole expense of the building amounted

* Lysons' Environs, Vol. IV. p. 380.

amounted to about 740l. the greatest part of which was defrayed by voluntary contributions. Besides the children educated in this School, between twenty and thirty others are taught elsewhere with the produce of different benefactions. The donation from which the poor derive the most considerable interest, was a bequest of 200l. made by Mr. John Addey, a master builder in the King's Yard, in the year 1606, for the purchase of lands. With this sum the *Gravel-pit* Field in Deptford was bought, the annual rents of which now amount to more than 280l.

Several eminent persons have been inhabitants of Deptford at different periods. The Gun Tavern is said to have been the residence of the Earl of Nottingham, Lord Admiral to Queen Elizabeth, whose arms, encircled by the garter, are carved in wood over the chimney-piece of a large dining-room. Sir Thomas Smith, who was sent Ambassador to the Court of Russia by James the First, had a magnificent house at Deptford, which was burnt down on the twentieth of January, 1613*. Cowley, the poet, was also a resident here for a considerable period; he seems to have made this place his retreat, in order to pursue his botanical studies, when composing his six books of herbs, flowers, and trees.

Various improvements have been made at Deptford since the twenty-seventh of George the Second, when an Act was passed for paving and cleansing the streets, and for the better relief and employment of the poor. The *Bridge* over the Ravensbourne, which was formerly of wood, but re-built of stone at the sole cost of Charles the First, in 1628, has been rendered more commodious of late years, at the expense of the parishioners. Here, previous to the battle of Blackheath, in the reign of Henry the Seventh, was a skirmish between Lord Dawbeney's army, and 'certayne archers of the rebelles, whose arrowes, as is reported,' says Hall, 'were in length a full yerde.'†

The inhabitants of Deptford are chiefly those employed in the Dock-yards, or engaged in maritime pursuits of different kinds: the

* Lysons' Environs, Vol. IV. p. 360.

† Chronicle, temp. Hen. VII. f. 43.

the number in both parishes, as returned under the Act of 1800, was 17,548; of these 8,537 were males, and 9,011 females: the number of houses was 3,139; but they have been somewhat increased since that time. An extensive manufacture of earthenware, called Deptford ware, is carried on at this place.

GREENWICH,

CALLED *Grenewic* by the Saxons, and more recently, *East Greenwich*, to distinguish it from West Greenwich, or Deptford, is pleasantly situated on the banks of the Thames, which is here from 320 to 360 yards broad, at low water, and proportionably deep. The extensive circuit of the river round the Isle of Dogs, where the capacious West India Docks have been lately formed, has rendered this part of the channel very commodious for shipping from the earliest periods, and probably from this cause, it was chosen as the station of the Danish fleet, during three or four years of the inglorious reign of King Ethelred. The Danish army, at the same time, lay encamped on the eminences above the town, bordering on Blackheath, where various vestiges of entrenchments may yet be traced:* other evidences of the presence of the Danes in this neighbourhood, may be found in the names of East *Combe*, and West *Combe*, two estates in this parish, between Greenwich and Charlton.

While the Danes had their chief station at Greenwich, they made frequent incursions into the interior of the country, committing the most dreadful ravages, particularly in the year 1011, when they laid siege to Canterbury, and having taken and plundered that city, massacred nine-tenths of the inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex. The remaining captives, together with Elpheg, or Alphage, the Archbishop of Canterbury, they conveyed to their camp, where they kept the Archbishop prisoner during seven months, demanding a large sum for his ransom, which he refused

* Some of these however, have, doubtless, been formed by the different bodies of insurgents that have encamped here in various reigns.

refused to pay, alledging, that the peasants of his church would be ruined by it. On a Saturday, the twelfth of April, 1012, they particularly pressed for a ransom, and threatened to kill him, in case of refusal: he still, however, declined the payment, saying, that his life was not of so much worth, that his people should be ruined for his sake. "After this, they brought him on horseback before their assembly, which was held at Greenwich, on the nineteenth of April, and cried out to him, 'Bishop, give gold, or thou shalt this day become a public spectacle.' They were then flushed with wine, which they had procured from the south; and on his again refusing to submit to their conditions, they started from their seats, and attempted to kill him, by striking him with the flat sides of their axes, and by flinging bones and horns of oxen at him*. At last, one Thrum, or Trond, who had, on the day before, been confirmed by the Archbishop, ran up, moved by compassion, and gave him a blow on the head with his axe, which brought him dead to the ground. He was then nearly sixty years of age; and some of the Danes were ashamed of the horrid deed; probably the more so, as many of them were already Christians by name. A quarrel, therefore, arose among them, when some were for delivering up his body for honorable interment, and others for throwing it into the Thames. They even met in arms; and though a miracle is said, towards evening, to have gained over the Heathen party, the most credible account is, as Brompton, and even Osbern, relate, "that the citizens of London bought his body with a great sum of money."† He was first buried in St. Paul's, London; but eleven years afterwards, his body was taken up by Canute, and conveyed with much pomp to Canterbury, where it was re-interred with great solemnity. The Archbishop was afterwards inrolled among the Romish saints; and on the spot where he fell at Greenwich, a church was consecrated to his ho-

* The *flinging of bones* was an ancient custom of the Danes, when sitting at table.

† Suhm's Hist. of Denmark. Vol. III. p. 380.

nor: the site is now occupied by the Parish Church, which still records the memory of the event in its dedication to St. Alphage.

At the time of the Domesday Survey, the Manor of East Greenwich was an appendage to that of Lewisham, and was given with it to the Abbey of St. Peter at Ghent, by Elthruda, niece to King Alfred, and was confirmed to that foundation by Edward the Confessor, and other sovereigns. On the suppression of the Alien Priories, Henry the Fifth granted it, with Lewisham, to the Carthusian Monastery at Shene: but in the twenty-third of Henry the Eighth, both Manors were obtained by that Sovereign in exchange for the Monastery of Bradwell, and other lands; and this was afterwards called 'the *Honcur* and Manor of East Greenwich.'* On the sale of the Crown Lands, after the decapitation of Charles the First, this Manor was reserved for the use of the State: at the Restoration, it reverted to the Crown, in which it has continued till the present period, with the exception of a short time, when it was in the possession of Queen Mary, consort of James the Second, it having been made part of her jointure in the year 1685.†

Besides this principal Manor, there was also a subordinate manor in Greenwich, which came into the possession of the Crown at a much earlier period. This appears to have been the same which is described in the Domesday Book, as having been formerly held as two manors by Earl Harold and Brixi, but afterwards consolidated, and, at the time of the Survey, held of Odo, Bishop of Baieux, by the Bishop of Lisieux. It was afterwards seized, with the other possessions of Odo, by the King, and probably continued from that time to be vested in the Crown, as we have traces of a Royal residence at this place as early as the reign of Edward the First, when, in the year 1300, that Prince made an offering of seven shillings at each of the holy Crosses in the Chapel of the Virgin Mary at Greenwich.‡ Henry the Fifth granted this Manor

* Cl. 23. Hen. VIII. m. 13. † Lysons' Environs, Vol. IV. p. 435.

‡ Lysons, from the 'Royal Household Expences,' published by the Society of Antiquaries.

Manor for life, to Thomas Beaufort, Duke of Exeter, who died here in 1417; soon after which it was granted to Humphrey, Duke of Glocester, uncle to Henry the Sixth, who, in the year 1433, gave the Duke license to *fortify* and *embattle* his Manor-House, and to make a *Park* of 200 acres. Under this license, the Duke of Glocester rebuilt the *Palace*, and inclosed the Park; and in the latter erected a moated tower, on the spot where the Observatory now stands. From the pleasantness of the situation, he also bestowed the name of *Placentia*, or the Manor of Pleasaunce, on this estate; an appellation which it retained for a long period. After his death, in 1447, it reverted to the Crown: and Edward the Fourth made it a favorite residence, and was at a considerable expense in enlarging and finishing the Palace. The marriage of his son Richard, Duke of York, with Anne Mowbray, daughter of the Duke of Norfolk, was solemnized here with great splendor; and here, also, Mary, his fifth daughter, expired.

Henry the Seventh spent much of his time at Greenwich; and is said, by Lambard, to have 'beautified the Palace, by the addition of a brick front towards the water side.' His son, Henry the Eighth, who was born here June the twenty-eighth, 1491, enlarged the buildings considerably; and neglecting Eltham, which had been an admired residence of his ancestors, bestowed great cost in rendering the Palace magnificent; and during his reign, Greenwich became 'one of the principal scenes of that festivity for which his court was celebrated.' Leland, who was an eye-witness of the sumptuous festivals given at the Palace, has thus elegantly described its beauties.

Ecce ut jam niteat locus petitus,
Tanquam sidereæ locus cathedræ!
Quæ fastigia picta! quæ fenestræ!
Quæ turres, vel ad astra se efferentes!
Quæ porro viridaria, ac perennes
Fontes! Flora sinum occupat venusta
Fundens delicias nitentis horti.
Rerum commodus æstimator ille,

Ripæ

Ripæ qui variis modis amenæ,
Nomen contulit eleganter aptum.*

Henry's marriage with his first Queen, Catherine of Arragon, was solemnized at Greenwich, on the third of June, 1510. On May day, 1511, and the two following days, were held *Tournaments*, in which the King, Sir Edward Howard, Charles Brandon, and Edward Neville, challenged all comers. In 1512, the King kept his Christmas here, 'with great and plentiful cheer;' and again in 1513, with great solemnity, dancing, disguisings, and mummerys, in a most princely manner.'† At this celebrity was introduced the first *Masquerade* ever seen in England, which Hall has thus described in his Chronicle, with other gaities.‡

"The Kyng this yere kept the feast of Christmas at Grenewiche, wher was such abundance of viandes, served to all comers of any honest behavor, as hath been fewe times seen: and against New yeres night, was made, in the Hall, a Castle, gates, towers, and dungeon, garnished with artilerie, and weapon, after the most warlike fashion: and on the frount of the Castle was written, *Le Fortresse Dangerus:* and within the Castle wer six ladies clothed in russet satyn, laide over with leves of golde; and every owde knit with laces of blewe silke and gold: on ther heads, coyfes and cappes

* Itinerary, Vol. IX. p. 16. Hasted has thus translated the above lines:

Lo! with what lustre shines this wish'd-for place,
Which, star-like! might the Heavenly mansions grace.
What painted roofs! what windows charm the eye!
What turrets, rivals of the starry sky!
What constant springs! what verdant meads besides!
Where Flora's self in majesty resides;
And beauteous, all around her, does dispense,
With bounteous hand, her flow'ry influence.
Happy the man whose lucky wit could frame,
To suit this place, so elegant a name,
Expressing all its beauties in the same!

† Stow's Annals, p. 821. 4to.

‡ Lysons' Environs, Vol. IV. p. 431.

cappes all of golde. After this Castle had been carried about the hal, and the Quene had beheld it, in came the Kyng, with five other appareled in coates, the one halfe of russet satyn, spangled with spangles of fine gold, the other halfe rich clothe of gold; on ther heddes cappes of russet satyn, embroudered with workes of fine gold bullion. These six assaulted the Castle: the ladies, seying them so lustie and coragious, wer content to solace with them; and upon farther communicacion, to yeld the Castle: and so thei came down, and daunced a long space. And after the ladies let the knights into the Castle, and then the Castle sodainly vanished out of their sightes.

"On the daie of the Epiphanie, at night, the King, with XI other, wer disguised after the maner of Italie, called a *Maske*, a thing not seen afore in Englande: thei wer appareled in garmentes long and brode, wrought all with gold, with visers and cappes of gold; and after the banket doen, these maskers came in with six gentlemen disguised in silke, bearing staffe torches, and desired the ladies to daunce: some were content; and some, that knew the fashion of it, refused, because it was not a thing commonly seen. And after thei daunced and commoned together, as the fashion of the maske is, thei took their leave and departed; and so did the Quene, and all the ladies."

On the eighth of February, 1515, the Princess Mary, afterwards Queen, was born at Greenwich Palace: and on the thirteenth of May, in the same year, the marriage of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, with Mary, Henry's sister, and Queen Dowager of France, was publicly solemnized here. In 1517, a splendid Tournament was held at Greenwich: in 1521, the King kept his Christmas here, 'with great nobleness and open court;' as he also did in 1525; and again in 1527, 'with revels, masks, and banquets, royal:'* in the latter year, he also received at this place, the French embassy, which consisted of eight persons of the highest quality and merit in France, attended by a retinue of 600 horse. In 1533, on the seventh of September, the Princess Eliza-

* Hall's Chronicle, fol. 227.

beth was born at Greenwich; and on May day, 1536, Anne Boleyn, her unfortunate mother, was arrested here by the King's order, at the conclusion of a solemn *Just*, wherein she is said to have betrayed an adulterous passion by some inadvertent levity; though, of all the infamous charges brought against her, and for which she suffered death soon afterwards, there is full reason to believe her innocent.* In 1537, Henry again spent his Christmas here; as he likewise did in 1543, when he entertained twenty-one of the Scottish nobility, whom he had made prisoners at the battle of Solway Moss, and afterwards gave them their liberty without ransom.

Edward the Sixth, whom Hasted, and some other writers, have erroneously stated to have been born at Greenwich,† kept his Christmas here in 1552, 3; and here that estimable Prince expired, on the sixth of July following. Queen Elizabeth was particularly fond of this Palace, and made it her summer residence: she also visited it at other seasons of the year, passing the festive hours of that romantic period, in various gay diversions, attended with *Tilts* and *Tournaments*, in which the gallant knights of her court exerted their utmost skill. On the second of July, 1559, Elizabeth was entertained by the City of London with a muster of 1400 men in Greenwich Park; the gunners wore shirts of mail; the others were arrayed in coats of velvet and chains of gold, armed with morris

* Henry's jealousy, says Pennant, "was prepared to catch fire at every trifle. Read in honest Stow, and reflect on the vain pageantry of this poor sport of fortune; (Anne Boleyn;) on her marriage, her splendid coronation, the magnificent baptism of her daughter, Elizabeth, her sudden commitment to the Tower, her speedy arraignment, and speedy execution; how she lost her head on the nineteenth of May; how Henry took to his nuptial bed *Jane Seymour*, on the 20th of the same month; and 'howe, on the Assencion-daye folowyng, the Kynge ware whyte for mournynge.' Henry could stab in the midst of his fondest caresses." *Journey to the Isle of Wight.*

† His birth-place was Hampton Court, where Queen Jane Seymour died twelve days after her delivery.

morris pikes and halberds, and bearing flags. In the afternoon a mock fight was exhibited; the Queen viewed it from the gallery over the Park gate, with a splendid train of ladies, and accompanied by the foreign embassadors: "three onsets were given in every battle, the guns discharged on one another, the morris pikes encountered together with great alarm; each ran to their weapons again, and then they fell together as fast as they could, in imitation of close fight." These feats of arms greatly pleased the Queen, who "showed herself very merry;" and on her thanking the citizens for the diversion, "immediately was given the greatest shout that ever was heard, with hurling up of caps."* On the tenth of the same month, there was tilting before the Queen; 'a goodly banquetting-house being set up in the Park, made with fir-poles, and decked with birch branches, and all manner of flowers, both of the field and garden, as roses, july-flowers, marygolds, and all manner of strewing herbs and rushes.' The challengers were the Earl of Ormond, Sir John Perrot, and Mr. North: there 'were three defendents of equal valour, with lances and swords.' At five in the afternoon, the Queen, with the ambassadors, and many lords and ladies, "came and stood over the Park gate to see the exercise; and after, the combatants ran, chasing one another. Then she came down into the Park, and took her horse, and rode up to the banquetting-house, and to the three ambassadors; and after that, to supper." The evening concluded with "a mask, a great banquet, and great casting of fire, and shooting of guns, till twelve at night." The same year a *Council* sat at Greenwich, in which it was determined to be contrary to law, for any *Nuncio* from the Pope to enter this realm.†

In Queen Elizabeth's Progresses (published by Mr. Nichols) mention is frequently made of the Queen's residence at Greenwich, where she kept a regular court, and gave audience to ambassadors. In June, 1585, she received here the Deputies from the United Provinces, who then offered her the sovereignty of the Low Countries,

* Strype's Ann. of the Reform. Vol. I. p. 194.

† Lysons' Environs, Vol. IV. p. 432, 4.

tries, which, from motives of state policy, she afterwards declined to accept. In May, 1586, she received the Danish Ambassador at Greenwich; and, in July, 1597, the Ambassador from the King of Poland. Hentzner, a German traveller, who visited England in 1598, and part of whose Itinerary was translated by Horace Walpole, and printed at Strawberry Hill, has given a curious and interesting description of Elizabeth's court at Greenwich. The Presence Chamber, he observes, "was hung with rich tapestry; and the floor, after the English fashion, strewed with hay." When the Queen came out of her apartment to go to prayers, "she was attended in the following manner: First went gentlemen, barons, earls, knights of the garter, all richly dressed, and bareheaded; next came the Chancellor, bearing the seals in a red silk purse between two, one of which carried the Royal sceptre, the other the sword of state, in a red scabbard, studded with golden fleurs de lis, the point upwards: next came the Queen, in the sixty-fifth year of her age, as we were told, very majestic; her face oblong, fair, but wrinkled; her eyes small, yet black, and pleasant; her nose a little hooked; her lips narrow, and her teeth black, (a defect the English seem subject to from their too great use of sugar:) she had in her ears two pearls, with very rich drops; she wore false hair, and that red: upon her head she had a small crown, reported to be made of some of the gold of the celebrated Lunebourgh table. Her bosom was uncovered, as all the English ladies have it till they marry, and she had on a necklace of exceeding fine jewels: her hands were small, her fingers long, and her stature neither tall nor low; her air was stately, her manner of speaking mild, and obliging. That day she was dressed in white silk, bordered with pearls of the size of beans, and over it a mantle of black silk, shot with silver threads; her train was very long, the end of it borne by a marchioness: instead of a chain, she had an oblong collar of gold and jewels. As she went along in all this state and magnificence, she spoke very graciously, first to one, then to another, whether foreign ministers, or those who attended for different reasons, in English, French, and Italian; for, besides being well skilled in Greek, Latin, and the languages I have mentioned, she

is mistress of Spanish, Scotch, and Dutch: whoever speaks to her, it is kneeling; now and then she raises some with her hand: wherever she turned her face as she was going along, every body fell down on their knees. The ladies of the court followed next to her, very handsome, and well-shaped, and for the most part dressed in white. She was guarded on each side by the Gentlemen Pensioners, fifty in number, with gilt battle-axes. In the Ante-Chapel next the Hall, where we were, petitions were presented to her, and she received them most graciously, which occasioned the acclamation of 'Long live Queen Elizabeth:' she answered it with, 'I thank you, my good people." Elizabeth was again here in 1600, as appears from a passage in the Sydney Papers, and used to 'walke muche in the Parke, and great walkes out of the Parke, and about the Parke.'

James the First was often resident at Greenwich; and the Princess Mary, and others of his children, were born here. His Queen, Anne of Denmark, added to the buildings, and laid the foundation of the 'House of Delight,' in the Park, now the Ranger's Lodge. This was finished by Henrietta Maria, Queen of Charles the First, who employed Inigo Jones as the architect: and Horace Walpole characterizes it as 'one of the most beautiful of his works.' The ceilings were painted by Horatio Gentileschi; and the whole house was completed so sumptuously, that, Philipott says, 'it surpassed all others of the kind in England.'* Charles the First was frequently at Greenwich before the breaking out of the Civil War; but at length quitted it, for the last time, in 1641, when he set out with the fatal resolution of taking his journey northward.† On the passing of the ordinance for the sale of Crown Lands, the Palace then called Greenwich House, with the Park, &c. were reserved for the State. Two years afterwards it was resolved that Greenwich House should be kept for the Lord Protector; but in the following year, 1652, the necessities of the State requiring money for the support of the navy, the House of Commons voted, that Greenwich House, with the Park and lands, should be sold for ready

* Survey of Kent, p. 162. † Hasted's Kent, Vol. I. p. 399. 8vo.

ready money; and some of the smaller offices, and other premises, were accordingly disposed of; but the Palace and Park remaining unsold in 1654, were once more reserved to the use of the Lord Protector, and his successors. On the Restoration they again devolved to the Crown; and the King finding the whole building* in a decayed and ruinous state, ordered it to be pulled down, and commenced a new and magnificent Palace of free-stone on the same spot.

The architect chosen for the new edifice, was Webb, son-in-law to Inigo Jones; from whose papers the designs are said to have been made. One wing, however, was all that was completed, at an expense of 36,000l. and herein the King occasionally resided; but no further progress was made in the building, either by himself, or his successor, James. In the early part of the reign of William the Third, a project was formed for providing an *Asylum* for aged and disabled seamen, the noble idea of which is attributed to his Royal consort, Mary; and their Majesties having resolved that this design should be forthwith executed, various situations were proposed for the site of the intended foundation. Sir Christopher Wren recommended, that the unfinished Palace at Greenwich should be enlarged with additional buildings, and converted to this use.† This advice was adopted; and, in the year 1694, the King and Queen, by their Letters Patent, granted the Palace, with other buildings, and certain parcels of land adjoining, to the Lord Keeper Somers, the Duke of Leeds, the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, the Duke of Shrewsbury, Sydney, Lord Godolphin, and others, in trust, "to erect and found an Hospital for the relieſe and support of Seamen serving on board the Shipps or Vessells belonging to the Navy Royall of Us, our Heirs, or Successors, or imploy'd in our or their Service at Sea, who by reason of Age, Wounds, or Disabilities, shall be uncapable of further Service

* From the large Print of this Palace, &c. that has been published by the Society of Antiquaries, it appears to have been embattled, and ornamented with various towers and turrets, square, round, and octangular.

† Lysons' Environs, Vol. IV. p. 435.

vice at Sea, and be unable to maintain themselves; And for the Sustentation of the Widows, and the Maintenance and Education of the Children of Seamen happening to be slaine or disabled in such Sea Service; And also for the further Reliefe and Encouragement of Seamen, and Improvement of Navigation."

Such was the origin of GREENWICH HOSPITAL, an institution that does honor to the country, and confers an immortality of renown on its Royal founders. In the following year, 1695, Queen Mary being then dead, the King appointed Commissioners "for the purpose of considering, with the assistance of the Surveyor General, and other artists, what part of King Charles's Palace, and the other Buildings granted for the purpose, would be fit for the intended Hospital, and how they might be best prepared for that use; of procuring models for such new buildings as might be required; of preparing, with the assistance of the Attorney and Solicitor General, a charter of foundation, with statutes and ordinances for the use of the Hospital, and for other purposes."* The reasons given for the new establishment, were thus stated in the Commission; and, to the honor of British seamen, the character then given of their bravery and skilfulness is still unsullied.

"Whereas the sea-faring men of this kingdome have, for a long time, distinguisht themselves throughout the world, by their industry and skilfullnesse in their proper employmentes, and by their courage and constancy manifested in engagements and hazards for the defence and honour of their native country,—And as nothing is more likely to continue their ancient reputacion, and to invite greater numbers of our subjectes to betake themselves to the sea, than the making some competent provision that seamen, who by age, woundes, or other accidentes, shall become disabled for further service at sea, and shall not be in a condicion to maintaine themselves

* Lysons' Environs, Vol. IV. p. 439. The Commissioners, who were upwards of 200, consisted of George, Hereditary Prince of Denmark, all the principal Officers of State, the Archbishops and Bishops, the Judges, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, the Master, Warden, Assistants, and Elder Brethren of the Trinity House, and several of the nobility and gentry.

themselves comfortably, may not fall under hardships and miseries, but may be supported at the publick charge,—And that the children of such disabled seamen, and also the widows and children of such seamen as shall happen to be slain in sea-service, may in some reasonable manner be provided for, and educated,—We have determined with ourselves to erect and establish a Hospital for the purposes aforesaid."

By the same Commission, the King, after confessing his then inability to advance such considerable sums towards beginning and carrying on the work, as he purposed to do in times of peace, granted the sum of 2000l. annually for the furtherance of this noble design. He also empowered the Commissioners to collect all such "voluntary 'giftes and supscriptions,' as his 'good subjectes' should be piously disposed to contribute towards the erecting and endowing of the said Hospitall." The Commissioners held their first meeting at Guildhall, on the seventeenth of May, 1695, when a Committee was appointed to view the premises granted for the use of the Hospital, and they reported, that the unfinished Palace of King Charles might, by the addition of a building on the west side, be rendered capable of receiving, conveniently, between 3 and 400 seamen. On the thirty-first of the same month, at another meeting in Guildhall, the preamble of a subscription-roll was drawn up, and the Commissioners themselves immediately contributed nearly 8000l. but their liberality was not proportionably seconded by the public of that day.

The next act of the Commissioners was to form a Committee of sixty persons, to whom the immediate conduct of the foundation was intrusted, and Mr. John Scarborough was then appointed Clerk of the Works, and Sir Christopher Wren, Architect: the latter, to his great honor, undertook to superintend the work, and to contribute his time and skill, without any emolument or reward whatever. The foundations of the first new building, called the Bass Building, were laid on the third of June, 1696, and the superstructure was completed in two years afterwards. From this period, the Hospital has been gradually enlarged and improved, till it has arrived at its present height of splendor and magnificence.

In

In the same year that the new buildings were begun, the Parliament, on the recommendation of the King, passed an Act, enacting, that sixpence per month should be paid out of the wages of every mariner in the King's service, for the use of the Hospital; and by another Act, passed in 1712, all seamen in the merchants' service were subjected to the payment. In 1699, the funds were further augmented by a grant from the King, of 19,500l. which had been levied on certain merchants for smuggling; and in the same year, 600l. was obtained by a lottery called the 'Charitable Adventure,' which had been excepted out of a Bill for the Suppression of Lotteries, on a petition of the Trustees, who affirmed, that they had demonstrated to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and others, that the Lottery would produce 10,000l. per annum for the benefit of the Hospital.* In 1700, Henry, Earl of Romney, made over his grant of the tolls of Greenwich market to the use of the new foundation. In 1705, the endowments were increased by the gift from Queen Anne, of the effects of Kid, the pirate, which amounted to 6472l. 1s. In 1707, the moiety of an estate, valued at 40,000l. was bequeathed to the Hospital by Robert Osbaldeston, Esq. together with the profits of his unexpired grant of the North and South Foreland Light-houses, and which grant has been since renewed for ninety-nine years. In the following year, by an Act of Queen Anne, all forfeited and unclaimed shares of prize and bounty money were given to the Hospital; and this grant has been confirmed by several subsequent Acts. In 1710, 6000l. per annum was granted towards the building of the Chapel, &c. out of the new duty on coals and culm; this was continued for a longer term, by George the First; and in 1728, on a recommendation from the same Sovereign, the House of Commons voted the sum of 10,000l. in aid of the funds of the Hospital; and a similar sum was granted annually, for the same purpose, during many years afterwards. In the eighth year of George the Second, anno 1735, the Commons, on a message from the King, requiring them to make "some provision for perfecting a work of so much honor

* Journals of the House of Com. Vol. XII. p. 657.

honor to this kingdom, and which had before received frequent marks of the regard of that House," resolved, that the rents and profits of the forfeited estates of the late Charles Radcliffe, Earl of Derwentwater, who had been attainted for his share in the Rebellion in 1715, should be applied towards the completion of the Hospital, and afterwards, to the maintenance of the Pensioners. Soon afterwards, an Act was passed to effect these purposes, and for applying, in like manner, the proceeds from the same estates, which then remained in the Exchequer, and amounted to the sum of 7182l. 13s. after paying the interest and the arrears of certain encumbrances then due; together with 2000l. to Lord Viscount Gage, who had discovered and disclosed to the Parliament, that a clandestine and most iniquitous sale had been made of part of the estates, to the annual value of 5013l. and for which only 1060l. had been paid: through this disclosure, the lands had been recovered; and two of the Commissioners for the sale were expelled the House, and a third reprimanded by the Speaker.*

Other benefactions have been made for the use of the Hospital, by different persons, at various periods, both of money and estates, and during the present year, a considerable addition has been made to its revenue, by the Act which grants an increase of pay to the officers and men of the Royal Navy. The allowance to the out-door Pensioners was also increased, and some other arrangements made for the better relief of aged and infirm Seamen. The 'Chest at Chatham,' too, in the management of which various abuses

* See Debates of Parliament, Vol. VII. p. 153—208, and 257—[illegible]. When the grant was made to the Hospital, the annual rental of the estates was about 6000l. encumbered with a mortgage of nearly 20,000l. and an annuity of 100l. These encumbrances were discharged by the Commissioners, in the year 1749; and in the same year, twenty-second of George the Second, 30,000l. was granted, by Act of Parliament, from the produce of the estates, to the heir, and other children, of the Earl of Derwentwater. By another Act, passed in the year 1788, on the petition of the Earl of Newburgh, a rent-charge of £[illegible] per annum was ordered to be paid to his Lordship, and his heirs male, by the Treasurer of the Hospital.

abuses were discovered by the late Commissioners of Naval Inquiry, has, on their recommendation, been removed to Greenwich.

The Derwentwater estates produce very considerable sums annually to the Hospital; for being principally situated in Cumberland and Durham, they include many valuable lead and other mines. These mines, in the years 1766, 7, and 8, produced 61,830 bynges of ore, which, at the valuation of each bynge in those years, at two pounds, fifteen shillings, amounted to the vast sum of 170,030l.* The other revenues of the Hospital arise from such of the grants above-mentioned, as were of a permanent nature; from fines for fishing with unlawful nets, and for other offences committed on the Thames; from the half-pay of those of its officers who have regular salaries; and from other sources of minor consideration.

The government of this Hospital was originally vested in the Commissioners appointed by the Crown. "In 1703, Queen Anne issued a Commission, dated July the twenty-first, which directed that seven Commissioners should form a General Court, in which the Lord High Admiral, the Lord Treasurer, or any two Privy Counsellors, should be a Quorum; General Courts were to be held quarterly; the Governor and Treasurer of the Hospital to be appointed by the Crown; all the other Officers by the Lord High Admiral, having been recommended to him by the General Court: the same Commission appoints twenty-five Directors as a standing Committee, to meet every fortnight; it vests the internal regulation of the Hospital in the Governor, and such a Council of the Officers as the Lord High Admiral shall appoint. Such has been the constitution of the Hospital to the present day: warrants have been issued, from time to time, by the Admiralty, forming new Councils, as the increase of officers, or other circumstances, rendered it necessary. New Commissions, of the same nature as that of Queen Anne, were issued by George the First and George the Second, on their accession to the throne; but it was not till the year 1775, that the Commissioners became a body corporate by

* Pennant's Jour. to the Isle of Wight, Vol. I. p. 18.

by a charter of his present Majesty. This charter grants powers to finish the building; to provide for seamen, either within or out of the Hospital; to make bye-laws, &c. It is also provided by the charter, that all the officers of the Hospital shall be sea-faring men: the office of the Directors is defined to be, to inspect the carrying on of the buildings; to state the accounts, and to make contracts; and to place the boys out as apprentices. The internal regulation of the Hospital to be in the Governor and Council as before-mentioned. This charter was followed by an Act of Parliament, which vested in the Commissioners thus incorporated, all the estates held in trust for the benefit of the Hospital."*

The Commissioners and Governor of Greenwich Hospital appointed under the charter, are, the Archbishops, the Lord Chancellor, the Lords of the Privy Council, all the great Officers of State, the twelve Judges, the Flag Officers and Commissioners of the Navy; the Master, and five senior Elder Brethren of the Trinity-House; the Mayor, and three senior Aldermen of London; the Governor, the Deputy-Governor, the Directors, and other officers, of the Hospital; all for the time being.—The principal Officers are, a Governor, a Lieutenant-Governor, four Captains, eight Lieutenants, a Treasurer, Secretary, Auditor, Surveyor, Clerk of the Works, Clerk of the Cheque, two Chaplains, a Physician, Surgeon, Steward, and various assistant and inferior servants. The present Governor is the brave and venerable Lord Viscount Hood: his salary is 1000l. that of the Lieutenant-Governor is 400l. the Captains have 230l. each per annum; the Lieutenants, 115l. each; the Treasurer, and Surveyor, 200l. each; the Secretary, Clerk of the Cheque, and Steward, 160l. each; the Auditor, 100l. the Physician, 182l. 10s. the Chaplains, 130l. each; and the Clerk of the Works, 91l. 5s. The officers are allowed a certain quantity of coals and candles, in addition to their salaries, and fourteen-pence per day, in lieu of diet.

GREENWICH HOSPITAL is a magnificent and extensive structure, principally built with Portland stone, and consisting, in its present

* Lysons' Environs, Vol. IV. p. 450.

present state, of four distinct quadrangular piles of building, distinguished by the names of the respective Monarchs in whose reigns they were founded, or built. The grand front opens on a terrace, skirting the southern bank of the Thames, and extending to the length of 865 feet, in the centre of which, is a descent to the river, by a double flight of steps. The ground-plot of the whole edifice forms nearly a square, of which, King Charles's Building occupies the north-west angle; Queen Anne's, the north-east; King William's, the south-west; and Queen Mary's, the south-east. The interval between the two former buildings, forms a square, 270 feet wide, in the middle of which, is a statue of George the Second, sculptured by Rysbrach, out of a single block of white marble, that weighed eleven tons, and was taken from the French, by Admiral Sir George Rooke: this statue was given to the Hospital by Sir John Jennings, who was Governor from 1720 to 1744; the inscriptions on the pedestal were drawn up by Mr. Stanyan, author of the Grecian History.* The space between the two latter buildings,

* These inscriptions are as follow: on the east side—

Hic requies senectæ
Hic modus lasso maris et viarum
Militiæq.

On the west side:

Fessos tuto placidissima portu
Accipit.

On the north side:

Hic ames dici pater atq. princeps.

And underneath the Royal standard:

Imperium Pelagi.

On the south side:

Principi potentissimo GEORGIO II^do^ *Britanniarum Regi, cujus auspiciis et patrocinio augustissimum hoc hospitium ad sublevandos militantium in classe emeritorum labores—a regiis ipsius ante cessoribus fundatum auctius indies et splendidius exurgit.*

JOHANNES JENNINGS, *Eques, ejusdem hospitii præfectus Iconem hanc pro debitâ suâ erga principem reverentiâ et patriam charitate posuit, anno Domini MDCCXXXV.*

ings, which include the Hall and Chapel, with their elegant domes, and the two colonnades, forms a lesser square, apparently terminated by the Ranger's Lodge in the Park, above which, on a commanding eminence, appears the Royal Observatory, rising from the midst of a grove of trees. This view is particularly striking, when beheld either from the terrace, or the river. The two squares are intersected by a spacious avenue, leading from the town through the Hospital, and forming, with the areas, a kind of cross.

The buildings which immediately front the Thames, and bear the names of *King Charles*, and *Queen Anne*, have a very general correspondence both in style and arrangement. The north and south front of each presents the appearance of a double pavilion, conjoined above by the continuation of an attic order, with a balustrade, which surmounts the whole, but separated below by an open portal: the centre of each pavilion displays an elegant pediment, supported by four Corinthian columns; and the sides, a double pilaster, of the same order. In the tympanum of the eastern pediment of King Charles's Building, is a sculpture of Mars and Fame, and beneath it, on the frieze, are the words CAROLUS II. REX A REG. XVI. The east front of this building, which corresponds to the west front of Queen Anne's, is rusticated, and has a tetrastyle portico in the centre, of the Corinthian order, with its proper entablature and pediment. The west front, which includes the Bass Building, is of brick, with the exception of the terminating pavilions, which were re-built of stone, respectively in the years 1712, and 1769. The tympanum of the pediment on this side, exhibits a sculpture, in alto-relievo, of the Arms of England, supported by two Genii, with marine trophies, and other appropriate ornaments.

King Charles's Building contains the apartments of the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor, the Council-Room, fifteen Wards for the Pensioners, and other chambers, differently appropriated. In the *Council-Room*, among others, is a painting of GEORGE THE SECOND, in his robes; half-lengths of KING WILLIAM, and QUEEN MARY, by Sir Godfrey Kneller; EDWARD, first Earl of Sandwich, who was killed in the battle in Solebay, half-length, by

Sir

Sir Peter Lely; LORD VISCOUNT TORRINGTON, whole-length, by Davison; ROBERT OSBOLSTON, Esq. whole-length, by Degard, from an original in the possession of Lord Aylmer; Admiral SIR JOHN JENNINGS, whole-length, by Richardson; CAPTAIN CLEMENTS, an oval, by Greenhill; JOHN, late Earl of Sandwich, whole-length, by Gainsborough; and the *Head* of JOHN WORLEY, a venerable old man, who was the first Pensioner admitted into the Hospital. Some of the original sketches, by Sir James Thornhill, for the paintings in the Great Hall, are also preserved in this room. In the *Ante-Chamber* are two large *Sea Pieces*, presented to the Hospital by Philip Harman, Esq. representing the exploits of his ancestor, Captain Thomas Harman, in the Tyger frigate, in the time of Charles the Second: in one of these, he appears engaged with eight Dutch privateers, (from whom his bravery preserved a large fleet of colliers;) and in the other, with a Dutch man of war, which he took in the Bay of Bulls. Here is also, a series of six small pieces, representing the *Loss of the Luxemburgh Galley*, which was burnt by accident, in her passage from Jamaica to England, in 1727; and the subsequent distresses of part of her crew, who escaped in the long-boat, and were at sea twelve days before they could make the land, without either a morsel of victuals, or a drop of liquor. The whole number that escaped into the boat, was twenty-three; of these, six only survived the distresses of the voyage, one of whom, Captain William Boys, was afterwards Lieutenant-Governor of this Hospital, and in memory of his remarkable deliverance, was accustomed to pass as many days annually in prayer and fasting, as he had spent in the boat. Queen Anne's Building was chiefly erected between the years 1698, and 1728: it contains various apartments for the Officers, and twenty-four Wards for the Pensioners.

The two southernmost ranges of building, which bear the names of *King William* and *Queen Mary*, have, like the former ones, a general conformity to each other, though differing in the parts and ornaments. To the inner side of each range is attached a handsome colonnade, of Portland stone, composed of an entablature and ballustrade, supported by numerous duplicated Doric co-

lumns and pilasters, and extending to the length of 347 feet, with a return pavilion at the end, seventy feet long. Above the southern extremity of each colonnade, is a well-proportioned dome and turret, rising to the height of 120 feet: each dome is supported by a circle of duplicated columns, of the Composite order, with projecting groups of columns at the quoins. That part of King William's Building which contains the Great Hall and Vestibule, was designed and erected by Sir Christopher Wren, during the years 1698 and 1703. The north and south fronts of this building, are of stone; the west front, which was finished by Sir John Vanbrugh, is of brick, but has a tetrastyle frontispiece in the centre, of the Doric order, with columns of Portland stone, nearly six feet in diameter.

Over the doors in the *Vestibule*, are compartments, in chiaro-oscuro, recording the names of the benefactors to the Hospital, and the amount of the donations. Here is also the model of an antique ship, found in the Villa Mattea, given by Lord Anson. From the Vestibule a high flight of steps leads into the *Great Hall*, or *Saloon*, which is 106 feet in length, fifty-six feet wide, and fifty feet high. In the surrounding frieze is the following inscription: *Pietas augusta ut habitent securè et publicè alantur qui publicæ securitati invigilarunt regia Grenovici Mariæ auspiciis sublevandis nautis destinata regnantibus Gulielmo et Mariâ, MDCXCIV.* This Hall was painted by Sir James Thornhill, who was about six years in completing it, as appears from his own memorial, addressed to the Commissioners, on their order, for 'a valuation of the painting.' The sum paid to him for his labor, was 6685l. being after the rate of 3l. for the ceiling, and 1l. for the sides, per square yard.* Even this, however, the Directors would not agree to pay, till they had consulted with the most eminent painters of that age, who declared, 'the performance to be equal in merit to any

* See a copy of the Memorial, in Cooke and Maule's Historical Account of Greenwich Hospital, p. 97—99. The tradition is, that Sir James was nineteen years executing the painting; but this is clearly erroneous.

any thing of the kind in England, and superior in the number of figures and ornaments.' The ceiling displays a very large and deep oval frame, in the centre of which, *King William* and *Queen Mary* are represented seated on a throne, under a rich canopy, and surrounded by personifications of the Cardinal Virtues, the Seasons, the four Elements, the Signs of the Zodiac, and various other emblematical and symbolical devices. At each end of the oval, the ceiling is raised in perspective, and exhibits a gallery with an elliptic arch, supported by groups of stone-colored figures: these galleries display various appropriate naval embellishments, with the English Rivers, and the Arts and Sciences relating to navigation: in one of them are introduced the portraits of *Flamsteed*, the Astronomer Royal, and his pupil, the ingenious *Mr. Thomas Weston*, accompanied by Copernicus, and Tycho Brahe. The sides of the Hall are adorned with fluted pilasters, trophies, &c. and in recesses on the north side, which correspond with a double row of windows on the south, are allegorical figures, in chiaro-oscuro, of the more liberal Virtues, as Hospitality, Generosity, Benignity, &c. From the Saloon, a second flight of steps leads to the *Upper Hall*, which is also ornamented by paintings. The ceiling represents *Queen Anne*, with her consort, *Prince George* of Denmark, accompanied by various figures; and round them, the four quarters of the globe, with the arms of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland. The side walls display the Landing of the Prince of Orange at Harwich, and of George the First at Greenwich: the upper end is ornamented by a large painting of George the First, and his family, with numerous emblematical figures, among which, *Sir James Thornhill* has introduced his own likeness. The number of Wards in this building is eleven.

Queen Mary's Building contains the *Chapel*, which is one of the most elegant specimens of Grecian architecture in this country. It was erected from the classical designs of the late James Stuart, Esq. better known, perhaps, by the appellation of 'Athenian Stuart,' which he acquired from the chasteness of his taste, and the Attic elegance of his buildings. This Chapel was erected on the site of a former one, that was destroyed by a dreadful fire, on

the second of January, 1779, together with part of the adjoining colonnade, the Great Dining Hall, and as many of the Wards as contained 500 beds: the whole has been since re-built. The Vestibule before the entrance is octangular, and is adorned with Colossal statues, in niches, of Faith, Hope, Charity, and Meekness, designed by West, and executed in artificial stone, by Coade. From this an ascent of fourteen steps leads to the Chapel, which is 111 feet in length, and fifty-two in width, and is capable of conveniently accommodating 1000 Pensioners, nurses, and boys; exclusive of the seats for the Directors, and other officers. The entrance portal is extremely rich, and consists of an architrave, frieze, and cornice, of statuary marble; the jambs are each of one piece, twelve feet high, excellently sculptured. The frieze was the work of the late celebrated Bacon, and displays two angels supporting the Scriptures, in the leaves of which is seen the inscription, '*The Law was given by Moses; but Grace and Truth came by Jesus Christ.*' The folding-doors are of mahogany, highly enriched by carving.

The interior of the Chapel is fitted up with great taste and elegance: even the most subordinate parts are regulated by a characteristic propriety, in respect to the grand design, which commands admiration. Many of the ornaments are naval; the very pavement is made subservient to remind the spectator of the destination of the building, the stones being so disposed, as to represent the anchor, the compass, &c. and, in fact, every part throughout, bears marks of the same judicious disposition.*

The

* Select Views of London, &c. Vol. I, "The same admirable propriety is observed in distributing the Pensioners, &c. to their respective places during divine service. The benches, which occupy the two sides of the Chapel, and which are placed equidistant, have all their customary allotment of men, in full uniform. Each bench has its presiding Boatswain, whose seat draws out from the end; and the whole forms a regular row up each side the grand avenue, in the middle of which, their hats are ranged in a straight line, marked out by the disposition of

The Chapel has a double range of windows on each side, between which are the galleries, containing seats for the Governor, and other officers: the galleries are supported on cantilivers, decorated with antique ornaments and foliage, beneath which, are ranges of fluted pilasters, having an entablature, similarly ornamented: the intervals between are adorned by festoons. Above the lower range of windows on each side, are small oval paintings, in chiaro-oscuro, representing the principal events in the life of *Our Saviour*, by De Bruyn, Catton, Milburne, and Rebecca. Above the galleries, and standing on a richly-carved stone fascia, are ranges of pilasters, of the Composite order, with scagliola shafts, by Richter, in imitation of Sienna marble, corresponding with those of the eight grand Corinthian columns, by the same artist, that support the roof: the bases and capitals of the latter columns are of statuary marble. The ceiling is curved, and divided into compartments, ornamented in the ancient style, with golochi, frets, foliage, &c. the epistylium, which goes round the whole Chapel, is enriched by angels, bearing festoons of oak-leaves, dolphins, shells, and other appropriate ornaments: the spaces between the upper windows, and over the doors of the galleries, are adorned with figures of Apostles, Evangelists, and Prophets, in chiaro-oscuro, by Rebecca, from designs by West. The Organ Gallery is supported by six fluted columns, with Ionic capitals, and bases; crowned by an entablature and balustrade: in front of the gallery, is a small basso-relievo of Angels sounding the Harp, by Coade; and on a tablet beneath, is an appropriate inscription: the organ is a very fine one, by Green.

of the pavement. The intervals of the windows have seats a little elevated, containing the boys; other seats, in the same manner, are appropriated to the Lieutenants, nurses, &c. and the whole is overlooked by the Governor and Officers in the galleries above. This attention to regularity not only preserves good order and discipline, but greatly conduces to the grandeur of the scene. The whole group, when thus arranged, forms a picture truly interesting; and callous, indeed, must his heart be, who can behold this assemblage of naval worth, without emotion!" *Ibid.*

But the finest work of art which decorates this superb structure, is the Altar-piece, which represents *The Preservation of St. Paul from Shipwreck on the Island of Melita.* This was executed by West, and it displays all that attention to historic truth, and propriety of costume, for which this artist is famed. It exhibits, also, a superior richness of invention; and the several groups of figures, which are introduced into the picture, are disposed so judiciously, and under such particular circumstances of action, that they all combine to increase the interest of the scene, and at the same time, to unfold the exalted powers of the painter. The principal group, which occupies the centre of the picture, consists of St. Paul shaking off the viper that had fastened on his hand, into the fire, attended by the Brethren who had accompanied him, the friendly Centurion, and a band of Roman soldiers, with their proper insignia. It has been observed, and with great justness, that the figure of the Apostle, though considerably less in magnitude than many of the others, and removed to a greater distance, preserves its proper dignity of principal, not only from its situation in the middle of the picture, but also from the painter having artfully contrived to throw the reflection of the fire full in his face, which beams with an awful benignity. The group in the fore-ground represents various mariners and prisoners, bringing on shore different articles, that have been saved from the wreck; and near them, a female in a mourning cloak, intended for a Roman lady, clasping, with affection, an urn, supposed to contain the ashes of her deceased husband, who had fallen in the wars of Judea: an aged, infirm man, is also depicted here, as borne from the wreck by two robust younger ones. The uppermost group consists of the hospitable Islanders, lowering down fuel, and other necessaries, from the summit of the rocks, for the relief of the sufferers: the sea, and the wrecked vessel, appear in the distance. This picture is twenty-five feet in height, and fourteen in width; and is inclosed in a very superb frame. On each side of the arch above, is an Angel, in statuary marble, sculptured by Bacon; one bears the cross, the other the emblems of the Eucharist. The segment between the great cornice and ceiling, is ornamented with a chiaro-oscuro painting of the Ascension, by Rebecca, being the last of the series from the History of Our Saviour,

which adorns the spaces over the lower windows. The Altar-table, Pulpit, and Reader's Desk, are designed in the same elegant taste as the other parts: the *Pulpit* is circular, and is supported by six fluted pillars of lime-tree, with an entablature of the same wood: the intercolumns display various subjects from the Acts of the Apostles, executed in alto-relievo, from designs by West.* The number of Wards in Queen Mary's Building, is thirteen.

The magnificence of this structure attracts a great number of visitors; and the money given by them, for viewing the Chapel, Hall, and other parts of the buildings, is devoted, after a very trifling deduction, for the persons who show them, towards the support of the *School*, which, in compliance with the Royal Founder's intention, has existed here from the beginning of the institution. The receipts from this source, together with 'mulcts, absences, cheques, &c. of the pensioners, and the nurses; profits on provisions purchased of the pensioners, sale of household stores, and unclaimed property of deceased pensioners and nurses, have proved fully adequate to the expenses of the establishment; and have produced a balance that has been invested in the stocks.' At first, "ten boys only were admitted into the School: in 1731, they were increased to sixty; and at length to 200, which is the present number. These boys must be, at the time of their admission, between eleven and thirteen years of age; objects of charity, of sound body and mind, and able to read: they are lodged, clothed, and maintained three years; during which time, they are instructed in the principles of religion, by the Chaplains, and in writing, arithmetic, and drawing, if they show any genius for it, by the Schoolmaster. Each boy has a Bible and Prayer Book given him, on his entrance into the School, and is supplied, during his stay there, with all necessary books and instruments, which he is allowed to take with him when he leaves the School: he is then bound out for seven years, to the sea-service. The Master, who is appointed by the Directors, has a salary of 150l. per annum, and

* These designs are preserved, with those by Sir James Thornhill, in the Council-Room.

and a house."* Upwards of 3,560 boys have been educated here, from the establishment of this charity to the present time. The present *School-House* was erected near the Hospital, but without the walls, in the year 1783, from a design by the late 'Athenian Stuart.' Its length is 146 feet, and its breadth forty-two; exclusive of a Tuscan colonnade in front, intended as a play-place for the boys in bad weather, 180 feet long, and twenty broad. The School-Room is 100 feet long, by twenty-five; and in the two stories above it, are Dormitories of the same extent, furnished with hammocks; the adjoining apartments are appropriated to the guardian, nurses, and other attendants.

The Pensioners, who are the principal objects of this noble institution, have, from time to time, been increased in proportion as the extension of the funds proved sufficient for the maintenance of a greater number. When the Hospital was first opened for their reception, in January, 1705, fifty-two were admitted; in the three following years, they were increased to 300; and from that time to the year 1738, to 1000. Since then, their number has been progressively augmented to 2,410, the present complement. At first, only the aged and maimed seamen belonging to the Royal Navy, were admitted into the Hospital; but those disabled in the merchant service, had the same privilege given to them, by Queen Anne, in 1710; three years before that, all foreigners who had served in the British navy two years, were invested with the same rights, in respect to this charity, as natives: marines are considered in the same light as seamen: every Pensioner has an allowance of seven loaves, weighing sixteen ounces each; three pounds of beef, two of mutton, a pint of peas, a pound and a quarter of cheese, two ounces of butter, fourteen quarts of beer, and one shilling for pocket-money; the latter sum is increased to eighteen-pence for the Boatswain's Mate, and half a crown for the Boatswain. The clothing allowed to every pensioner is a blue suit, a hat, three pair of blue yarn stockings, three pair of shoes, and four shirts, five neckcloths, and two night-caps, every two years; besides bedding,

* Lysons' Environs, Vol. IV. p. 446, 447.

ding, great-coats for the aged and infirm, and watch-coats for those on guard. The bread and beer are both made by proper persons belonging to the establishment, for which purposes a large brewery, bake-house, &c. have been erected just without the Hospital. The widows of seamen, who, in pursuance of the original design, are provided for in this charity, have the exclusive privilege of being appointed nurses in the Hospital. At the time of their admission, they must be under forty-five years of age: they are provided with clothing, diet, and lodging, and allowed eight pounds annually as wages. The whole number of Pensioners admitted into the Hospital, since its foundation, is about 18,000; that of nurses, about 700.

In the year 1763, in consequence of an application from the Commissioners of this Hospital, assembled at a General Court, an Act of Parliament passed, enabling them, after defraying the necessary expenses of the Hospital, to grant pensions to such poor seamen, as were worn out, and become decrepit, in the King's service, and could not be received, for want of room, into the the Hospital. In pursuance of this Act, 1400 Out-Pensioners were appointed to receive seven pounds per annum: their numbers having gradually decreased by death, or admission into the Hospital, 500 additional ones were appointed in 1782; and the same number in the succeeding year: the present number on the establishment, is upwards of 3,000. All persons who want to be admitted into the Hospital, must make application at the Admiralty-Office, on the days appointed for that purpose, which are the first Thursdays in January, April, July, and October: those whose cases are the most pressing, have the preference.

The east and west entrances into the Hospital precincts, are formed by two rusticated piers, with iron gates, and lodges for the porters adjoining: on the piers of the western entrance, are placed two large stone Globes, each six feet in diameter. On the Terrestrial Globe is marked the track of Lord Anson's Voyage round the World, in the Centurion: the position of the globes is oblique, agreeably to the latitude of Greenwich,

The only building connected with the Hospital, that now remains to be described, is the *Infirmary*, which was erected without the walls, in the years 1763 and 1764, in pursuance of a resolution of the General Court of Directors. This edifice was designed by Stuart; and forms an oblong quadrangle, 198 feet long, and 175 broad. It consists of two stories, and is divided into two principal parts, appropriated respectively to those whose cases require surgical aid, and to those who are in need only of physical assistance. The number of rooms is sixty-four, each of which is fitted up to accommodate four persons; every room having a fireplace, and ventilator. Within the building are also apartments for the physician, surgeon, matron, and other attendants; together with hot and cold baths, a Surgery, a Dispensary, Hall, Chapel, &c.

In the present burial-ground of the Hospital, is a Mausoleum, in which are preserved memorials of LIEUTENANT PIERCE WELSH, who was the first Lieutenant of this institution; the *Rev. Philip Stubbs*, Arch-Deacon of St. Albans, and others; who were buried in a piece of ground, on the east side of Greenwich Park, that was given to the Hospital, in the year 1707, by Prince George of Denmark, but has been long disused. The inscription on Mr. Welsh, records his having lost his lower jaw, and part of his tongue, in an engagement with a part of the Dunkirk squadron; "after which, he lived six years, four months, and twelve days, by liquids only:" he died in August, 1709, at the age of fifty-nine. In the new cemetary was buried the *Rev. Nicholas Tindal*, who translated and continued Rapin's History of England, and was the author of some other independent works. He was appointed Chaplain to Greenwich Hospital in 1738, and died in June, 1774.

The average number of Pensioners that have died yearly, during the last twenty years, is 203, out of 2400 persons. From an accurate table of longevity, prepared by Dr. Robertson,* and made up to December the thirty-first, 1801, it appears, that ninety-six persons were then living in the Hospital, from the age of eighty, and

* Author of an interesting work on the Diseases incidental to Seamen.

and upwards; of these, thirteen were above ninety years of age, and the remainder between eighty and ninety, with the exception of one, named *John Moore*, who was past 102: this man had lost four *new* fore teeth within the five preceding years; he was born at Castlelions, in Cork, and had been thirty years in the King's service: his grandfather had attained the great age of 115, and his father to that of 105.* From the same table it also appears, that one half of the persons recorded in it, were descended from aged families; and that many of them were in the habit of drinking freely. Almost all of them had been married; and four of them had taken wives after they were above the age of eighty years. Very few had good teeth; some of them had been entirely without for more than twenty years: the sight was impaired in about one half; and in nearly one fifth, the organ of hearing had greatly failed. Of the Out-Pensioners, who then amounted to 2,500, only twenty-three were eighty years of age, or upwards.†

GREENWICH PARK was disjoined from the Palace when the latter was converted into an Hospital, and it still continues to be vested in the Crown. It contains 188 acres, and was walled round with brick by James the First. The upper part, adjoining to Blackheath, is considerably elevated; and from *One Tree Hill*, and the *Observatory*, which stands on the site of the Tower erected by the good Duke of Glocester, the prospects are uncommonly fine, particularly of the Metropolis, the county of Essex, and the serpentine windings of the Thames, animated by the crowds of shipping that are continually navigating its busy stream. Greenwich Hospital is immediately under the eye; and, with the adjacent country and river, and London in the distance, presents as most interesting a *coup d'œil*, as can well be imagined. The Park itself affords much rich scenery: it was laid out by Le Notre, in the time of Charles the Second, and is planted chiefly with elms, and Spanish chesnut:

* John Moore, himself, died in 1805, in his 107th year. *Thomas Bond*, another Pensioner of this Hospital, died in December, 1739, aged 105; and ——— *Baker*, in March, 1736, aged 101.

† See an Essay on Longevity, by Sir John Sinclair, Bart. published in the Philosophical Magazine for July and August, 1802.

chesnut: some of the latter are very large. In one part, are remains of various ancient *Barrows*, most of which were opened, in the year 1784, by Mr. Douglas, author of the 'Nenia Britannica.' Among the articles found in them, were spear-heads, knives, human bones and hair, fragments of woollen cloth, lumps of iron, and broad-headed nails, with decayed wood adhering to them. The *Ranger's Lodge*, which has been already mentioned as begun by Anne of Denmark, and completed in great splendor, by Henrietta Maria, has the name of the latter Queen on the front, together with the date 1635. The Hall is about fifty-four feet square, and is surrounded by a gallery: the ceiling has been deprived of its ornaments; and the whole interior has long been divested of its original magnificence. This edifice was the occasional retirement of the Right Hon. Henry Pelham, when Prime Minister; his wife, the Lady Catherine Pelham, being then Ranger of the Park. Since the death of that Lady, it has only been inhabited by servants; and no other Ranger of the Park was appointed till the last year, when the office was given to the Princess of Wales.

The Tower in Greenwich Park, which had been erected by Duke Humphrey, was re-built or repaired by Henry the Eighth; and again enlarged and ornamented by Henry, the learned Earl of Northampton, to whom it had been granted by James the First, and who made it his chief residence. Soon after the commencement of the Civil War, it was thought of such consequence by the Parliament, as a place of strength, that immediate steps were ordered to be taken for securing it. Charles the Second, in 1675, had it pulled down, and on its site founded the present ROYAL OBSERVATORY, for the purpose of obtaining a more accurate knowledge of the heavenly bodies, in order to afford a greater facility to the attempts at discovering the longitude.† This spot was chosen

† "This foundation owed its origin to the following circumstance: Monsieur de St. Pierre, a Frenchman, who came to London in 1675, having demanded a reward from Charles the Second, for his discovery of a method of finding the longitude by the moon's distance from a star, a Commission was appointed to examine into his pretensions. Mr. Flamsteed

chosen on the recommendation of Sir Christopher Wren, and the celebrated Flamsteed was appointed the first Astronomer Royal, on the advice of Sir Jonas Moore. The materials of the old Tower* were employed to construct the new building, towards the expense of which, the King gave 500l. and as many bricks as were wanted, from a spare stock at Tilbury Fort. It was completed in August, 1676, and Flamsteed being put into possession, begun to make 'observations,' in the following month, "with a six-feet radius, contrived by himself, and such other instruments as were then in use. Flamsteed resided here many years, doing ample justice to the Royal choice, though walking in an almost untrodden path, and being one of the first who made use of telescopic sight: it was not till 1689, that he had the advantage of a mural quadrant; and even then, it was not such as is now in use, but one contrived and divided

Flamsteed, (afterwards Astronomer Royal,) who was appointed one of the Commissioners, furnished St. Pierre with certain *data* of observation, by which to calculate the longitude of a given place. This he was unable to do, but excused himself by asserting, that the *data* were false. Flamsteed contended that they were true, but allowed that nothing certain could be deduced from them, for want of more exact tables of the moon, and more correct places of the fixed stars, than Tycho's observations, made with plain sight, afforded. This being made known to the King, he declared that his pilots and sailors should not want such an assistance. He resolved, therefore, to found an *Observatory*, for the purpose of ascertaining the motions of the moon, and the places of the fixed stars, as a means of discovering that great desideratum, the longitude at sea." *Lysons' Environs*, Vol. IV. p. 455.

* This Tower, observes Mr. Lysons, "was sometimes a habitation for the younger branches of the Royal Family; sometimes the residence of a favorite mistress, sometimes a prison, and sometimes a place of defence." Puttenham, in his 'Art of English Poesy,' mentions a 'fayre lady whom the King (Hen. VIII.) loved,' being lodged in it. Mary of York, fifth daughter of Edward the Fourth, died here, in 1482: and Elizabeth's favorite, the Earl of Leicester, was confined in this Tower, after he had incurred the Queen's displeasure, by his marriage with the Countess of Essex.

divided partly by himself, without any help, but the strength of his own genius."* Flamsteed died at Greenwich, in December, 1719, and was succeeded by Dr. Halley, who fixed a transit instrument, and had a new mural quadrant, of eight feet radius, constructed under the direction of Graham, and put up at the public expense, in 1725. This celebrated Astronomer principally directed his attention to the motions of the moon: he died at the Observatory, in 1742, and was buried at Lee. Dr. Bradley, his successor, made many important observations; and in his time, some very valuable additions were made to the instruments at the Observatory: among them, was a new mural brass quadrant, of eight feet radius; a transit instrument, eight feet in length; a moveable quadrant, of forty inches radius, by Bird; an astronomical clock, by Shelton; and a Newtonian reflecting telescope, of six feet, focal length, by Short. Dr. Bradley died in July, 1762, and was succeeded by Nathaniel Bliss, M. A. whose decease, in 1764, made room for the advancement of the present Astronomer Royal, the venerable Dr. Nevil Maskelyne, who has conducted the business of his situation with eminent ability. Since his appointment, the Observatory has been furnished with an excellent achromatic telescope, of forty-six inches, focal length, with a treble object glass, &c. by Dollond; and the whole astronomical apparatus has been greatly improved by Dollond, Nairne, and Arnold. The observations made here by the Astronomer Royal, since 1767, have been published annually, under the inspection of the Royal Society, who visit the Observatory once a year.† Within the building is a deep dry well, formed for the purpose of admitting observations to be made on the stars in the day-time.

A Religious house is said to have been founded at Greenwich, by Edward the Third; yet, as Mr. Lysons has not been able to find any record relating to such foundation, there is "great reason to believe,

* Lysons', from Wollaston's Preface to the Astronomical Catalogue.

† This account of the Observatory is wholly derived from the historical particulars given of it by Mr. Lysons: Environs, Vol. IV. p. 454—458.

believe, that no such house existed, but that it has been confounded with the Priory at Lewisham." A COMMUNITY *of Minorites*, or *Observant Friars*, of the Order of St. Francis, was, however, established here by Edward the Fourth, who, with the Pope's license, granted them a piece of ground adjoining to his Palace, on which were some ancient buildings: here the friars began to erect several small mansions, in honor of the Virgin Mary, St. Francis, and All Saints. Henry the Seventh, in the first of his reign, confirmed the former grant; and, by a new charter, founded a convent of friars, of the above order, to consist of 'a Warden, and twelve Brethren, at the least;' and he is said, also, to have afterwards rebuilt the Convent from the foundation. "Catharine of Arragon, Henry the Eighth's first Queen, was a great favourer of this House; and appointed one of the monks, Father John Forrest, to be her Confessor: she was also accustomed, while resident at Greenwich, to rise at midnight, and join the monks in their devotions.* They returned this friendship by openly espousing her cause, when the business of the divorce was agitated, which so far enraged the King, that he suppressed the whole order throughout England." This Convent was dissolved in August, 1534; and afterwards, according to Kilburne, some Monks of the Augustine Order, were for a time placed here.† Queen Mary restored the possessions to the Franciscans, who had begun to form themselves into a new community at Greenwich, after her accession; and she also repaired the monastic buildings, out of gratitude for the attachment which the friars had shown to her mother's cause. This House was at length finally suppressed by Elizabeth, in June, 1559: the buildings were afterwards attached to the Royal Palace, and the site of them is now occupied by a part of Greenwich Hospital.‡

* Hist. of the English Franciscans, p. 216. † Survey of Kent, p. 115.

‡ It appears from Dugdale, Vol. I. p. 372, that *Elizabeth*, wife of Thomas, Lord D'Arcy, of the north, and sister to William, first Lord Sandys, was buried in the Franciscans' Church.

The ancient *Church* of St. Alphage, at Greenwich, having become very ruinous, by lapse of time, the roof fell in, about midnight, on the twenty-eighth of November, 1710. The inhabitants then petitioned the House of Commons for assistance towards rebuilding it; and, in consequence of this petition, it was expressly provided, by the Act soon afterwards passed, for erecting fifty new churches in and near London, that one of them should be in the Parish of Greenwich. The new Church is a handsome stone fabric; it was completed in 1718, and consecrated in the September of that year: the name of the architect was John James. At the west end is a square tower, with a cupola above, supported on Corinthian pillars, and over that, a small spire: the interior is fitted up in the Grecian style, and pewed with oak. Against the north wall, hangs a painting on board, representing a monumental effigies of Queen Elizabeth: on the south wall, is a picture of Charles the First, at his devotions; and on the east wall, are portraits of Queen Anne, and George the First. There are no monumental inscriptions within the Church; but on the outside, and in the Church-yard, among other monuments, are those of Sir William Henry Sanderson, Bart. of East Combe, the last heir male of his family, who died at the age of fifteen, in 1760; Sir Robert Robinson, Knt. who died in April, 1714, aged eighty-four; Sir James Creed, Knt. who died in February, 1762, aged sixty-seven; Sir John Lethieullier, Knt. who died in 1718; and Lieutenant General William Skinner, who was twenty-one years Chief Engineer of Great Britain, and died in 1789. In a large cemetary adjoining the Church-yard, among many others, is the tomb of Dr. Frederick Slare, Fellow of the College of Physicians, and F. R. S. he died in 1727.

In the *Old Church* was a portrait, on glass, of *Humphrey*, Duke of Glocester,* and various monuments and memorials for respectable persons. Among them were several *Brasses:* one was in memory of Richard Bower, Gentleman of the Chapel, and Master of the Children to Henry the Eighth; Edward the Sixth; Queen

* This was engraved as a head-piece in the Cat. of Eng. MSS.

Queen Mary; and Queen Elizabeth, ob. 1561: another for JOHN WHYTHE, Gent. one of Queen Elizabeth's footmen, who died in 1579, and was represented in the dress of the times, a gold chain over his right shoulder, and a mace and crown, with the Queen's supporters, on his breast; a third was for HENRY TRAIFFORD, Esq. Clerk of the Green Cloth under the same Sovereign, ob. 1585; and a fourth, for THOMAS TALLYS, who was esteemed the father of the collegiate style of music, and was Musician in the Chapel, in the reigns of Henry the Eighth, and his three immediate successors: he died in 1581.* Here was also a monument to commemorate the learned Kentish Antiquary, WILLIAM LAMBARD, Esq. who was buried in the old Church, in August, 1601; as was his son, Sir Multon Lambard, in 1634.† In this building also was a *Chantry*, dedicated to the Holy Cross, belonging to a Guild or Fraternity in Greenwich, of that name. *Dr. Samuel*

 Squire,

* His epitaph is thus printed in Strype's Circuit Walk, annexed to Stow's Survey of London.

Enterred here doth ly a worthy wyght
Who for long tyme in musick bore the bell,
His name to shew was *Thomas Tallys* hyght,
In honest vertuous life he did excell.
He served long tyme in Chappell with grete prayse,
Fower Soveraynes reygnes, a thing not often seen,
I mean Kyng Henry and Prynce Edward's dayes,
Quene Mary, and Elizabeth our Quene.
He maryed was, though children he had none,
And lyved in love full thre and thirty yeres
With loyal spouse, whos name yclypt was Jone,
Who here entombd him company now bears.
As he did lyve, so also did he dy,
In myld and quyet sort, O! happy man!
To God full oft for mercy did he cry,
Wherefore he lyves, let Death do what he can.

† When the old Church was taken down, Mr. Lambard's monument was removed, and put up at Sevenoaks, where it still is, by a descendant.

Squire, who was made Bishop of St. David's in the year 1761, had been instituted to the Vicarage of this Parish ten years before, and he held it *in commendam* till his death, in 1766: he was author of an Essay on the Anglo-Saxon Government, and of some other learned works.

In the *Register* of Greenwich, are recorded the names of many eminent persons who have been interred here, but for whom no memorials have been placed in either of the Churches. Among them are those of *Elizabeth Stewart,* Countess of Carrick, in Scotland, buried in January, 1645, 6. *Sir Richard Stainer,* a brave Admiral, who particularly distinguished himself during the Protectorate of Cromwell, when, in 1656, with only three frigates, he attacked a Spanish flotilla of eight sail, and, notwithstanding his disparity of numbers, completely defeated them; he sunk one, burnt a second, drove two on shore, and captured two others, on board of which was treasure to the amount of 600,000l. In the next year he assisted the gallant Admiral Blake in the destruction of the Spanish flota in the Bay of Santa-Cruz; "an act so miraculous," says Clarendon, "that all who knew the place, wondered how any man, with what courage soever endowed, could have undertaken it: indeed, they could hardly persuade themselves to believe what they had done; whilst the Spaniards comforted themselves with the belief that they were devils, and not men, who had destroyed their ships." Sir Richard died in November, 1662, having been made Rear Admiral of the Fleet by Charles the Second. *Dr. Robert Boreman,* author of a Life of Alice, Duchess of Dudley, Sir George Sondes' Narrative of the Death of his two Sons, (one of whom was hanged for the murder of his brother,) and other pieces. *Sir James Lumley,* Bart. after whose death, in 1771, at the age of seventy-five, the title became extinct. *Mr. Robert Newcourt,* Gent. buried in February, 1715, 16, author of that valuable work, the *Repertorium Londinense,* two volumes, folio. *Matthew,* Lord Aylmer, who, when Page to Villiers, second Duke of Buckingham, was persuaded by him to enter into the sea service, in which he gradually rose to the highest honors of the profession, and was twice made Admiral, and Commander in Chief of

the Fleet. In 1714, he was made Governor of Greenwich Hospital, and soon afterwards Ranger of the Park, and Keeper of the Queen's House, where from that period he resided till his death, in August, 1720. Several others of his family and descendants were also buried here. *Admiral Sir Charles Hardy*, who died in December, 1744. *Major General James Wolfe*, the gallant conqueror of Quebec, who fell in the moment of victory, in September, 1759; and was buried here near his father, *Lieutenant-General Edward Wolfe*, in the November following: and *Lavinia*, Duchess of Bolton, the celebrated Polly Peachum, who was buried in February, 1760. Among the other remarkable entries in the Register, are the two following: "*Francis North*, son of Samuel North, (being born without arms, his hands growing out of his shoulders,) baptized July 4, 1619."—"November 18, 1685, *John Cooper*, of this parish, alms-man in Queen Elizabeth's College, aged 108 years, and Margaret Thomas, of Charlton, in Kent, aged eighty years, married by license of the Lord Bishop of Rochester, and leave of the Governors of the Drapers." This hardy veteran in connubial bonds did not survive his marriage quite a twelvemonth; the date of his burial being thus recorded—"Ould Cooper, buried Oct. 31, 1686."

Among the smaller charitable foundations at Greenwich, are two HOSPITALS, or *Colleges*, as they are called, for poor people. The most ancient of these was founded in 1576, by William Lambard, Esq. the celebrated Antiquary, who has just been mentioned, author of the 'Perambulation of Kent,' and other learned works. This is said to have been the first Hospital erected by a Protestant: Mr. Lambard endowed it for the maintenance of twenty poor persons, either male or female, calling it the 'College of Queen Elizabeth,' and consigning the direction to the Master of the Rolls, and the Drapers' Company. The original allowance to each pensioner was six shillings per month; but this has been increased to fifteen shillings monthly, and a chaldron and a half of coals yearly. By the ordinances, a preference is directed to be given to the aged, the maimed, the blind, to those impoverished by casualty, to those afflicted with any continual sickness, not contagious;

tagious; and to those burthened with a numerous family: a man is also to be preferred before a woman, the married to the unmarried, &c. The founder also, with the consent of the Bishop of Rochester, composed a form of morning and evening prayer, which he ordained always to be used, and made his endowment void, should it ever become unlawful to use it by the statutes of the realm.* Nearly 1300l. in South Sea Annuities, and some smaller benefactions, to the amount of about ten pounds annually, have been given to this Hospital since its foundation.

The second Hospital, called *Norfolk College*, stands near the river side, at the east end of the town. This was founded in 1613, by Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, brother to the Duke of Norfolk, and Governor of Dover Castle. He endowed it with lands and revenues for the support of a Warden and twenty Pensioners; of whom twelve must be parishioners of Greenwich, and eight of Shotisham, and Castle Rising, in Norfolk. The management of this institution he vested in the Mercers' Company, who allow the inmates eight shillings weekly for commons, besides clothes, lodging, and salaries, which are varied at the discretion of the Company: the whole income amounts to about 1100l yearly. The buildings are of brick, and form a small quadrangle, with a cloister surrounding the inner court: the *Chapel*, which measures fifty-six feet by twenty-six, is dedicated to the Holy Trinity, and contains a monument, by Stone, (for executing which, that artist was paid 500l.†) in memory of HENRY, Earl of Northampton, the founder of the College. This was removed, with the body of the Earl, from the Chapel at Dover Castle, where it had originally been put up. On the tomb, beneath a canopy supported by eight arches on square pillars, is a black sarcophagus; and above the canopy, the figure of the Earl, kneeling, with his hands raised as in prayer, and his body in close armour; over which are the robes of the Garter. At the west end of the tomb, are the arms of the Howards, quartering Brotherton, Warren, and Mowbray; at each

corner

* Lysons' Environs, Vol. IV. p. 484.

† Anecdotes of Painting, Vol. II. p. 42. Edit. 1786.

corner is a statue of a Cardinal Virtue; and at the sides, are inscriptions, in Latin, enumerating the titles and charities of the Earl: he died in January, 1614. This monument, though wrought by one so celebrated for his excellence in monumental sculpture, is a very heavy, tasteless composition, and if really designed, as well as executed, by Stone, evinces that his abilities must have been very unequal: it is probable, however, that his genius was restricted by the directions given him by his employers. In the east window of this Chapel, is a painting, on glass, of the Crucifixion; and also some coats of arms, exhibiting the early alliances of the Howard family. Behind the Hospital, is a large kitchen-garden, of about an acre and a half; the produce of which, after supplying the inmates, is sold, and the profits are divided among them.

Several Schools have been established at Greenwich, for the education of the children of the poor. The *Grey Coat School*, in which sixty boys are now clothed and educated, was founded by a bequest from Mr. John Roan, who, in 1643, gave the reversion of all his land and houses in Greenwich, to trustees, for that purpose: the annual produce of his endowments is now about 300l. and other benefactions have since been made, to the value of about 20l. yearly. The *Green Coat School* was founded and endowed by Sir William Boreman, in the year 1672, for twenty boys, who are to be clothed, and instructed in writing, accounts, and navigation. This School is under the direction of the Drapers' Company; who, when the account of charitable donations was collected by order of the House of Commons, returned the revenues as *unknown;* its present income is supposed to be above 300l. A new School-House was built for the boys, about twenty years ago. Another *School,* for the education and clothing of girls, was instituted here about the year 1700, and is supported by an annual subscription from the ladies, aided by a collection at a charity sermon: the number of girls is continually varying. Various small benefactions have been made for the poor of this parish, by different persons.

In the year 1557, two Burgesses were returned to Parliament by the inhabitants of this town; but this was the only time of their

exercising that right. The Assizes were held here in the first, fourth, and fifth years of Queen Elizabeth. Greenwich has been the residence of many noble and literary characters. William Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, resided here after his release from prison, by Henry the Eighth, till his death, in 1512; Bishop Gastrell lived here before his promotion to the See of Chester, in 1714; the brave Sir John Lawson, the scourge of the Dutch, died at Greenwich, of the wounds which he had received in the great sea-fight with the Dutch fleet, in May, 1665; the latter days of Sir John Leake, who was buried at Stepney, in 1720, were passed here, in a villa which he had built for his own residence; and Dr. Johnson had lodgings in Church Street, in 1737, when he composed a great part of his Irene as he walked in the Park.

On the river side, just below Norfolk College, is the spacious *Iron Wharf* now belonging to Millington and Co. but formerly to the Crawleys, to which the various articles manufactured at their immense Iron Works at Swalwell, Winlaton, Winlaton Mill, and other places on the banks of the Derwent, in Durham, are forwarded for the convenience of the home trade, &c. Some few hands are also employed here, for the purpose of supplying such goods as may be wanted in greater haste than they could be brought from their manufactories in the North.

Greenwich was the landing-place of the Princess Augusta of Saxe Gotha, the mother of his present Majesty; and the first interview between that Lady and Frederic, Prince of Wales, her destined husband, took place in the balcony of the Ranger's Lodge, fronting the Park. Her Royal Highness the present Princess of Wales, also landed here, previous to her marriage. But the most memorable event of this description, was the landing of the remains of the 'EVER-TO-BE-LAMENTED' NELSON, who greatly fell in the Battle off Trafalgar, on the twenty-first of October, 1805. His body was brought to England, and being decreed a public funeral, was ordered to be laid in state in the *Hall* at Greenwich Hospital, where, during three days, the fifth, sixth, and seventh of January, the view of his honored bier drew forth the heart-felt sigh from an immense multitude of his countrymen. On the eighth

eighth of January, the Body was conveyed, in a solemn procession by water, to the Admiralty, preparatory to its interment in St. Paul's Cathedral; where, on the following day, it was deposited with every solemnity and attention in the power of a grateful Nation to bestow. Several Princes of the Blood Royal, the chief Officers of State, and a great number of Prelates, Nobility, Naval Officers, &c. accompanied the procession from the Admiralty; together with a military force of nearly 8000 men. The remains of the immortal Nelson himself, were carried to the Cathedral on a splendid funeral car, which was afterwards presented by the Lord Chamberlain (the Earl of Dartmouth) to Greenwich Hospital; "there to remain as a permament memorial of the gratitude a generous nation is ever willing to show to those heroes who have fallen gloriously in its naval service." The car is now placed in the upper part of the Great Hall.* The

* The following very appropriate summary of the character of Nelson, was given in a periodical publication of the day, after a full description of his burial, &c.

"Thus has died, and thus has been buried, with the tears of a nation over the bier of their benefactor, a MAN as truly our own, as truly formed in the characteristic mould of British virtue, as has ever dignified the most golden page of our days of glory; a man, whose courage was a principle, and not a passion; an element which, cherished by natural honour, informed and animated his prudence; and thus, by a rare union of judgment and resolute enterprise, rendered it equal to the perils of the time: a man, whose exalted merit was only equalled by his retreating simplicity; a simplicity so without any visible promise, any external appearance of the mighty soul within, that the hero was unknown till seen in his acts, and then, by his unequalled modesty, seemed known as such to all, but unknown to himself. And if any thing be yet wanting to complete the full measure of that excellence with which the best of our poets have ever arrayed that fond image of their imagination, a *perfect English Hero*, he had it; for, with a piety equal to his valour, considering himself, in his best successes, as an humble instrument of his God, he imputed the whole of his success to the protecting hand of Providence; and that Providence, in return, remembering him in the day of peril, and in the hour of death, allotted him a death in victory, and an eternal name amongst the brave defenders of their country."

The population of Greenwich, as returned under the late Act, was 14,339; of this number, 7,323 were males, and 7,016 females: the number of houses was 2,121; many of the latter are handsome buildings. The streets are irregular; and the whole town is intersected by the Hospital, and its precincts. The concerns of the 'Chest at Chatham,' are now managed by the Officers of Greenwich Hospital, in a new building, erected for the purpose, near the western entrance of the latter fabric, during the last and present year.

Greenwich has been the birth-place of several illustrious personages, of whom, the three principal were, HENRY THE EIGHTH, and his two daughters, QUEEN MARY, and QUEEN ELIZABETH.* The lives of these Sovereigns are so intimately interwoven with the history of Great Britain, that no account of them, sufficiently satisfactory, could be inserted within any limits that might be assigned for the purpose in the pages of this work. The century in which they lived, was one of the most memorable that has been recorded in the annals of this country. The overbearing power of the nobility was effectually broken by the measures pursued by Henry the Seventh; and that of the Roman Pontiff, and of the Catholic hierarchy, was as completely dissolved by his successor, Henry the Eighth. These events, whether generated by policy, pride, or passion, had a great influence in meliorating the condition of the common people; while the final establishment of the Protestant religion, which commencing its progress under Henry the Eighth, had been promoted by Anne Boleyn, strengthened by Edward the Sixth, opposed by Queen Mary, and eventually consolidated by Queen Elizabeth, had an equally happy effect in removing the superstitious gloom that had for ages been interposed between the creature and the Creator; between man and his God. Many, indeed, are the advantages which resulted to the nation from the sovereignty of the House of Tudor; though it cannot be denied, that the reins of empire were at times upheld by too strong, too tyrannical, too bloody, a hand. The implacable disposition of Henry

* For the dates of their births, see pages 471, and 473.

Henry the Eighth, was strongly apparent in the actions both of Mary and Elizabeth; but in the latter, the latent sparks of cruelty were prevented from kindling into a flame, by the more mild belief in which she had been educated. The stern character of the Romish faith, made Mary a persecutor. Elizabeth, by the natural violence of her temper, was frequently impelled to similar conduct; but, fortunately for the country, her religion was humane. Henry had a great fondness for magnificence and pomp; and in this, too, Elizabeth inherited his feelings; as she also appears to have done, his predilection for the Navy, which, during their respective reigns, began to assume that distinguished pre-eminence over other nations, which is now in the very height and zenith of its glory. In domestic life, Henry was a sanguinary tyrant: the opposition of the Court of Rome, to his divorce from Catherine of Arragon, the necessity of which he seems to have been convinced of, by real conscientious principles,* soured the more generous feelings of his heart; and he became gloomy, morose, obdurate, and cruel. Two of the partners of his bed and throne, perished on the scaffold; and a third† was only preserved by her exemplary prudence, from undergoing the same fate. Mary, who, after her accession to the crown, married Philip the Second, of Spain, was unfortunate in the return made to her affection; and the neglect of her husband, combining with the loss of Calais, and, perhaps, with the universal detestation which her burnings and tortures had excited, died of a broken heart. The death of Elizabeth was similar: in an evil hour, she had ordered the execution of her imperious favorite, Essex, and from that moment, peace fled her pillow; and though the cares of state, and the approaches of old age, might undoubtedly unite to disturb the hours of her repose,

* See the Introduction prefixed to the 'Love Letters from King Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn,' in the Selection from the Harleian Miscellany, p. 137—142.

† Catherine Parr: a very beautiful portrait of this Queen, colored and gilt in imitation of the original, has been recently published, in the 'Illustrations of Lambeth Palace,'

repose, yet the bitterness of soul which she encouraged after that event, must be admitted as the principal cause of her decease: she died in March, 1603, at Windsor, in the seventieth year of her age: Mary, her half-sister, died in November, 1558, in her forty-fourth year; and Henry, their joint father, died in January, 1547, aged fifty years, and seven months.

Adjoining to Greenwich, on the south, is BLACKHEATH, which is partly situated in this Parish, and partly in the Parishes of Lewisham and Charlton. Its name is, by some, supposed to have been derived from the appearance of the soil; and by others, from its bleak situation. The *Watling Street* led across this heath, in its course from London to Dover; and various Roman antiquities have been found here, particularly on the side nearest to Greenwich. At a small distance from the corner of the hedge upon the right, says Mr. Hasted, where the road to Dover, and that to Lee, parts, are remains of three *Barrows*, in one of which, some bones have been found. In 1710, there were dug up here a great many Urns, and among them, two of an unusual form, the one globular, the other cylindrical; both of a fine red clay. The cylindrical one was about eighteen inches in length, and contained a great quantity of ashes, and also six or seven coins, much obliterated; but on two of them, the names of the Emperors Claudius, and Gallienus, could be distinguished. The globular urn was about six feet, three inches, in circumference, in its widest part; and contained ashes: below the rim, at the mouth, were the words MARCUS AURELIUS IIII. rudely scratched.* A *Glass Urn* is also mentioned, by Dr. Plot, to have been found on this heath, in a bed of hard gravel.

The encampment of the Danes on Blackheath, has been already mentioned;† and it has often, since their times, been the station of a military force. "In 1381, Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, and their associates, were encamped upon Blackheath: Jack Cade, the counterfeit Mortimer, twice occupied the same station, in 1450. On the twenty-third

* Hist. of Kent, Vol. I. p. 375. 8vo. Edit.

† See before under Greenwich, p. 468.

third of February, 1451, the King was met on Blackheath, by a great number of Cade's deluded followers, in their shirts, who humbly, on their knees, craved for pardon.* In 1452, Henry the Sixth pitched his tent upon Blackheath, when he was preparing to withstand the forces of the Duke of York, afterwards Edward the Fourth.† In 1471, the Bastard Falconbridge encamped there with his army.‡ In the year 1497, Lord Audley, and the Cornish rebels, pitched their tents upon Blackheath, where they waited the arrival of Henry the Seventh, and his army. A battle ensued on the twenty-second of July; the rebels were overthrown, and their chiefs taken, and executed:§ the site of Michael Joseph's tent, one of the ringleaders, was shown when Lambard wrote his Perambulation; it was commonly called the Smith's Forge; Joseph having been, by trade, a blacksmith.‖

"Blackheath has been the scene also of triumphal processions, and ceremonial meetings, attended with much splendid pageantry. Here, in 1400, Henry the Fourth, with great parade and magnificence, met the Emperor of Constantinople, (Manuel Palæologus,) when he arrived in England to solicit assistance against Bajazet, Emperor of the Turks.¶ Here, on the twenty-third of November, 1415, the Mayor and Aldermen of London, with 400 citizens, clothed in scarlet, with red and white hoods, met their victorious Monarch returning from the field of Agincourt.** Here, in 1416, the citizens met the Emperor Sigismund, who came to mediate a peace between France and England, conducting him hence to Lambeth, where he was met by the King.†† In 1474, the citizens met Edward the Fourth, on Blackheath, as he returned from France.‡‡ In 1519, a solemn Embassy, consisting of the Admiral of France, the Bishop of Paris, and others, with 1200 persons in their train, was

* Stow, p. 648. † Ibid. Fo. Edit. p. 393.

‡ Holinshed, Vol. III. p. 690. § Stow's Annals, 4to. p. 802.

‖ Lambard's Perambulation, p. 34. ¶ Holinshed, Vol. III. p. 519.

** Ibid. p. 556. †† Ibid. ‡‡ Ibid. p. 701.

was met by the Lord Admiral of England, attended by a numerous retinue.* The same year, Cardinal Campeius, being sent, by the Pope, into England, as his Legate, was received upon this Heath, by the Duke of Norfolk, and a great number of prelates, knights, and gentlemen, who conducted him to a rich tent of cloth of gold; then he arrayed himself in his Cardinal's robes, and rode thence in much state to London.† A still more magnificent procession, was that which appeared upon Blackheath, at the meeting between Henry the Eighth and the Lady Anne of Cleves, on the third of January, 1540, 1.

"The Chronicles tell us, that she came down Shooter's Hill, at twelve o'clock, and alighted at a tent of cloth of gold, prepared on the heath for her reception. The King having notice of her arrival, went through the Park to meet her, attended by most of the Nobility, the Bishops, the Heralds, the foreign Ambassadors, &c. The procession from the heath to Greenwich Palace, was attended by those in the King's and the Princess's train, being in number 600, by 1200 citizens, and others, clad in velvet, with chains of gold, by most of the female nobility, and a great number of ladies. All the city barges were on the water, near the Palace; and the procession was saluted with peals of artillery from the tower in the Park. The marriage ceremony was performed in the Chapel at Greenwich."‡ In April and May, 1585, the city militia, to the number of 4 or 5000, mustered before the Queen, at Greenwich, completely armed, for six or eight days: during this period they encamped on the heath.§ "On the first of May, 1645, 'Col. Blunt, to please the Kentish people, who were fond of old customs, particularly May games, drew out two regiments of foot, and exercised them on Blackheath, representing a mock fight between the Cavaliers and Roundheads. The people,' says the writer of the Diurnal, whence this extract is taken, 'were as much pleased as if they had gone a maying."

Within

* Holinshed, Vol. III p. 848.

† Fiddes's Life of Wolsey, p. 196. Edit. 1726.

‡ Holinshed, Vol. III. p. 948—950. § Strype's Stow, B. V. p. 452.

Within the last thirty or forty years, Blackheath has been considerably contracted in extent, by the erection of houses, several of which are now the residence of respectable families. The semicircular range, called the *Paragon*, and one or two of the mansions in *South Place*, which nearly adjoins it, on the south part of the heath, are handsome brick edifices, tastefully ornamented by colonnades. These buildings occupy a part of the estate called WRICKLESMARSH, and formerly belonged to Sir Gregory Page, Bart. who purchased it about the year 1721, after the death of the widow of Sir John Morden, Bart. the founder of Morden College, by whom it had previously been possessed. Sir Gregory, having pulled down the old mansion, erected a very magnificent structure of brick, faced with stone, and consisting of a centre, and two wings, united by a colonnade. The whole is said to have been completed in one year, by James, the architect: the internal decorations corresponded with the grandeur of the exterior, and a fine collection of paintings, by the old masters, still further displayed the liberal spirit of the owner, who died in 1775, having bequeathed this mansion and estate to his great-nephew, Sir Gregory Turner, Bart. in tail male. This gentleman assumed the name of Page; and in 1781, obtained an Act of Parliament to enable him to alienate. Under this Act he sold *Wricklesmarsh House and Park* to John Cator, Esq. of Beckenham Place, in the year 1784, for the sum of 22,550l.* Three years afterwards, this gentleman sold the house, by auction, in lots, to be taken down; yet a great part of the walls is now standing in ruins, 'a melancholy monument of its former grandeur.'

At a short distance from the Paragon, on the east, is MORDEN COLLEGE, so named from its founder, Sir John Morden, Bart. an affluent Turkey merchant, who had been settled at Aleppo; and, on his return, erected this structure, for the reception of decayed merchants. When the buildings were completed, (anno 1695,) he placed in them twelve decayed Turkey merchants; and on his death, in September, 1708, was buried in the Chapel. By his

* Hasted's Kent, Vol. I. p. 428.

his will, dated in 1702, and a subsequent codicil, he endowed his College with the reversion, after his Lady's decease, of various estates, the annual rental of which is now about 1600l. Lady Morden, finding her income inadequate for her support, was obliged to reduce the number of merchants, maintained on her husband's charity, to four. On her death, in 1721, the whole estate fell to the College; and the number was again increased, and has since been fixed at thirty. The Pensioners must be upwards of fifty years of age, and either bachelors or widowers: the allowance of each, is forty shillings per month, together with coals, candles, washing, medicines, &c. There is also a Treasurer and Chaplain; the former of whom, has a salary of 50l. and the latter, of 60l. per annum. The management of the College is vested in seven Trustees of the Company of Turkey Merchants; but in case of the failure of that body, provision was made by the Founder, that the Trustees should be chosen out of the East India Company. The College is of brick, with stone coins and cornices; it forms a spacious quadrangle, having a piazza surrounding the inclosed area. Over the entrance are full-length statues of SIR JOHN and LADY MORDEN; and in the Hall, are their portraits, together with that of QUEEN ANNE: in the Chapel are the arms of the Founder, and his Lady; and a record of benefactions that have been made to the College since its original endowment, and which amount to nearly 3000l. The *Rev. Moses Browne*, author of 'Piscatory Eclogues,' 'All-Bedevilled,' and other pieces, was a Chaplain to this College, and was buried here, at the age of eighty-two, in September, 1787. The manor-farm of OLD-COURT, which is supposed to have been the original site of the Manor of Greenwich,* was one of the estates bequeathed to this foundation by Sir John Morden; who having purchased the unexpired term of a lease of it from the heirs of Sir William Boreman, in 1699, procured, in the same year, a grant from the Crown, of the perpetuity.

On that part of Blackheath, immediately adjoining to the west side of Greenwich Park, are several respectable VILLAS, one of which,

* Lysons' Environs, Vol. IV. p. 458; and Hasted's Kent, Vol. I. p. 385.

which, an irregular brick building, whitened over, is now the residence of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales. This house had been previously inhabited by the Duke of Buccleugh, and before that, by the late Duke of Montagu, from whom the space included between a double row of trees, and the several mansions on this spot, has obtained the name of *Montagu Walk*. The Princess has recently enlarged her little demesne by uniting with it a few acres, inclosed from the Park.

Nearly adjacent is CHESTERFIELD HOUSE, which is held under the Crown, by a lease granted, in 1694, to Nicholas Lock, Merchant: the assignment was purchased, in 1753, by Philip, the late Earl of Chesterfield, who enlarged the building, and erected a gallery, measuring seventy feet by twenty, with a bow in the centre, extending ten feet more. His successor, the present Earl, assigned it to Richard Hulse, Esq. in 1782; and to him, about two years afterwards, a renewal of the lease was granted by the Crown, for seventeen years, to take place from 1816:* since the decease of this gentleman, during the last year, the premises have been sold. Mr. Hulse formed a valuable collection of pictures here, by the old masters; and had also a few good portraits; among them, were PHILIP, seventh Earl of Pembroke, by Vandyck; and SIR JOHN COKE, Secretary of State to Charles the First, by Cor. Jansen.

Another of these *Villas* was formerly inhabited by Major-General Edward Wolfe, and occasionally by his son, the gallant conqueror of Quebec, but is now the residence of the Hon. Mr. Lyttelton, who has lately enlarged, and considerably improved it.

Several other VILLAS, inhabited by respectable families, are situated on the opposite part of Blackheath, towards Lee and Lewisham, some of which are on the estate of the Earl of Dartmouth, whose mansion here, called DARTMOUTH HOUSE, is now occupied by Simon Fraser, Esq. a Director of the East India Company; his Lordship himself having removed to another house at

 a short

* Lysons' Environs, Vol. IV. p. 463.

a short distance eastward, that was formerly the residence of his mother, the late Dowager Countess of Dartmouth. In digging in the Earl's garden, in the year 1803, at about one foot below the gravel, which here forms the natural surface of the heath, several *Roman Urns* were found, an account of which was communicated by his Lordship to the Society of Antiquaries; and the urns were presented to the British Museum.* Another of these Villas, called HOLLY-HEDGE HOUSE, is occupied by the Hon. Edward Legge, (brother to the Earl of Dartmouth,) LL. D. Dean of Windsor, and Registrar of the Order of the Garter.

About midway up the hill leading from Deptford to Blackheath, and between two and three hundred yards from the main road, on the north side, a singular *Excavation*, or CAVERN, was discovered about the year 1780, in laying the foundations of a house. The entrance is on the side of the hill, by a flight of steps descending about fifty feet: this leads into a range of seven irregular chambers, or apartments, cut out of a stratum of solid chalk, and communicating with each other by smaller avenues. The roof in two of these chambers has fallen in, probably from the chalk having been left too weak to support the sand which forms the immediate super-stratum, and which having partly fallen with each roof, has left a kind of dome over both chambers of considerable height. All the apartments vary in extent; but the general measurement may, perhaps, be stated at from twelve, or fifteen, to thirty-six or forty feet, both in length and width. In the furthermost chamber is a *Well*, twenty-seven feet deep, which formerly supplied very fine water, but has greatly altered in taste since the putting down of a new pump within the last twelvemonth. The extreme depth of the lower part of this Cavern from the surface of the ground, is supposed to be about 170 feet; and its length, from the entrance, is nearly the same. From the Well at the extremity of this singular Excavation, it seems probable, that it has at some distant period been used for the purpose of concealment.

The

* Archæologia, Vol. XV. Appendix.

The *Gravel* obtained from the pits on Blackheath, and consisting of smooth even pebbles, is much in repute for making garden-walks, and large quantities are dug here annually.

On the MAIZE, or MAZE HILL, just without the walls of Greenwich Park, on the east side, is an irregular Castellated structure, of brick, that was erected by Sir John Vanbrugh, and purchased of his widow by Lord Tyrawley, who, after residing there several years, sold it to Charles Brett, Esq. of whom it was bought by Henry Goodwyn, Esq. its late owner; it is now inhabited by —— Halford, Esq. this building commands some fine views of the reaches of the river Thames. At a little distance, are VANBRUGH'S FIELDS, where, in an elevated situation, is a house, of a similar character, and by the same architect, called the CASTLE. At each extremity of the south or principal front, is a round tower, rising to the roof; and in the centre of the back front is another, projecting from the body of the building. This is now occupied by the relict of the late William Webber, Esq.

The Manor of EAST COMBE passed for several centuries with the Manor of Greenwich, and, in 1613, was settled on Anne of Denmark, for her life. It was afterwards leased out by the Crown, and passed through several families, till, in 1691, the assignment was conveyed to the *Sandersons*, who had the lease several times renewed, and resided at EAST-COMBE HOUSE, which is now occupied by Henry Goodwyn, Esq. an eminent brewer of London.

Between East-Combe and West-Combe, is WOODLANDS, the beautiful seat of John Julius Angerstein, Esq. who laid out the grounds, and erected the mansion, about the year 1772. The front of the building displays a handsome portico, with statues and basso-relievos at the sides: the interior is very tastefully fitted up, and contains a small but well-chosen collection of pictures. Among them is the celebrated portrait, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, of GARRICK between Tragedy and Comedy;* the *Venus*, and a Boy piping, by the same artist; a beautiful landscape, by Cuyp; and a fine

* These pictures cost 250 guineas each.

A weekly market, and a three days' annual fair, were formerly held at Charlton, under a grant from Henry the Third to the Monks of Bermondsey: Philipott, who wrote in 1659, mentions the former, "as not long since discontinued;" but "the fair," he continues, "is not disused, but kept yearly, upon St. Luke's day, and called *Horn Fair*, by reason of the plenty of winding horns, and cups, and other vessels of horn, there brought to be sold."* This fair, says Mr. Lysons, "retaining the same name, still continues; it was formerly celebrated by a burlesque procession, which passed from Deptford, through Greenwich, to Charlton, each person wearing some ornament of horn upon his head. The procession has been discontinued since the year 1768: it is said, by a vague and idle tradition, to have owed its origin to a compulsive grant made by King John, or some other of our Kings, when detected in an adventure of gallantry, while resident at Eltham Palace."†

The *Church* is dedicated to St. Luke, and was rebuilt of brick, between the years 1630 and 1640, by the executors of Sir Adam Newton, who bequeathed a sum of money for the purpose. It is neatly fitted up, and consists of a chancel, nave, and north aisle, with a square tower, embattled, at the west end. In the windows of the chancel, and north aisle, are various shields of arms, in stained glass, for the families of *Newton, Puckering, Blount,* and others. Among the monuments in the chancel, is one in memory of the Hon. Brigadier Gen. MICHAEL RICHARDS, Surveyor General of the Ordnance to George the First: he died in February, 1721, at the age of forty-eight. His statue in white marble, as large as life, is represented in armour, standing on a pedestal, and holding a batoon. In the north aisle of the chancel, is a plain monument of black and white marble, by Nicholas Stone, inclosed by iron rails, in commemoration of SIR ADAM NEWTON, Bart. and KATHERINE, his wife, youngest daughter to Sir John Puckering. The former was tutor to the 'illustrious Prince Henry,' and after his

* *Villare Cantianum*, p. 96.

† Environs of London, Vol. IV. p. 325, from Hasted, and others.

his death, passed most of his time in retirement at Charlton, where he translated the four first books of Father Paul's History of the Council of Trent, and also King James's Discourse against Conrade Vorstius:* he died in the year 1629. Near the above is another table monument, in memory of the Lady GRACE, Viscountess of Armagh, second daughter of John, Earl of Rutland, and her second husband, SIR WILLIAM LANGHORNE, Bart. a former owner of this Manor: she died in her sixtieth year, in February, 1699, 1700: Sir William died in 1714, in his eighty-fifth year, having bequeathed 1000l. to purchase lands for the augmentation of the benefice. Here also are other monuments for several respectable families. Among the tombs in the Church-yard, are those of *James Craggs*, Esq. one of the Post-Masters General to George the First, and father of the Right Hon. Secretary of that name; and of *Sir John Lambert Middleton*, Bart. and others of his family. It appears, from the Register, that *John*, second Earl of Egmont,† with many others of his race, have also been buried here, though no monuments have been erected to their memory: and among the other entries is this: "Faith, Hope, and Charity, born at one birth, three daughters of Peter Newill, were baptized April 14, 1678:" two of them were buried a few days afterwards.

CHARLTON HOUSE, the residence of Lady Wilson, is very pleasantly situated at a short distance from the Church on the south, and exhibits a good specimen of the style of building in vogue during the reign of James the First; though some considerable alterations were made in it, by Sir William Ducie, about the year 1659. It forms an oblong square, with projections at the ends of each front, crowned by turrets, and an open ballustrade going round the summit of the whole. The centre also projects;

* Lysons, from Birch's Life of Prince Henry, p. 15, 372, and 373.

† This Nobleman resided for many years at *Charlton House*, and formed there a valuable library, and a collection of busts, pictures, &c. After the Egmont family resigned it, it was tenanted, for a short time, by the Marquis of Lothian. *Lysons' Environs*, Vol. IV. p. 328, 9.

and the entrance is ornamented by Corinthian columns; the bases displaying sculptures of lions' heads. In the window above, are the arms and alliances of Sir William Ducie. The *Saloon* is richly ornamented; the ceiling is still in its original state, as finished by Sir Adam Newton, and exhibits the Royal arms, and ostrich feathers: the chimney-piece is of the same age, and has on one side the figure of Vulcan, in alabaster, and on the other that of Venus. In a room adjoining to the Saloon, is a chimney-piece "with a slab of black marble so finely polished, that Lord Downe is said to have seen in it a robbery committed on Blackheath: the tradition adds, that he sent out his servants, who apprehended the thieves."* The *Gallery* on the north side of the house, was also fitted up by Sir A. Newton, and measures seventy-six feet, six inches, by sixteen feet, six. In the windows is some painted glass of the arms of the Ducies, and their alliances. In this gallery are portraits of HENRY, Prince of Wales, and THOMAS WILSON, L.L. D. Secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth; and also a large and valuable collection of natural history made by Lady Wilson, consisting of insects, minerals, extraneous fossils, and other subjects: among the fossils are a great variety of those found in this parish. The Park and Pleasure-grounds comprise about seventy acres, and include some beautiful scenery. Before the court-yard is a row of aged cypress trees.

At a little distance from the Church, on the east side, is an elegant VILLA, erected about fifteen years ago, by Earl Cholmondeley, in a situation of much picturesque beauty. This stands at the western extremity of HANGING WOOD, near a *Chalk-pit*, in which *echini*, and other extraneous fossils, are found. Through the Wood is a very pleasant walk to Woolwich; and "at the further end is a very large and deep *Sand-pit*. In this pit the first stratum is gravel, which varies according to the surface of the ground, from five, or six, to about fifteen feet in depth; beneath are various strata of clay, gravel, loam, and marl, running parallel; being altogether between thirty and forty feet, which cover a bed of sand of forty-three feet in depth. In the stratum of marl are found

* Lysons' Environs, Vol. IV. p. 328. Dr. Plot, who mentions this tale, lays the scene of the robbery at Shooter's Hill.

found prodigious numbers of extraneous fossils. This vein is about six or eight feet thick; and the shells in it are so numerous, and lie so close, that, as Woodward justly observes, the mass is almost wholly composed of them, there being only a very little marl interposed.* These shells consist of a great variety of univalves and bivalves, as *conchæ, ostreæ, buccinæ,* &c. They are very brittle, and for the most part resemble those found at Tours, in France, and at Hordwell Cliff, in Hampshire: some of them are impregnated with mundic."†

WOOLWICH.

THE name of this town was anciently written *Hulviz, Wolwiche, Wollewic, Wlewic,* &c. so that its etymology is difficult to ascertain. Hasted states *Hulviz* to signify the 'Dwelling on the Creek.' The parish is but small, its whole extent hardly comprehending 700 acres; and of these about 380 are marsh lands on the Essex side of the river Thames. By what means this latter tract came to be connected with this county is unknown. "Probably," says Hasted, "Haimo, Vice-comes, or Sheriff, of Kent in the time of the Conqueror, being possessed of Woolwich, as well as of those lands on the other side of the river, procured them, either by composition or grant from the King, to be annexed to his jurisdiction, as part of his county, and then incorporated them with it." Harris mentions an old manuscript which he had seen, which stated, that the Parish of Woolwich had on the Essex side of the river '500 acres, some few houses, and a Chapel of Ease.'‡

Haimo,

* Woodward on Fossils, Vol. I. p. 42, of the Catalogue.

† Lysons' Environs, Vol. IV. p. 324, 5, (note.)

‡ Hist. of Kent, p. 340. There is a vague tradition, that a man, a native of Woolwich, was found drowned on the opposite shore, in Essex, and that the Parish in which he was thrown refused to bury him: on this he was buried by the Parish of Woolwich, which afterwards claimed the land where the body was discovered, and obtained a verdict in a Court of Law.

Haimo, the Sheriff, says the Domesday Book, 'holds 63 acres of land in Woolwich, which William the Fowler held of King Edward the Confessor.' This estate is supposed to be comprehended in what is now the principal Manor, and which, at a very early period, was called the Manor of Wulewiche, and afterwards the Manor of Southall in Woolwich.* This Manor, however, together with all other parts of the Parish, is subordinate to the Royal Manor of Eltham, as was proved in the Court of Exchequer in the year 1702, when the claims of Eltham were contested by Richard Bowater, Esq. who had recently purchased the Manor of Woolwich, and in whose descendants it is still vested.

In whose reign this Manor became an appurtenance to Eltham is unknown; but it was certainly before the time of Edward the First, when it was held by Gilbert, surnamed De Marisco, from the property which he possessed in the marshes. In the reign of Edward the Third, it was held by Sir John de Pulteney, who was four times Lord Mayor of London, and to whom it appears to have been conveyed by Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford: he died seized of it in 1349. It afterwards passed through various families, till it was purchased, in the reign of Elizabeth, by Sir Nicholas Gilbourne, of Charing, who was Sheriff of Kent in the ninth of James the First: his descendants sold it to the Bowaters.

The marshes near Woolwich were so deeply overflowed by a sudden rise of the Thames in the year 1236, that many of the inhabitants were drowned, together with a great number of cattle; and in the reign of James the First, by another inundation, many acres were laid under water, some of which have never been recovered.†

Woolwich, like Deptford, was originally only a small place, inhabited by fishermen, and, like that also, owes its consequence to the establishment of a ROYAL DOCK, in the reign of Henry the Eighth. Since that era it has gradually attained to its present size;

* Lysons' Environs, Vol. IV. p. 559.

† Hasted's Kent, Vol. I. p. 442, 8vo. Edit. All the marshes from Greenwich to Gravesend, are now under the management of a Commission of Sewers. The Thames at Woolwich, at high-tide, is three quarters of a mile over, and the water salt.

size; but its progress has been more particularly rapid during the past century, since the augmentation of the Royal Artillery, who have their head-quarters here, and the establishment of the Royal Arsenal. The increase of population within the last hundred years, has been in the proportion of six to one.

The precise period at which the Dock-yard was established, has not been ascertained. Bishop Gibson supposed it to be the oldest Royal Dock in the kingdom, from having discovered that the *Harry, Grace de Dieu,* of 1000 tons, was built here in the year 1512; yet Mr. Lysons conjectures that this ship might have been built, 'as others were before that time, by contractors at a private dock.'* The Dock-yard has been progressively enlarged, from the time of its establishment; and, in its present state, includes about five furlongs in length, by one broad. Within this space are two dry docks, several slips, three mast-ponds, a smith's shop, with forges for making anchors, a model-loft, store-houses of various descriptions, mast-houses, sheds for timber, dwellings for the different officers, and other buildings. All its concerns are managed under the immediate inspection of the Navy Board; and it is visited in general, weekly, by the Junior Surveyor; and occasionally, by the Deputy Comptroller. The resident officers are a Clerk of the Cheque; a Storekeeper; a Master Shipwright, and his assistants; a Clerk of the Survey; a Master Attendant; a Surgeon, &c. The number of artificers and laborers now employed here, is between 3 and 4000: in times of peace, the general number is about 1500. Several very fine first and second-rate ships have been built here, as well as many third-rates and frigates: the Lord Nelson, of 110 guns, the Invincible, of 74, and the Venerable, of 74, are now on the stocks. The ill-fated Royal George, which sunk at Spithead, with the brave Admiral Kempenfelt, and upwards of 400 of her crew, besides 200 women, was built here in 1751; as was the Sovereign of the Seas, in the reign of Charles the First.†

The

* Environs of London, Vol. IV. p. 567.

† This ship, which was the largest that had then been built in England, was 1637 tons burthen. The Dutch are said to have called her

the

The *Church*, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, is a spacious building of brick, with stone copings, window frames, &c. standing on an eminence immediately overlooking the Dock-Yard. It consists of a nave, chancel, and aisles, with a plain square tower at the west end. This edifice was rebuilt between the years 1726 and 1740, at an expense of about 6,500 pounds, 3000 of which were granted under the Act of Queen Anne for building fifty new Churches; the rest was defrayed by collections made by brief, voluntary contributions, and legacies. The interior is fitted up in the Grecian style; and on the north, south and west sides, are galleries, supported on Ionic columns. The sepulchral memorials are but few. In the chancel is a mural monument inscribed to the memory of DANIEL WISEMAN, Esq. who died Clerk of the Cheque at Deptford in 1738-9, at the age of sixty-five: he bequeathed 1000l. toward the finishing of the Church, and lies buried in the Church-yard. Against the north wall is an inscription for Captain RICHARD LEAKE, Master Gunner of England, and ELIZABETH, his wife; the parents of the famous Admiral Sir John Leake: the former died in 1696, aged sixty-seven; the latter in 1695, aged sixty-four. Among the tombs in the Church-yard, are several in memory of Lieutenants and Captains of the Royal Artillery: one of them records the name of Lieutenant General GEORGE WILLIAMSON, "who married Jane, the only daughter of Captain Roger Pedley, who by her mother, Isabella Muir, was lineally descended from Robert, second King of Scotland." He died at the age of seventy-seven, in November, 1781. In Woolwich are six Meeting-houses; one for Presbyterians, two for Anabaptists,

the 'Golden Devil,' from the havoc which her cannon made among their seamen. She was curiously ornamented by carving, gilding, and emblematical devices, designed by Haywood, the Dramatist, who described her, in a quarto tract, which accompanied an engraving on two plates by Payne, published in 1637, the year she was launched. In this description, her length is stated at 128 feet, and her breadth at forty-eight: she had three flush decks, a forecastle, half-deck, quarter-deck, and round-house; and carried 176 pieces of ordnance: she had five lanthorns, one of which would contain eleven persons standing upright; and eleven anchors, the largest weighing 4400lbs.

baptists, two for the disciples of Mr. Whitfield, and one for those of Mr. Wesley.

The principal charitable establishments are an Alms-House and two Schools: the *Alms-House* was founded for five poor widows, previous to the year 1562, by Sir Martin Bowes, who, by his Will, gave to the Wardens and Commonalty of the Mystery of Goldsmiths in London, certain lands and tenements, charged, among various other charities, with the annual payment of 7l. 12s. 1d. to the 'five poor folk' in his Alms-houses. They now receive 25l. yearly, besides coals, and other articles. The *Girls' School* was built and endowed from a bequest made by Mrs. Ann Withers, in 1753, of 100l. in money, and 1100l. Old South Sea Annuities; for the purpose of teaching thirty poor girls to read, and to work with the needle. The other *School* was founded under the Will of Mrs. Mary Wiseman, who, in 1758, left 1000l. Old South Sea Annuities, for the educating, clothing and apprenticing of six poor orphan boys, sons of shipwrights, who have served their apprenticeship in the Dock-yard: the original endowment has been augmented to 1750l. by vesting some part of the interest in the funds, and eight boys are now educated, &c. on this establishment.

Between the Dock-Yard and the Royal Arsenal is an extensive building, about 400 yards in length, including a *Rope Walk*, where cables of all dimensions are made for the service of the navy, under the superintendence of a Clerk: several hundred workmen are constantly employed here.

The MILITARY and CIVIL BRANCHES of the OFFICE OF ORDNANCE, that have been established at Woolwich since the accession of George the First, have occasioned a very rapid increase both in its population and extent, particularly during the last and present wars. The singular concatenation of events which led to these changes, is as interesting as it is curious.

The original *Foundery* for brass ordnance belonging to Government, was in Upper Moorfields, in London, near the spot where the Chapel erected for the late Rev. J. Wesley now stands; and which, from the circumstance of his having before preached for many years in the Foundery itself, is occasionally called

called by that name. The operation of casting was then, as it still is, an object of some curiosity; and many persons, even of the higher ranks, frequently attended to see the process of running the fluid metal into the moulds.* About the year 1716, when Colonel Armstrong was Surveyor General of the Ordnance, and George Harrison, Esq. Superintendant of the Founderies, in which place he had succeeded the former, it was determined to re-cast the unserviceable cannon which had been taken from the French in the ten successful campaigns of the Duke of Marlborough, and which had hitherto been placed before the Foundery, and in the adjacent Artillery Ground. This becoming the more generally known, from the long time that the cannon had been publicly exposed, excited a more than common interest; a great number of persons assembled to view the operation, among whom were many of the Nobility, General Officers, &c. for whose reception galleries had been prepared near the furnace.

On the same day, a native of Schaffhausen, in Switzerland, named *Andrew Schalch*, (who, from a common law of his canton, which made it necessary for every person born there, to travel for improvement in his profession during three years, had visited different Founderies on the Continent, and at length reached England,) was attracted to the same place at an early hour, and was suffered minutely to inspect the work then going on. Colonel Armstrong was himself present, when Schalch, being alarmed at some latent dampness which he had observed in the moulds, addressed him in French; and, after explaining his reasons for believing that an explosion would accompany the casting of the metal, warned him to retire from the impending danger. The Colonel, who at once comprehended the importance of Schalch's remarks,

* The moulds for casting brass cannon are formed of a composition of Stourbridge clay, loam, sand, and earth; they are turned in a lathe, to render them of the required form; and when completed for casting, by being firmly bound round with iron hoops, are placed in cavities prepared for them, near the furnaces, and strongly embedded in sand; a proper orifice being left for receiving the metal.

remarks, interrogated him with respect to his knowledge of the art, and found him perfectly conversant with all its principles: he therefore resolved to follow his advice, and quitted the Foundery with his own friends, and as many of the company as could be prevailed on to believe that danger really existed. Scarcely had they got to a sufficient distance, when the furnaces were opened, and the metal rushed into the moulds; the humidity of which, as Schalch had intimated, immediately occasioned a dreadful explosion; the water was converted into steam, and this, by its expansive force, caused the liquid fire to dart out in every direction, so that part of the roof of the building was blown off, and the galleries fell. Most of the workmen were burnt in a dreadful manner, some lives were lost, and many persons had their limbs broken.

A few days afterwards, an advertisment appeared in the public prints, stating, in substance, that "if the young foreigner, who, in a conversation with Colonel Armstrong on the day of the accident at the Foundery in Moorfields, had suggested the probability of an explosion from the state of the moulds, would call on the Colonel at the Tower, the interview might conduce to his advantage." Schalch was informed of this intimation by an acquaintance, and he directly waited on Colonel Armstrong, who, after some preliminary discourse, told him, that 'the Board of Ordnance had in contemplation to erect a new Foundery at a distance from the Metropolis, and that he was authorized, through the representation which he had made of his own conviction of his, *Schalch's*, ability, to offer him a commission to make choice of any spot within twelve miles of London, for the erection of such a building, (having proper reference to the extensive nature of the works, and carriage of the heavy materials,) and also to engage him as Superintendent of the whole concern.'

This advantageous proposal was readily accepted by Schalch, who immediately began his search for a proper place for the new establishment; and having inspected various spots, he at length fixed on the *Warren* at Woolwich, as the most eligible situation. Here the new Foundery was erected; and the first specimens of ordnance

cast by Schalch, were so highly approved, that he was fixed in the situation of Master Founder, and continued to hold that office for about sixty years, when he retired to Charlton, having been assisted during the latter part of that term, by his nephew, Lewis Gaschlin; who, though more than eighty years old, is still employed in the Arsenal, as principal Modeller for the Military Repository. Schalch died in 1776, when about the age of ninety, and lies buried in the Church-yard in this town: he had one daughter, who was married to General Belford, of the artillery. Some of the largest mortars now remaining in the Arsenal, were cast under his direction, and have his name upon them. His attention, and scientific knowledge, were so successfully exerted, that not a single accident happened amidst all the hazardous processes in which he was engaged during the very long period they were directed by him.*

Such was the singular train of circumstances that led to the establishment of the ROYAL ARSENAL† at Woolwich, and, of course, to the different institutions that have successively arisen from it. In times of peace, this Arsenal forms the grand *depôt* of naval ordnance, the guns of most of our ships of war being laid up here in regular tiers. Even now, when the vessels in commission are far more numerous than at any former period, the number of cannon and mortars deposited here is immense, and of every dimension; some of the mortars are so large as to weigh upwards of four tons and a quarter: the shells and cannon-shot are almost innumerable. Here is also an extensive *Repository* for military machines, both for land and sea service; and abundance of gun-carriages of all sizes. The

* The above particulars are partly derived from 'Vestiges, collected and recollected,' by J. Moser, Esq. who was collaterally related to Schalch, and partly from a conversation with L. Gaschlin, Dr. Hutton, and other officers belonging to the establishments at Woolwich.

† The *Warren*, as this *depôt* was originally called, from its having been previously the site of a rabbit warren, was changed into the *Royal Arsenal* by his present Majesty, when on a visit to Woolwich during the last year.

The Arsenal includes nearly sixty acres, and contains various piles of brick building, among the oldest of which are the Foundery, and the late Military Academy; these were erected by Sir John Vanbrugh, and have the date 1719, on the upper part of the leaden pipes that convey the water from the roofs. In the *Foundery* are three furnaces, and a machine for boring cannon: the largest furnace will melt about seventeen tons of metal at one time. From the improvements that have been made in the operation of casting, all danger of explosion is avoided, the moulds being made red-hot, before the metal is suffered to run into them. The time requisite to perform the operation of boring, varies in proportion to the size of the piece, a twelve-pounder taking about five days. In another quadrangular range of building, at a short distance from the Foundery, are two other boring machines, and various work-shops, where the ordnance, after being proved, are properly finished for service. *Brass Ordnance* only are made here; and these, though so called, are wholly formed of a composition of tin and copper. The Foundery is under the direction of an Inspector, a Master-Founder, and an Assistant-Founder.

Nearly adjoining to the Foundery is the *Laboratory*, where fire-works and cartridges, for the use of the navy and army, are made up; and bombs, carcasses, granadoes, &c. charged. This is under the care of a Comptroller, whose salary is 360l. a year, a Chief Fire Master, two Assistant Fire Masters, an Inspector of Gunpowder, and other officers.* The Military Academy is at present unappropriated, the Cadets having been very recently removed to the new building prepared for their reception on Woolwich Common. The other structures in the Arsenal, consist of store-houses of different kinds; work-shops, in one of which a planeing-machine has been lately erected, worked by a small steam-engine; and offices of various descriptions. The chief officers of the Arsenal are a Clerk of the Cheque, a Clerk of the Survey, a

* Near the present entrance of the Laboratory, was formerly an ancient *Tower*, called Prince Rupert's. Here Mrs. Simpson, relict of the celebrated mathematical professor of that name, died, at the great age of 102: she was buried at Plumsted.

Storekeeper, &c. The number of artificers, laborers, and boys, employed in the various departments, is about 3000; exclusive of the convicts belonging to one of the *Hulks*, which is stationed on the river, opposite to the Arsenal: the other hulk lies before the Dock-Yard. The convicts amount to about 900; they are generally employed in the most laborious offices, as pile-driving, &c. under the care of proper persons.

Though the building for the ROYAL MILITARY ACADEMY was erected, as already observed, about the year 1719, yet the establishment does not appear to have been finally arranged till 1741, when George the Second, by warrants, dated on the thirtieth of April, and the eighteenth of November, in that year, directed the founding of an Academy 'for instructing persons belonging to the military part of the ordnance, in the several branches of the mathematics, fortification, &c. proper to qualify them for the service of artillery, and the office of engineers.'* Since that period, however, various improvements have been made in the institution, which has been particularly fortunate in the abilities of its mathematical professors; the first of whom, though prior to the regular establishment of the Academy, was the celebrated Dr. Derham. In 1743, the well-known Simpson was appointed. The present professor is the learned and venerable Dr. Hutton. The number of masters has been gradually increased with that of the pupils, who are called *Cadets*, and who now amount to about 300. The Academy is under the direction of the Master-General, and Board of Ordnance, for the time being; a Lieutenant Governor; an Inspector, a Professor of Mathematics, and three Masters; a Professor of Chemistry; a Professor of Fortification, and two Masters; two Masters in Arithmetic, two French Masters, three Drawing Masters, a Dancing Master, Fencing Master, and others: the Master-General of the Ordnance is always Captain of the Cadet's Company.

The young gentlemen, who are admitted as Cadets, are of the most respectable families; and on the completion of their studies, are

* Hutton's Philosophical and Mathematical Dictionary, Vol. I. Academy.

are regularly commissioned either in the artillery, or engineers' service. They must be, at least, four feet nine inches high when admitted; and be qualified to pass an examination in the Latin Grammar, and in arithmetic, as far as the end of Vulgar Fractions: a previous acquaintance with the French language is also recommended; and their age must not exceed sixteen, nor be under fourteen. They begin to receive pay as soon as received on the establishment, and this, which is 45l. 12s. 6d. annually, is considered as sufficient to supply every necessary article, except linen.

The new MILITARY ACADEMY is situated about one mile southward from the town, on the upper part of Woolwich Common, which, with part of Charlton Common, has been purchased by Government within these few years. It is built in the castellated form, from designs by Wyatt, and consists, in front, of a centre, and two wings, united by corridors, with a range of building behind, containing the Hall, servants' offices, &c. The centre forms a quadrangle, with octagonal towers at the angles, and contains the teaching rooms; these are four in number; the masters' desks are situated in the towers, the floors of which are somewhat elevated above the general level. The wings contain the apartments for the Cadets, and chief officers, the latter being in the middle of each wing, which is more elevated than the extremities; these have octangular turrets at the angles. The whole edifice is embattled, and built with brick, whitened over; its length is somewhat more than 200 yards: the principal front is to the north. The Hall is a well-proportioned room, with a timber roof, in the general style of the college halls. This Academy is appropriated to the senior department of the institution; and was first opened on the twelfth of the present month: (August:) the number of Cadets now here, is 128. The junior department is for the present fixed at Great Marlow; but it is in contemplation to erect a similar building to this, for their use, on Bexley Heath, about four miles eastward from Shooter's Hill. The entire expense of this structure is estimated at not less than 150,000l.*

* There is one particular in the design of this edifice, which demands the severest reprehension. The inner extremities of the teaching rooms nearly

When the *Warren*, which was made the head-quarters of the regiment of Artillery on its being first stationed at Woolwich, became insufficient for the purpose, by the increase of the regiment, a piece of ground, of about fifty acres, was taken by Government on lease, and spacious Barracks erected for the accommodation of the officers and privates. This was about thirty years ago; but since that period, many alterations have been made, and many additional buildings raised, particularly within the last five or six years. The ARTILLERY BARRACKS, with its subordinate ranges of stabling, offices, &c. is now a most extensive concern, though not yet complete. The principal front has been more than doubled in its length during the last three years, and comprehends an extent of nearly 400 yards. It consists of six ranges of brick building, united by an ornamental centre, of stone, (having Doric columns in front, and the Royal arms, and military trophies, above,) and four other lower buildings filling up the divisions between each range: the latter have also stone fronts, with Doric colonnades, and a ballustrade above each. These contain a Library,

nearly unite in the middle of the building, but are prevented from actually doing so, by a stair-case ascending from below, and opening into a small apartment, so disposed, that any person stationed in it, can overlook every part of the teaching rooms, as well the stations of the Professors, as the desks of the scholars! This illiberal attempt to introduce a system of espionage into a national establishment, forcibly reminds a spectator of General Bentham's plans for a Penitentiary-house, wherein the Keeper's room was to be in the centre, and the other apartments so disposed in *radii*, that he could look into every one, whilst himself remained concealed: to the honor of the magistracy, this design is said to have been rejected, because "inconsistent with the principles of British jurisprudence, and uncongenial to the feelings of Englishmen." How striking the contrast! The Professors are all men of liberal education, and talent; and ought to be fully confided in, with respect to their sedulous application to the duties of their respective stations. If their conduct should really evince that they are undeserving of such confidence, let them be discharged; but let them not be irritated, and debased, by being rendered subject to answer accusations of which they know not the author.

brary, and Book Room, for the officers, a Mess Room, a Guard Room, and a Chapel; but the interior of the latter is not yet finished; it is intended to contain 1000 persons. At a little distance from the back part of the Chapel, is a new *Riding School*, erected of brick, from designs by Wyatt, on the model of an ancient temple; its appearance is grand: its length is about fifty yards, its breadth twenty-one, and its height proportionable. The whole depth of the buildings, from the front of the Barracks, which runs nearly parallel with that of the new Military Academy, is about 290 yards: this space includes a double quadrangle, besides various detached ranges. The regiment of Artillery consists of nine battalions, one of which has been recently added: some of each battalion are now stationed at Woolwich; to the amount, in all, of about 2000 men. The Parade is in front of the Barracks, and the soldiers are frequently exercised in throwing shells, for which the open space on the Common affords sufficient room.

On the east side of the Barracks, on the descent leading to the Arsenal, are the *Military Hospitals*: one of these was built between twenty and thirty years ago; the other, which is the largest, and calculated to contain accommodations for 700 men, is not yet completed: the central part projects to a considerable distance beyond the extremities.

Several detached buildings, for the use of the Artillery, have been raised on different parts of the Common: a new *Guard House* is now building, and a *Veterinary Hospital* has been recently constructed: the utility of the latter was suggested by a contagious disease which broke out among the horses a few years ago, and evinced the propriety of separating the diseased animals from the healthy ones. On the west side of the Barracks is a piece of water, where experiments with gun-boats, &c. are occasionally made: a new road from this quarter towards Charlton has been just opened.

The whole Military, as well as Civil Establishment at Woolwich, is under the immediate superintendence of the Master-General, and Board of Ordnance; and all the buildings erected, and alterations made, are under their direct controul.

The population of Woolwich, as returned under the Act of 1800, was 9826, exclusive of the Military; and the number of houses, 1362. These numbers are certainly too small; many houses have been since built, and perhaps their amount may be more accurately stated at 1500; while the entire population, including the Military, and those employed in the Dock-Yard and Arsenal, can scarcely be less than 20,000. Numerous mud-walled cottages, inhabited by soldiers' wives and children, have been raised on a part of Woolwich Common within the last three years.

The south side of Woolwich Common is nearly terminated by SHOOTER'S HILL, a spot of long-continued celebrity, from the numerous robberies that were formerly committed here; and which were of such remote beginning, that Philipott, who wrote early in the reign of James the First, observes, that 'they continue still to rob here by prescription.'* The steepness, and narrowness, of the ancient road, and the shelter which the contiguous woods and coppices afforded, rendered it almost impossible for a passenger to escape being way-laid by the robbers, who even committed depredations at noon-day. So early as the sixth of Richard the Second, measures were taken for improving the highway on this Hill, when an order was issued by the Crown, to "cut down the woods on each side of the road at *Shetere's Held*, leading from London to Rochester, which was become very dangerous to travellers, in compliance with the statute of Edward the First, for widening roads, where there were woods which afforded shelter for thieves."† The steps then taken were, however, ineffectual; and it was not till the year 1739, that any very material improvement was made, when a road of greater width was laid out, under an Act of Parliament. This, conjoined with the increased population of the neighbourhood,

* Villare Cantianum, p. 136. Edit. 1776.

† Lysons, from *Pat.* 6 *Ric. II. Pt.* 2. *m.* 34. This gentleman is mistaken in observing, that 'Shakespeare made Shooter's Hill the scene of Falstaff's robberies, in Henry IV.' Gad's Hill, near Rochester, was the spot fixed on by the Poet for the thievish exploits of the merry Knight.

neighbourhood, and the improvements in the police of the country, has rendered the danger of travelling over this Hill almost nugatory.

On May-day, 1511, Henry the Eighth, and his Queen, Catherine of Arragon, went with great pomp from Greenwich to Shooter's Hill, where they were received by 200 archers, clad in green, with a Captain at their head, personating Robin Hood: "he first shewed the King," says Harris, who relates the story, "the skill of his archers in their exquisite shooting; and then, leading the ladies into the wood, gave them a fine entertainment in venison and wine, in green arbors, and booths adorned with fine pageants, and all the efforts of romantic gallantry, which were then usually practised in that luxurious Court."* In this reign, there was a *Beacon* on this eminence, as appears from several entries in the Churchwardens' accounts of Eltham, of sums paid "for watchinge the beacon on Shutters Hill." The prospects from this eminence are extremely fine. On its summit, which is 410 feet in perpendicular height above the low water mark at Woolwich,† is a *Mineral* spring.‡

About a furlong from the road over Shooter's Hill, on the south side, is a high triangular TOWER, of brick, apparently rising from a thick wood, and forming a striking object for several miles round. This, as appears from an inscription over the entrance, was built "to commemorate the achievements of the late gallant officer, *Sir William James*, Bart. in the East Indies, during his command of the Company's marine forces in those seas; and in a particular manner, to record the conquest of the Castle of Severndroog, on the coast of Malabar, which fell to his superior valour, and able conduct, on the second day of April, 1755."

* Hist. of Kent, p. 117.

† This has been very recently ascertained, both by measurement, and with the barometer, by Mr. J. Bonnycastle, of the Royal Military Academy.

‡ An account of this was published by William Godbid, in 1673.

It consists of three floors: in the lower room are various Indian weapons, armour, &c. brought as trophies from Severndroog Castle. The upper stories are neatly fitted up: on the ceiling of the first is a series of views, in six compartments, of the relative situation of the fleet and fortress on the day of the assault.* The summit is embattled, and has turrets at the angles. From the windows and roof, the prospects are uncommonly extensive, and very rich; they include a great part of Essex, Kent, and Surrey; with the river Thames, and the Metropolis. This Tower was erected by Lady James, who resided with her husband, Sir William James, at *Park-Place Farm,* near Eltham. Their daughter and heiress married the late Thomas Boothby, first Lord Rancliffe, whose son, the present Lord, has recently come of age, and is now owner of this building, and its surrounding grounds.

EAST WICKHAM formed part of the estates of the ancient family of the *Burnells* of Shropshire; and Robert Burnell, Bishop of Bath and Wells, who died seized of three parts of this Manor in 1292, had liberty of free warren here. From him it descended, by the female line, to the families of Handloe and Lovell, of whom was Francis, Viscount Lovell, the zealous adherent of Richard the Third. He was slain in the battle of Stoke, near Newark, in the third of Henry the Seventh, when this Manor, by virtue of an entail made by John de Handloe, and Maud Burnell, his wife, in the reign of Edward the Third, descended to Henry Lovell, Lord Morley, who dying without issue, two years afterwards, it escheated to the Crown. Henry the Eighth granted it, in 1512, to Sir John Petche, for sixty years; and in 1514, he gave the reversion to Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, whose great grandson alienated it to John Olyffe, Esq. whose daughter and heiress married John Leigh, Esq. of Addington, in Surrey. On the death of their descendant, Sir John Leigh, in 1737, a suit in Chancery was commenced to determine the right of inheritance to his estates; and under a decree confirmed by an Act of Parliament, it was found

* An interesting account of the taking of Severndroog may be found in Orme's Hist. of Hindostan.

found vested in Mary and Anne, the daughters of Wooley Leigh, Esq. younger brother to the deceased. The estates being divided in 1767, this Manor was allotted to the Bennett family; Mary, the co-heiress of the Leighs, having married John Bennett, Esq. The Rev. J. L. Bennett is now owner. The old *Manor-House*, which had been the residence of the Leighs, and was of the age of Elizabeth, has been pulled down. The *Church* is a small ancient building of flint and stone, consisting of a nave and chancel, with a shingled turret rising from the west end of the roof. On a broken slab in the pavement of the chancel, is inlaid in *Brass*, a cross fleury, containing small busts of a male and female, in very ancient French dresses; and on the stem this imperfect inscription in Saxon letters: Johan de Bladigdone et Maud S——. On another slab, now covered by a pew, are *Brasses* of a man and his three wives; and beneath them, an inscription in black letter, from which it appears, that the former was a 'Youman of the Garde,' named WILLIAM PAYN, who died in 1568. He is represented in his uniform, a small ruff, short jacket, and trunk hose; at his left side a sword, and on his breast a rose surmounted by a crown.*

PLUMSTED, or PLUMSTEAD, was given, by King Edgar, in 960, to the Abbot and Convent of St. Augustine, in Canterbury, from whom it was taken by Earl Godwyn, who gave it to his son Tostan. Edward the Confessor restored it to the Monastery; but, after his death, it was again seized by Tostan, who being slain in a rebellion against his brother Harold, his estates fell to the Crown. After the Conquest, this Manor was granted to Odo, Bishop of Baieux, who regranted it in moieties, and at different times, to the monks of St. Augustine, who obtained a charter for a weekly market, with liberty of free warren, and other valuable privileges, from King John. On the Dissolution, it was given, by Henry the Eighth, to Sir Edward Boughton, of Burwash Court; and of his descendants it was purchased, in 1685, by John Michel, Esq.

* This Brass has been engraved in Thorpe's Custumale Roffense, plate 51, fig. 1.

Esq. of Richmond, in Surrey, who devised it, in 1736, with other estates, to the "Provost and Scholars of Queen's College, Oxford, for the purpose of maintaining eight master-fellows, and four bachelor-scholars," on that foundation: to these were added, by an Act of Parliament passed in the year 1769, 'four undergraduate exhibitioners.' The *Court Lodge*, or Manor-House, is a neat building, inhabited by the lessee of the manor farm. The *Church* is an old structure, partly dilapidated; and now consisting of one pace only, with a neat tower of brick, embattled, at the north-west angle. Among other sepulchral memorials, is one in memory of DR. BENJAMIN BARNETT, Prebendary of Glocester, and Vicar of Plumsted, who died in 1707; and an elegant mural monument in commemoration of JOHN LIDGBIRD, Esq. of Shooter's Hill, who died in 1771. The population of Plumsted township, as returned under the act of 1800, was 1166; the number of houses, 214. The Parish contains about 2300 acres; of which 980 are marsh, 510 arable, about 400 woodland, 100 upland pasture, about ninety market gardens, including about fifty usually cultivated for green peas, about 100 orchard, and 200 waste.* The *Marshes* of Plumsted were first inclosed, in the reign of Edward the First, by the Monks of Lesnes Abbey; from which period, frequent commissions were issued by the Crown, for viewing the banks, and repairing the breaches. Through insufficient attention, however, upwards of 2000 acres, in this and Erith Parish, were inundated in the time of Henry the Eighth; and these were not wholly recovered till the reign of James the First.†

Between one and two miles from Plumstead Church, eastward, but in Erith Parish, was LESNES ABBEY, founded in the year 1178, for Canons regular, of the Order of St. Augustine, by Richard de Lucy, Chief Justice of the realm in the reign of Henry the Second. This Nobleman, who was equally renowned as a statesman,

* Lysons' Environs, Vol. IV. p. 537; from Hasted's Kent, Vol. II. p. 204. 8vo. edit.

† A full account of the marshes in Plumsted, and the adjoining parishes, may be seen in Dug. Hist. of Imbanking.

statesman, a soldier, and a judge, and had been Regent of the Kingdom during the absence of Henry in France, relinquished all his dignities on the completion of the buildings, and became Abbot of his own monastery. He died in the following year, and, according to Weever, was sumptuously entombed in the choir of the Church, 'and had this epitaph engraven on his monument:'

Rapitur in tenebras Richardus lux Luciorum,
Justicie pacis dilector, et urbis honorum,
Christe sibi requies tecum sit sede piorum;
Julia tunc orbi lux bis septena nitebat,
*Mille annos C. novem et septuaginta movebat.**

It is remarkable, that the Church of this Abbey was dedicated, by its founder, to St. Mary, and *St. Thomas à Becket;* though this proud prelate had not been dead more than eight years, and though he had previously excommunicated De Lucy, for 'being a contriver of those heretical pravities, the Constitutions of Clarendon.' The original endowments consisted of the western moiety of Erith Parish, including *West-wood,* now called the *Abbey Wood,* which extends towards the south, and from its immediate vicinage, occasioned this to be called, anciently, the Abbey of West-wood. Godfrey, Bishop of Winchester, son of Richard de Luey, increased the possessions of the Monks; and their estates were yet further augmented by different benefactors. In the ninth of Edward the First, the Abbot obtained licence of *free-warren* for himself, and his successors; and in the twenty-third of the same reign, he was summoned to Parliament; as his predecessor had also been in the forty-ninth of Henry the Third; but no summons to the Abbots of Lesnes was issued after the time of Edward the Third.

This Abbey was dissolved in 1524, under the Commission for suppressing the smaller Monasteries, for the endowment of Wolsey's Colleges at Ipswich and Oxford; and its possessions were conveyed to that Cardinal for the purpose. After his disgrace, they reverted to the Crown; and in the twenty-fifth of Henry the Eighth,

* Ex. Vet. MSS. in Bib. Cott.

Eighth, were granted to William Brereton, a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, who was attainted and executed within two years afterwards, on a false charge of an adulterous intercourse with Queen Anne Boleyn.* In the following year, 1537, the Manors of Lesnes and Fants (the latter of which is in Erith Parish, and had belonged to the Monastery at Stratford, in Essex) were granted to Sir Ralph Sadleir,† who, about six years afterwards, alienated them to Henry Cooke, Esq. of Mount Mascal, in this county. His grandson sold them to Sir John Leman, Alderman of London, and he disposed of them to Sir John Hippesley, Knt. who, in the year 1630, says Weever, "appointed certaine workemen to digge amongst the rubbish of the decayed fabricke of the Church (which had laine a long time buried in her owne ruines, and growne over with oke, elme, and ashe-trees) for stones, and these happened upon a goodly funerall monument; the full proportion of a man, in his coate armour, his sword hanging at his side by a broad belt, upon which the flower-de-luce was engraven in many places: (being, as I take it, the rebus, or device, of the Lucies:) this, his (Sir Richard Lucie's) representation, or picture, lay upon a flat marble stone; that stone upon a trough, or coffin, of white smooth hewn ashelar stone: in that coffin, and a sheet of lead, (both being made fit for the dimension of a dead body,) the remaines of an ashie drie carkasse lay enwrapped, whole, and undisjointed, and upon the head some haire, or a *simile quiddam* of haire, appeared; they likewise found other statues of men in like manner proportioned, as also of a woman in her attire and abiliments, with many grave-stones and bones of the deceased; to see all which, great confluence of people resorted, amongst which number I was not the hindmost."‡ The

* Hasted, following Philipott, has mistook in connecting the attainder of Brereton with the fall of Queen Catherine Howard.

† See under Standon, in Herts, p. 210, *et seq.*

‡ Fun. Mon. p. 777, 8, Edit. 1631.

BELVEDERE.

The former of these monuments, which, from its situation in the part supposed to have been the choir, was adjudged to be that of the founder, was again buried by order of Sir John Hippesley, who planted a bay tree on the spot:* and soon afterwards, sold both Manors to Sir Thomas Gainsford, of Crowherst, in Surrey, who again disposed of them to —— Hawes, Gent. of London. He dying without issue, bequeathed these estates to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, to which they still belong.

The site of the Abbey, and its surrounding demesne, is now tenanted as a farm; but not any part of the buildings, except outer walls, are standing; and they present nothing to interest. The bay tree, which Dr. Stukeley (who visited this Abbey in 1753, and published the result of his observations in the Archæologia†) describes as the 'finest of the kind he had ever seen,' and Hasted represents as 'wholly withered and decayed,' is now very flourishing: the whole area of the buildings is converted into a garden and orchard. The farm-house which stands at a little distance northward, seems to have been built with materials from the ruins: Stukeley was evidently mistaken in representing it as 'the mansion of the founder, and his successors, the Priors.' The immediate contiguity of the marshes renders this spot much subject to agues. The ancient stocks of Chesnut in the Abbey wood, countenance the opinion that this tree was indigenous in Britain.

BELVIDERE, the seat of Sampson Gideon, Lord Eardley, occupies a very beautiful situation, about one mile from the River Thames, and nearly the same distance between Lesnes Abbey and Erith. The grounds, though small, are agreeably diversified, and well wooded: and on the east side is a flourishing plantation. George Hayley, Esq. who erected the first mansion on this estate, sold it to —— Calvert, Lord Baltimore, who died here in 1751: his devisee again sold it to Sampson Gideon, Esq. whose son, the present owner, was created a Baronet in 1759, and advanced to the Irish Peerage, by Patent, in June, 1790. The improvements which

* Hasted's Kent, Vol. II. p. 255, 8vo. Edit.

† Vol. I. p. 44, with a Plate of the north wall.

which his father had begun, have been completed by this Nobleman, who, about thirty years ago, re-built, and greatly enlarged, the House, which is a spacious edifice of brick, standing on the brow of an eminence declining rapidly to the north; and commanding some very rich prospects of the River Thames, and into the opposite parts of Essex. From the continual passage of the shipping, the scenery is, indeed, uncommonly animated; and not a sail can navigate the contiguous stream, but must pass in full view of this building. The interior is tastefully ornamented; and the collection of pictures evince a very judicious choice: among them is a view of Venice, and its companion, with the ceremony of the Doge marrying the Sea, by Canaletti; the Alchemist, Teniers; SIR JOHN GAGE, Holbein; Noah's Ark, Brueghel; St. Catherine, Leonardo da Vinci; the Dutch Admiral, VAN TROMP, F. Hals; Rembrandt painting an Old Woman, Rembrandt; a Courtezan, and her gallant, Georgione; the Golden Age, Brueghel; SNYDERS, with his Wife and Child, Rubens; Marriage in Cana, P. Veronese; the Genealogy of Christ, Albert Durer; the Conception, and the Flight into Egypt, Murillo; Christ and the Doctors, Luca Giordano; a Landscape, Claude; and three Landscapes, by Poussin.

ERITH is a small village, on the banks of the Thames, lying open to the upper part of *Long-Reach*, where the East Indiamen, in their passage up the river, generally discharge a part of their cargoes; a circumstance that occasions this place to be much frequented. Lambard supposes its name to be derived from the Saxon *Æerre-hythe*, the old Haven;* but in ancient records it is written

* Peramb. of Kent, p. 343. "For plaine example," says Lambard, "that oure elders before the Conquest, had their trialles for title of land, and other controuersies, in each shire, before a Judge, then called Alderman, or Shyreman, of whom there is very frequent mention in the lawes of our ancestours the Saxons, the whiche some yeares since were collected and published in one volume; and for assured proofe also, that in those daves they vsed to proceede in such causes, by the oathes of many persons, (testifying their opinion of his credit, that was the first swearer, or partie,) after the manner of our daily experience,

written *Hliesnes;* and in the Domesday Book, *Loisnes;* an appellation that, softened into Lesnes, was afterwards exclusively attached to the demesne of Lesnes Abbey.

At the time of the Domesday Survey, this Manor belonged to Odo, Bishop of Baieux; but after his fall, it reverted to the Crown. In the reign of Henry the Second, Richard de Lucy, Justiciary of England, was owner; and after the death of his son and grandson, it became the property of Roisie, his second daughter, married to Fulbert de Dover. Roisie, her grand-daughter, married

as in the oath yet in vse, and also called commonly Wager of Lawe, is to be seen; I have made choice of one hystorie, conteining, briefly, the narration of a thing done at this place, by Dunstane, the Archbishop of Canterbury, almost a hundreth yeares before the coming of King William the Conquerour.

"A rich man, (saith the text of Rochester,) anno 970, being owner of Cray, Earithe, Ainesford, and Woldham, and hauing none issue of his body, deuised the same lands (by his last wil, made in the presence of Dunstane, and others) to a kinswomen of his owne, for life, the remainder of the one halfe thereof, after her death, to Christes Church at Canterbury, and of the other halfe to Saint Androwes of Rochester, for euer: he died, and his wife toke one Leofsun to husband, (who ouerliuing her,) reteined the land as his owne, notwithstanding that by the fourme of the deuise, his interest was determined by the deathe of his wife: hereupon complaint came to one Wulsie, for that time the Scyreman, or Judge of the countie, (as the same booke interpreteth it,) before whome, bothe Dunstane, the Archebishop, the parties themselues, sundrie other Bishops, and a great multitude of the lay people, appeared, all by appointment, at Eareth: and there in the presence of their whole assembly, Dunstane (taking a cross in his hand) made a corporal oath upon the booke of the Ecclesiastical Lawes, unto the Shyreman, (which then tooke it to the King's vse, because Leofsun himself refused to receaue it,) and affirmed that the righte of these landes was to Christes Church, and to Saint Androwes.

"For ratification and credit of which his othe, a thousand other persons (chosen out of East and West Kent, Eastsex, Midlesex, and Sussex) tooke their oathes also, vpon the crosse, after him. And thus, by this manner of iudgement, Christes Churche, and Saint Androwes were brought into possession, and Leofsun utterly rejected for euer."

married Richard, son of Robert de Chilham; and in the twelfth of Henry the Third, she recovered the possession of this Manor from Robert Fitz-walter, upon '*trial by battle.*'* She afterwards married, secondly, Richard Fitz-roy, natural son to King John, and had the Manor of Lesnes, alias Erith, assigned to her for her maintenance. Surviving this match, she paid a fine to the King for license to marry whom she pleased, and then became the wife of Richard de Dover. By him she had a son and daughter, the former of whom dying without issue, John, Earl of Athol, son of the latter, became his heir, and on the decease of his widow, in the thirty-second of Edward the First, obtained possession of this Manor. Two years afterwards, he was hanged for treason, in assisting at the coronation of Robert de Brus, of Scotland, and his estates were seized by the King. Edward the Second granted Erith to Bartholomew de Badlesmere, who obtained license to hold a weekly market and two fairs annually here, as well as to have liberty of free-warren. He also was executed for treason; but his estates were restored by Edward the Third, to Giles de Badlesmere, his son: on his death, in the twelfth of that reign, they fell to his four sisters, and co-heiresses, to one of whom, Elizabeth, wife of William de Bohun, Earl of Northampton, this Manor was assigned on a partition; and on her death, it descended to Roger, afterwards Earl of March, her only surviving son by Edmund de Mortimer, her first husband, whose descendants attained the Crown in the person of Edward the Fourth. Henry the Eighth granted Erith to Elizabeth, Countess of Shrewsbury, whose daughter, Anne, married first to Peter Compton, Esq. and secondly, to William, Earl of Pembroke, died, seized of this Manor, in the thirty-first of Elizabeth. Henry, Baron Compton, her only son by her first husband, succeeded, and settled Erith on Sir Thomas Compton, his second son, who married Mary, Countess of Buckingham, relict of Sir George Villiers; but he dying without issue, devised it to Sir William Compton, a valiant officer in the service of Charles the First. This gentleman sold it to Nicholas Vanacker, a merchant

* Hasted's Kent, Vol. II. p. 232. 8vo. edit.

a merchant of London, from whose family it passed by the female line to Sir William Hedges, whose son, dying without issue in 1734, bequeathed it to John Wheatley, Esq. in whose descendants it yet continues. His grandson, who was Sheriff of this county in 1769, built a new *Manor-House* on the edge of Northumberland Heath, about a mile from Erith, on the south-west.

The *Church*, dedicated to St. John Baptist, is an ancient structure, consisting of a nave, a chancel, a south chapel, and a south aisle, with a low tower and spire at the west end: the north wall is thickly covered with ivy. The nave and aisle are separated from the chancel and chapel by a screen of wood, carved in the pointed style. In the Chapel is an alabaster tomb, much mutilated, in memory of ELIZABETH, Countess of Shrewsbury, who is represented in her robes and coronet, lying on a mat, with a lion at her feet, and her head on a cushion. At the sides of the tomb are various shields of arms, with numerous quarterings, displaying the intermarriages and alliances of the family: the inscription is obliterated, but has been preserved by Weever, who appears to have held this rectory in the time of James the First.* The Countess died in the tenth of Elizabeth: her only daughter, *Anne*, Countess of Pembroke, was also buried here, in the thirty-first of the same Sovereign. On a slab near the above, are small whole-length figures, in *Brass*, of a Knight, in armour, and his Lady: the former has on his tabard of arms, displaying a bend, cotized, between six martlets: the inscription is gone; it recorded the memory of SIR RICHARD WALDEN, Knt. and MARGERY, his wife, the parents of the Countess of Shrewsbury: the former died in 1506, the latter in 1528. On another slab, are brass figures of a *Knight*, and his Lady, with the arms of *Walden:* the former is standing on a greyhound, with his sword hanging before him; the head of the Lady is gone, as are the figures of their sons and daughters. Next to this, on a smaller stone, are figures, in *Brass* also, of a male and female, of the same family; and on another

* Fun. Mon. p. 337-8. Edit. 1631.

another slab, is a large full-length *Brass* figure of a female, in a triangular head-dress, with this inscription below her feet:

Orate pro anima' Emme, uxor' Johannis Mode, civis Londonie, et Mercatoris stapule Calisie, quondam filie Johannis Maiden, aldermanni civitatis London: ac mercatoris stapule Calicie que obijt xxvii°. die Augusti, an°. dñi. M.CCCC.LIII°.

On another grave-stone, were *Brass* figures of a man, in a gown with large sleeves, standing between his two wives, but one of the latter is gone; with an inscription now remaining, in commemoration of 'JOHN AYLMER, and *Margaret*, and *Benet*, his wyves:' the former died in September, 1511. Other *Brass* figures record the names of JOHN AYLMER, who died in 1405; *Margaret*, his wife; EDWARD HAWKE, obit 1537; *Elizabeth*, his wife; and ROGERIUS SENCLER, '*quandā' serviens Abbatis et Conventus de Iesens:*' he died on New Year's-day, 1421. Among the more modern monuments, are several for the *Vanackers* and *Wheatleys*, owners of this Manor.

This place, according to Lambard, was anciently incorporated: the buildings are chiefly ranged in one street, leading down to the water side; and a second, branching off towards the Church on the west. Great quantities of corn and wood are annually shipped off from the wharfs here. The marsh lands belonging to Erith contain about 1500 acres, which are commonly ploughed for corn, and bear very exuberant crops.

CRAYFORD, the *Crecan-ford* of the Saxons, derives its name from its situation on the river Cray, which flows in a divided stream through the village. The *Noviomagus* of the Itinerary has been assigned to this spot, though on insufficient grounds, as neither distance nor remains can be offered to support the supposition. Here, in the year 457, Hengist defeated the Britons under Vortimer, in a decisive battle, which left him the complete sovereignty of Kent. At the period of the Domesday Survey, this Manor belonged to the See of Canterbury, and is described as having 'a Church, and three mills.' In the reign of King John, Adam de Port, Lord of Basing, in Hampshire, held it of the Archbishop: from his family it passed, in the reign of Edward the

Third, on a partition between two co-heiresses, to Isabel, wife of Henry de Burshersh, and afterwards, of Lucas de Poynings, who having issue by her, had livery granted him of this Manor. His son, who bore the title of Lord St. John, sold it to John Kingston, from whose descendants it passed to Sir Thomas Lisley, and from him to William Gorfyn, Esq. This gentleman exchanged it with Henry the Eighth; and it continued in the Crown, with a short intermission, till the seventh of Elizabeth, who granted it to Henry Patrick; and by him, in the same reign, it was conveyed to Henry Apylton, of Marshal's Court, in this Parish. Roger Apylton, his son, was created a Baronet by James the First, and gave this Manor in dowry with his eldest daughter, Frances, to Francis Goldsmith, Gent. who sold it to Robert Draper, Esq. of *May Place*. His descendants, about the year 1694, conveyed it, with that Mansion, to the brave and unfortunate Sir Cloudesly Shovel, whose widow resided at May Place till her death, in 1732, when her estates were divided between Elizabeth, relict of the first Lord Romney, and the wife of John, Lord Carmichael, and Anne, wife of John Blackwood, Esq. her daughters by Sir Cloudesly Shovel. Crayford, then called New-bury, as it had been during the three preceding centuries, and May Place, were allotted to the former, who soon afterwards sold them to Nathaniel Elwick, Esq. who settled them on his only daughter, Elizabeth, on her marriage with Miles Barne, Esq. of Sotterley, in Suffolk, in 1745. Snowden Barne, Esq. the descendant of this match, and Member of Parliament for Dunwich, is the present owner. MAY PLACE was lately occupied by Lady Fermanagh: it is a large Mansion, of the time of James the First, but has been deprived of its original character, by modern alterations and additions, made at a considerable expense.

Crayford *Church* is dedicated to St. Paulinus; and contains a great number of sepulchral memorials for respectable families: various others were destroyed by an accidental fire, which burnt down part of this fabric. In the north chancel, as it is called, is a mural monument, displaying full-length effigies of WILLIAM DRAPER, Esq. and *Mary*, his wife, Lord and Lady of this Manor, who died in the time of the Protectorate. In the

south chancel is an obelisk of black marble, under a white marble canopy, in commemoration of DAME ELIZABETH SHOVEL, relict of Sir Cloudesly Shovel, the severity of whose loss, in the shipwreck of her husband, and two only sons, (whom she had borne to Admiral Sir John Narborough,) is detailed in a long inscription; and on a second tablet, at the base of the monument, are recorded the alliances of her children: she died in her seventy-third year, in April, 1732. Near the above is another handsome mural monument, in commemoration of the Hon. "ROBERT MANSEL, eldest son and heir of Thomas, Lord Mansel, of the ancient and noble family of the Mansels, of Normandy, removed into England in the time of William the Conqueror, (and) established in Wales in the reign of Henry the First, where they have flourished ever since, in great splendor and dignity; first, at Oxwich Castle; then at Margam, in the county of Glamorgan. He married Anne, one of the daughters and co-heirs of Sir Cloudesly Shovel; and died in May, 1723." His widow, who erected this monument, was afterwards married to John Blackwood, Esq.

The population of Crayford, as returned under the late Act, was 1210; the number of houses, 191: the latter are disposed in a narrow ill-built street, about half a mile long. The river Cray, in its course from this village to Dartford Creek, supplies water to two large manufactories for printing calicoes, to a mill for flatting, and slitting iron to make hoops, &c. ('lately builded,' says Lambard, 'for the making of plates, whereof armour is fashioned,') and to several bleaching-grounds for linens. Crayford had the grant of a weekly market from Richard the Second, but this has been long disused.

There are "now to be seen," says Hasted, "as well on the heaths near Crayford, as in the fields and woods hereabout, many artificial CAVES, or holes in the earth; some of which are ten, some fifteen, and others twenty fathoms deep. At the mouth, and thence downward, they are narrow, like the tunnel or passage of a well; but at the bottom they are large, and of great compass; insomuch, that some of them have several rooms, or partitions, one within another, strongly vaulted, and supported with pillars of chalk."

chalk."* These still remain, and are by some supposed to have been merely chalk-pits; but their general appearance contradicts this opinion. Mr. Hasted apprehended them to have been excavated by the Saxons, in imitation of the customs of their German ancestors;† but others, and among them the learned Edward King, Esq. have conceived them to be the works of the Britons; "because Diodorus Siculus expressly tells us, that the Britons did lay up their corn in *subterraneous repositories*.‡"

The Manor of BEXLEY was given, by King Cenulph, to the See of Canterbury, and is described, in the Domesday Book, by the name of *Bix*, and as having 'a Church, and three mills.' In the *Textus Roffensis*, it is written *Bixle;* and under that name, Edward the Second granted a weekly market to be held here, at the solicitation of Archbishop Reynolds; but this has long been disused. Archbishop Cranmer alienated Bexley, with all the lands belonging to his See, in this Parish, to Henry the Eighth; and it continued in the Crown till James the First granted it, in fee, to Sir John Spilman, who shortly afterwards sold it to the celebrated

* Hist. of Kent, Vol. II. p. 266. 8vo. Edit.

† Tacitus tells us, that 'the Germans were accustomed to dig subterraneous caverns, and then to cover them over with much loose earth, (or compost;) forming hereby a refuge from storm, and a receptacle for corn; because by means of such sort of places they resit the frost: and besides, if at any time any enemy comes, the open country is plundered; but these concealed and deep sunk dens, are either unknown, or deceive the plunderers, even by that very circumstance, that they are places to be hunted after.'*

‡ Dio. Sic. lib. v. 209, p. 347. Ed. Walselingii; as quoted in Munimenta Antiqua, Vol. I. p. 48.

* 'Solent et subterraneos specus aperire, eosque multo insuper fimo onerant, suffugium hiemi, et receptaculum frugibus: quia rigorem frigorum ejusmodi locis molliunt: et si quando hostis advenit, aperta populatur; abdita autem et defossa, aut ignorantur, aut eo ipso fallunt, quod quærenda sunt.'
De Moribus Germaniæ, C. 16.

Camden. This distinguished Antiquary, in the nineteenth of the same reign, made over his right to the University of Oxford, for the purpose of founding an Historical Professorship; but covenanted, that all the revenues of the Manor should be enjoyed for ninety-nine years from his own death, by Mr. William Heather, his heirs, and successors; who were, however, to be subject to the payment of 140l. annually. Camden died in 1623; and, at the expiration of the ninety-nine years, the Manor devolved on the University, who have since granted leases, from time to time, for twenty-one years, to the *Leighs*, of Hawley. Most of the lands in Bexley Parish, which extends nearly three miles each way, are held of this Manor.*

The *Church* is a peculiar of the Archbishops of Canterbury: it is dedicated to St. Mary, and has a shingled tower, and small octangular spire. On the south side of the chancel is an ancient *Confessionary*, consisting of three divisions of pointed arches, and a recess for holy water; on the north side are seven ancient *Stalls* of oak, with carved heads, and other figures. On a slab under the north window, which seems to have been the cover of a very ancient coffin, is a small *Brass* figure for THOMAS SPARROW, owner of Lamienby, in this Parish, who died in 1513. Against the north wall is an alabaster monument, in memory of SIR JOHN CHAMPENEIS, Knt. who died in October, 1556, and whose figure, with that of his Lady, are represented kneeling at a desk, in the dress of the times: Sir John was Lord Mayor of London in 1534. Another monument records the memory of SIR RICHARD AUSTEN, Bart. of Hall Place, who was buried here, with several others of his family. Here are also memorials for JOHN STYLEMAN, Esq. an eminent East India Merchant, and a Director of the East India Company, who died in 1734, at the age of eighty-two, and four of his wives; for SIR EDWARD BRETT, Knt. a distinguished soldier in the time of the Civil Wars, on the part of Charles the First, who died in February, 1683, aged seventy-five; and for SIR RICHARD FORD, Lord Mayor of London in 1671; he

* Hasted's Kent, Vol. II. p. 166. 8vo. Edit.

he died at the age of sixty-five, in 1678: the inscription is singular.*

The population of Bexley Parish, as ascertained in 1801, was 1441; the number of houses, 267: among the latter are several good mansions, inhabited by reputable families. HIGH STREET HOUSE, which adjoins the Church-yard, was rebuilt, in 1761, by the late learned Antiquary, *John Thorpe*, Esq. F. S. A. author of the *Custumale Roffense*, who purchased this estate of the *Austens*, of Hall Place, in the year 1750. On his death, at Chippenham, in Wiltshire, in 1792, his possessions devolved to his two daughters, by his first marriage with Catherine, daughter of Dr. Lawrence Holker, of Gravesend: and on a partition, High Street House was allotted to the youngest, married to Cuthbert Potts, Esq. an eminent Surgeon, of London. This gentleman became owner also, in right of his wife, of a contiguous *Villa*, called BOURNE PLACE, which was built about thirty years ago, by Lawrence Holker, Esq. only son of the above mentioned Dr. Holker.

HALL PLACE was anciently the seat of a family surnamed *At-Hall*, the last of whom conveyed it, in the time of Edward the Third, to the *Shelleys*, who, in the twenty-ninth of Henry the Eighth, sold it to Sir John Champeneis, who lies buried in the Church, and whose estates in Kent were among those dis-gavelled by the Act of the thirty-first of the above Sovereign. His youngest and only surviving son, Justinian, succeeded to this estate, and was Sheriff of Kent in the twenty-fifth of Elizabeth. His son, Richard Champneis, conveyed it to Robert Austen, who was created a Baronet in the twelfth of Charles the Second, and was Sheriff of this county in that and the following year. His great-grandson, and of the same name, was also Sheriff in 1724. On the extinction of his family, it became, by a settlement, the property of the late Francis, Lord le Despenser, who devised it to Francis Dashwood, Esq. in 1781.† The Mansion is an ancient and spacious edifice, and is now occupied as a Boarding School.

* See Thorpe's *Registrum Roffense*, p. 928.

† Hasted's Kent, Vol. II. p. 173,-6. 8vo. Edit.

BLENDON HALL, called, in old writings, *Bladindon Court*, was anciently possessed by a family surnamed De Bladigdone,* who, in the time of Richard the Second, conveyed it to the *Walsinghams*, from whom it passed through several families, by descent, and otherwise, to John Wroth, Esq. who was created a Baronet in 1660: he died in 1671, and two years afterwards, this estate was conveyed to Sir Edward Brett, who lies buried in Bexley Church. His nephew dying without issue, in 1732, devised it to Jacob Sawbridge, Esq. a Director of the South Sea Company, whose son sold it, about 1763, to Lady Mary Scott, relict of Arthur Scott, Esq. Commissioner of Chatham-Yard, and daughter of the fourth son of George, fourth Earl of Northampton. This Lady, who, on the succession, in turn, of her two brothers to the Earldom, had the rank and precedence of an Earl's daughter allowed her by special favor, rebuilt Blendon Hall on the old site, and considerably improved the surrounding grounds. She died in 1782, and was buried at Bexley, having bequeathed this estate to William Scott, Esq. eldest son of her husband's brother, who sold it to the late Lieutenant-General Pattison; and of his nephew it has been lately purchased by John Smith, Esq. M. P.

LAMIENBY, or *Lamabby*, as it is improperly called, belonged to an ancient family, who assumed the surname of Lamienby, but afterwards obtained that of Sparrow. Agnes, daughter and heiress of Thomas Sparrow, who lies buried in Bexley Church, married James Goldwell, Esq. from whose descendants this estate passed, through various families, by purchase and otherwise, to David Orme, M. D. of Great St. Helen's, in the year 1783. The Mansion was rebuilt by William Steele, Esq. a former owner of this estate, about the year 1744: he also laid out the Park, through which flows a small rivulet, which has here been formed into a canal, and, after flowing by Blendon Hall, Bourne Place, and Hall Place, falls into the river Cray.

DANSON HILL, formerly called the Manor of *Dauneon*, alias *Daunsington*, was the Property of Matthew, second son of Archbishop Parker, who dying without issue, in the time of Elizabeth, devised

* See under East Wickham, p. 541.

vised it to his father: he gave it to his son John, who, with Joan, his wife, levied a fine in the twentieth of that reign. How it descended is uncertain; but early in the last century it became the property of John Styleman, Esq. who lies buried at Bexley, and who bequeathed a moiety of his estate in Kent to found an Almshouse, for twelve poor families, near the Church. This estate being included in the moiety, was leased to John Boyd, of London, merchant, who, in the second year of his present Majesty, procured the fee simple to be vested in himself, and his heirs, by Act of Parliament, under an agreement with the trustees, to whom he made over a rent-charge of 100 pounds annually for the uses of the charity. Soon afterwards he erected the present Mansion, which is a handsome fabric, standing on a commanding eminence, in a pleasant Park. The original designs were given by Sir Robert Taylor, but were somewhat departed from in raising the superstructure: on the principal floor are three large and elegant apartments. The grounds were laid out by the celebrated Brown, who also formed a spacious sheet of water towards the southern extremity of the Park, which exhibits some flourishing plantations. Mr. Boyd was created a Baronet, in May, 1775; and on his death, was succeeded by his son, the second Baronet, who pulled down the wings of the house, and at a little distance erected a a large pile of stabling and offices. His son and successor, the present Sir J. Boyd, has recently sold the whole estate to John Johnstone, Esq. for about 50,000l.

DARTFORD.

THE name of this town was derived from its situation on a *Ford* of the river *Darent*. The Saxons called it *Derent-ford*: and this, in the Domesday Book, is spelt *Tarentefort*. The Manor was ancient demesne of the Saxon Kings. At the time of the Survey, it belonged to the Conqueror, and must then have been a place of considerable comparative importance, as it is described as having 'a Church worth sixty shillings, and three Chapels.' Here were also 'two carucates, in demesne, and 142 villeins, with ten borderers, having fifty-three carucates; two hiths, or ha-

vens,

vens, a mill,* &c. held in ferm by a *Reve*. The Manor continued in the Crown, and the rents were accounted for by the Sheriffs of Kent, till the second of King John, who granted it to Hugh, Earl of St. Paul, a Norman Lord, who, in the next year, had license to mortgage his lands in Dartford for three years, on going to the Holy Land. Henry the Third granted the Manor provisionally to John de Burgo, and afterwards to William, Earl of Albemarle, who died seized of it the forty-fourth of that reign; and three years afterwards, Henry restored it to Guy de Chastillon, Earl of St. Paul, on whose death it reverted to the Crown. Edward the Second granted it to his half brother, Edmund of Woodstock, with its appurtenances, which included Chislehurst, and other subordinate manors. His sons, who were Earls of Kent in succession, dying without issue, their sister, Joan, married first to Sir Thomas Holland, and secondly, to Edward the Black Prince, became his sole heir. Her grandson, Edmund Holland, Earl of Kent, dying also without issue, his inheritance was divided among his four sisters and co-heiresses, when this Manor was allotted to Joan, Duchess of York: but on her death, in 1434, it became the property of her sister, Margaret, and was inherited by the descendants of her first husband, John, Earl of Somerset. On the attainder of Henry, Duke of Somerset, in 1464, it was granted, with its appendages, to the great Earl of Warwick; after whose defeat and death, near Barnet, it was granted to his daughter Isabel, married to George, Duke of Clarence; but on the attainder of the latter, in 1477, Edward the Fourth granted it to Thomas Lord Stanley for life. It was afterwards re-conveyed, with all the other possessions of the Earl of Warwick, to his Countess, by Henry the Seventh, for the purpose of obtaining a legal surrender of the whole; and she accordingly granted to the King 114 manors, including Dartford, which remained in the Crown till the year 1610, when James the First granted it, with Chislehurst, in fee, to George and Thomas Whitmore, who, in the following year, conveyed them to Sir Thomas Walsingham, the lessee.

* Rot. Claus. pt. 2. m. 6.

lessee. Sir Thomas, in 1613, sold Dartford, for 500l. to Sir Robert D'Arcy, by whose descendants it was sold, in 1699, to Thomas Gouge, Esq. who died in 1707, leaving three sons, all of whom successively inherited his estates, which afterwards descended to his grandson, Robert Mynors, who assumed the name of Gouge, by Act of Parliament. He dying without issue, in 1765, devised his estates to his widow, who afterwards married Charles Morgan, Esq. in whose descendants Dartford is now vested.

Lambard imagines that 'there was some faire house of the King's, or of some others,' in this town in the reign of Henry the Third, as Isabella, the King's sister, was here married by proxy, in the year 1235, to the Emperor Frederic, who had sent an embassy with the Archbishop of Cologne, for the purpose. Edward the Third held a *Tournament* at Dartford on his return from France, in 1331, 'in whiche he and his nobles perfourmed moste honorablie.'* The most remarkable historical event, however, connected with this town,† was the insurrection under Wat Tyler, in the fifth of Richard the Second, which was equally singular in its origin, as in its termination; and which, had it been conducted with even common ability, might have led to the establishment of a new race of Sovereigns. The insolence of a tax-gatherer, who "had been appointed to levye the groates that were by Parleament taxed upon every polle,"‡ above a certain age, occasioned his own death, and so incensed the "common-people of this shyre," that they rose in arms, determined to redress their own grievances. Making Tyler their captain, they marched towards London, and being joined by multitudes in their way, presently increased to 100,000 strong. The King, hearing they were advanced to Blackheath, where they encamped, sent messengers to know their demands; when they required that he should himself treat with them in person; and on his refusal so to do, by advice of his council, they

* Peramb. of Kent, p. 347.

† Rapin, and some other historians, have erroneously stated this insurrection to have begun at Deptford.

‡ Peramb. of Kent, p. 348.

they marched to London, where they committed great ravages, and exercised many barbarities. They even seized on the Tower, where Sudbury, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Robert de Hales, High Treasurer of England, had sought refuge, and beheaded them, as being the chief advisers in the King's late refusal. At length, Richard was constrained to submit to a conference, and repaired to Smithfield, where he was met by Tyler on horseback, who demanded "a general enfranchisement of all bondmen; and that all warrens, parks, and chases, should be made free and common to all, so that the poor, as well as the rich, should have liberty to fish, fowl, and hunt, in all places throughout the Kingdom,"* &c. These and other terms abrogatory of the general laws of the realm, he insisted on with all the rudeness of an uncultivated mind; and while the King was meditating on an answer, he is said to have twice, or thrice, lifted up his sword in a menacing manner. This inflamed the spirit of Walworth, Lord Mayor of London, who had accompanied Richard, and who suddenly discharged such a violent blow with his sword, at the head of Tyler, that he fell dead at his feet. The alarmed multitude instantly bent their bows; but Richard, with admirable presence of mind, dissuaded them from extremities, and putting himself at their head, led them into St. George's Fields, where the sight of an armed force, under Sir Robert Knollys, so far intimidated them, that they threw down their arms, and solicited mercy. Thus was the insurrection quelled! but, to the disgrace of the Court, the revolters were treated with far greater severity than the occasion justified.

Edward the Third founded a NUNNERY at Dartford, in the year 1355, and committed its government to the Order of Friars' Preachers. It was dedicated to St. Mary, and St. Margaret, the Virgins; and by Edward's patent of endowment, dated in his forty-sixth year, he grants to Maud, the Prioress, various manors and estates for its support, both of his own gift, and of the donation of others.† Richard the Second increased the possessions of the

* Knighton, Col. 2636.

† A plot of ground in Dartford, called the *Castel-Place*, occurs in this patent.

the nuns; and Edward the Fourth confirmed the former grants, and gave them a new charter. His fourth daughter, Bridget, who was born at Eltham, became a nun, and was buried here; as was the Lady Joan, daughter of Lord Scrope, of Bolton, the Lady Margaret, daughter of Lord Beaumont, both Prioresses, and Catherine, widow of Sir Maurice Berkeley. At the Dissolution, its inmates were composed of females related to some of the most ancient and respectable families in Kent. Its annual revenues, at that period, according to Dugdale, amounted to 380l. 9s. 0½d. but according to Speed, to 400l. 8s. The nuns were then of the Order of St. Dominic, but the foundation was originally established for Nuns of the Order of St. Augustine. Henry the Eighth fitted up the buildings as a *Palace* for himself, and his successors; but Edward the Sixth granted it, with the Manor of Dartford, and its appurtenances, and his Park in Dartford, called Washmeade, to Anne of Cleves, in exchange for lands in Surrey, and she died seized of them in the fourth of Queen Mary, when they reverted to the Crown. Queen Elizabeth retained the Priory demesne in her own hands, and during her progress in Kent, in her sixteenth year, resided 'in her Palace at Dartford' two days. James the First granted it, with the Manor of Dartford, alias Temple, in Dartford, Hatfield in Hertfordshire, and other lands, to Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, in exchange for Theobalds; and that Nobleman, in the tenth or eleventh of the same reign, conveyed the site of the Priory, with its appurtenances, to Sir Robert D'Arcy, from whom they have descended in the same way as the capital Manor of Dartford.

Sir Edward D'Arcy, father of Sir Robert, who had a lease of the Priory for his own life, resided and died here: he gave it the name of *Dartford Place*, by which appellation, and that of the *Place*, or *Place House*, it has ever since been called. The present remains are of brick, and consist of a large embattled gateway, with some adjoining buildings on the south, now used as a farm-house; the garden and stock-yard occupy the remaining part of the site of the Priory, which was of great extent, as appears from the numerous drains, and foundations of walls, that have been discovered.

covered. The gardens and orchards were inclosed by an ancient stone wall, which is still entire; the area includes about twelve acres, and is now tenanted by a market gardener. The Priory buildings were situated at a short distance from the north-west side of the town.

The *Church*, which stands near the river, in the north-east part of the town, and is dedicated to the Holy Trinity, is a spacious edifice, consisting of a nave, chancel, and aisles, with a tower, embattled, at the north-west side: it was repaired at the expense of the parishioners, in the year 1793. Over the arch of the east window of the chancel, which is now stopped up, but was made in the time of Edward the Third, by *Haymo de Hethe*, Bishop of Rochester, was the head of that prelate in stone: this is now in a lumber room over the vestry; the countenance displays a cheerful affability. In the chancel, on the north side, is a mural monument, in commemoration of SIR JOHN SPILMAN, or SPIELMAN,* a German, who was the first that introduced the *Manufacture of Paper* into this kingdom. This was in the reign of Elizabeth, who granted him the subordinate Manor of Portbridge,† or Bycknore, in Dartford, which had previously been an appendage to the Priory. Here, on the site of a wheat, and a malt mill, he built a Paper Mill, for the making of writing paper; and in the thirty-first of Elizabeth, who knighted him, and to whom he was Jeweller, he obtained a license for the sole gathering, for ten years, of all rags, &c. necessary for the making of such paper.‡ He died in 1607, at the age of fifty-five: his effigies, with that of his Lady, are

* So spelt by Koops, in his 'Historical Account of the Substances which have been used to describe Events, and to convey Ideas, from the earliest Date to the Invention of Paper,' p. 225.

† "He is said to have brought over sea with him in his portmanteau, two *Lime Trees*, a tree unseen before in these parts, and to have planted them here: these trees stood near the dwelling house belonging to the Powder Mills, and remained till within these few years, when they were cut down." *Hasted's Kent.*

‡ Har. MSS. No. 2269,-6. fol. 124, as quoted by Hasted.

are exhibited on the monument kneeling at a desk. Near this, in the pavement, is a slab, inlaid with *Brasses*, of a male and female under a rich canopy, with labels proceeding from their mouths, and a mutilated inscription beneath their feet: these represent *Richard Martyn*, and his wife, both of whom died at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Several other inlaid slabs are in different parts of the Church, and some are very curious. On one of them, in what is termed the south chancel, is a male figure, and two escutcheons in *Brass*, with indents for a female, &c. and the following mutilated inscription going round the verge:

. . . . . dñi millesimo quingentesimo octavo, et Elenor uxor ejus, que obijt die mensis Februarij anº. dñi &cº. — MCCCCIJº Quorum animabus ꝓpietur Deus Amen.

Between each word in this inscription, are ornamental figures, as a bell, a tun, a leaf, a rose, a trefoil slipped, a dog, a mullet, a leopard's head, a crescent, &c. Among the remaining memorials, are several for the *Beers* and *Twistletons*, of HORSEMAN'S PLACE, in this Parish, and for other respectable families. In the principal Church-yard, which, from its situation on the hill above the town, to the east, overlooks even the tower of the Church itself, was a Chantry *Chapel*, dedicated to St. Edmund the Martyr; and the road leading up to it is, in old deeds, called St. Edmund's Hill. This is supposed to have been founded by John de Bycknore, in the reign of Edward the Second: it afterwards became appendant to the Priory, and was dissolved in the reign of Edward the Sixth.

An *Hermitage* is recorded to have been established as early as the twentieth of Henry the Third: and in the third year of Henry the Fifth, Henry, Lord Scrope, bequeathed to the then anchorite, one mark.* The charitable benefactions for the use of the poor, are numerous; an *Alms-House* was founded here, under a license from Henry the Sixth; and in an ancient rental, it is called the Spytell House, 'where the leprous inhabet and dwell.'†

In

* Rot. Pat. ejus an. Rym. Fœd. Vol. IX. p. 275.

† Hasted's Kent, Vol. II. p. 318.

In a survey made of the maritime places in this county, in the eighth of Elizabeth, Dartford is stated to contain '182 inhabited houses, six persons lacking habitation, four keys, or landing-places, seven slips and boats, viz. three of three tons, one of six, two of ten, and one of fifteen, and persons for carriage from Dartford to London, and so back again, fourteen'.* At that time also, and even so late as the reign of James the First, there was a *Fishery* at Dartford Creek, the rent of which was six salmons, worth forty shillings, annually.

The flourishing state of this town has chiefly arisen from the establishment of the different mills near it, on the river Darent. The original paper mill, erected by Sir John Spilman, about half a mile above the bridge, occupied the site of the present gun-powder mills; and another mill, at a short distance below it, for the manufacture of paper, stands where Geoffrey Box, of Liege, erected a mill for slitting iron bars into rods, &c. supposed to have been the first of the kind in England, as early as the year 1590. The *Bridge* is now a commodious structure, but was very narrow and dangerous, till between twenty and thirty years ago, when it was altered at the expense of the county: at what time it was originally built is unknown, but it was certainly posterior to the fourth of Edward the Third, when, on an inquisition taken after the death of Edmund of Woodstock, the *Ferry* over the Darent at this place, is valued among the rents of the Manor. About the same period that the Bridge was repaired, the old *Market-House* and *Shambles* were taken down, and new buildings for the purpose erected in a less inconvenient situation: the road through the town was also amended, and new pavements made. Corn is sold here in great quantities annually: below the town is a good wharf.

The population of Dartford, as returned under the Act of 1800, amounted to 2406; the houses to 468; the latter are chiefly disposed in a principal street, through which passes the high road, and two smaller ones, branching off at right angles. The town is situated in a narrow valley between two hills, in the westernmost of which are extensive Chalk-pits: On

* Hasted's Kent, Vol. II. p. 289.

On DARTFORD BRENT, the eminence above the town on the east, Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, lay encamped with his army, in the year 1452, at the time that Henry the Sixth, with an opposing army, was encamped on Blackheath; this place was the rendezvous, also, of General Fairfax's army, in the year 1648.*

In the Vicarage-House at WILMINGTON, resided the late *Rev. Samuel Denne*, M. A. F. S. A. who held this living with that of the adjoining Parish of Darent: he was second son of Dr. John Denne, Archdeacon of Rochester, by a daughter of Bishop Bradford; and lies buried in Rochester Cathedral.

DARENT, or DARENTH, which derives its name from its contiguity to the river Darent, was granted, by King Athelstan, to Duke Eudulf, who, in the year 940, conveyed it to the Church of Canterbury, in which, with some little intermission, it continued till the year 1196, when the then Archbishop, Hubert Walter, exchanged it with the Monks of Rochester, for the Manor of Lambeth, in Surrey. After the Dissolution, Henry the Eighth granted it to the newly erected Dean and Chapter of Rochester, to whom it still belongs. The *Church* is a small ancient fabric, dedicated to St. Margaret; the upper part of the chancel has a groined roof, and three narrow lancet windows at the east end; from which, and from other peculiarities in the construction, the Rev. Mr. Denne, and the late Mr. Thorpe, supposed it to be of Saxon workmanship.† The *Font* is circular, and very curiously wrought: it consists of a single stone, excavated to the depth of seventeen inches; its internal diameter is twenty-seven inches. Round the outside, are eight compartments, with semicircular arches above, supported by columns, alternately circular and angular. In each compartment are sculptures in relief, which Mr. Denne, by a very forced inter-

 pretation,

* Hasted's Kent, Vol. II. p. 291, 8vo. Edit.

† *Custumale Roffense*, p. 90—104; where is a very elaborate account of Darent Church, and Font, and the Chapel of St. Margaret at Helles; accompanied by two plates, representing the interior of the Chancel at Darent, the sculptures on the Font, and the ruins of St. Margaret's.

pretation, has connected with the legendary history of St. Dunstan; but which Mr. Thorpe (many of whose premises are also fairly disputable) has conjectured to contain 'a mixture of the Heathen Mythology with the Christian Religion.' The first sculpture appears to be intended for a King, robed, and crowned, with an olive branch; the second, a Wivern; the third, David playing on the Harp; the fourth, Sagittaries; the fifth, a Griffin; the sixth, a Lion rampant; the seventh, an aged Man, holding in one hand, a club, and in the other, the tail of some animal, which is behind him; the eighth, and last, a Male and Female immersing an Infant in a font; probably intended to represent *Baptism*.

At ST. MARGARET AT HELLES, now a hamlet in Durent, but formerly a distinct Parish, are the ruins of a very ancient *Chapel*, consisting of scarcely any thing more than the lower part of a square tower. This is curious, however, from the layers of *Roman brick* that are to be seen in the walls, and in the arch of the door-way on the east side, which is entirely turned with them. These materials were, perhaps, brought from the station *Vagniacæ*, at Southfleet.

On GREENSTREET GREEN are remains of several lines of entrenchments, or breast-works; and also of some small *Tumuli*: traces of a small *Camp* may also be found in a Wood about three quarters of a mile to the eastward.

SOUTHFLEET, called *Suth-fleta* in the Domesday Book, was so named from its relative situation to Northfleet, and from its standing on a fleet, or broad expanse of water, which anciently flowed up from the Thames to this Parish, and would still, in high tides, were it not for the embankment, along which the main road has been carried. The distance of this place from *Durobrivis*, or Rochester, the discovery of a Roman Miliary, the number of Roman coins that have been dug up here, both of silver and of copper, the finding of parched corn, and the contiguity of the Watling Street, induced Mr. Thorpe to conjecture that this was the real site of the VAGNIACÆ of Antoninus, about which so many contradictory assertions have been hazarded.* The

* See p. 449; and *Custumale Roffense*, p. 250.

The antiquities that have been discovered at Southfleet, since the commencement of the present century, and of which an account was communicated to the Antiquary Society by the Rev. Peter Rashleigh, in two letters published in the Archæologia,* strongly corroborates the opinion of this having been a Roman station. The discoveries were made in a place called *Sole Field*, and consisted principally of a vessel of a spherical form, of strong red pottery, sufficiently capacious to contain twenty gallons; a stone tomb, containing two leaden coffins, &c. a Sarcophagus, with two large *glass* urns, and two pair of curiously wrought shoes; all of them included within the walls of a square building, measuring about fifty-eight feet by fifty-five. The length of the tomb was rather more than six feet: the coffins were of the simplest form, each of them being composed of two pieces of lead, bent at the sides and ends to inclose the bodies, the skeletons of which were perfect; and, from the smallness of the bones, and the size of the teeth, were conjectured to be those of children of seven or eight years of age. In one of the coffins was a very handsome gold chain, consisting of a number of links, ornamented with angular pieces of a bluish green stone, or composition; and in the middle of each alternate link had been a pearl, all which were nearly decayed: in the same coffin were two curious gold rings for bracelets, with serpents' heads at the junction, and a smaller ring set with a hyacinth. The Sarcophagus was found beneath a pavement of Kentish rag-stone, about three feet below the surface of the ground. This was of a square form, about four feet, one inch, in length, and composed of two stones, very nicely fitted in a groove: the internal cavity was elliptical, and in this were the two glass urns; the largest being one foot three inches high. In both were a considerable quantity of burnt bodies; but that which contained the lesser portion, was filled to the very brink with a transparent liquid, which had neither taste nor smell: some of the same kind of liquor was in the other urn. The shoes were placed between

* Vol. XIV. p. 37—39; and 221—223: and illustrated by seven plates.

the urns, and though greatly decayed, had enough remaining to show the richness of the workmanship. They were made of fine purple-colored leather, reticulated in the form of hexagons, and each hexagonal division worked with gold. On each side of the Sarcophagus had been large earthern urns, but these had been broken by the weight above; and at a short distance, in another small *depot*, were two bottles of red pottery, holding about a pint each, and two red pans: in one of the latter were two small rib-bones, and some ashes. Immediately under this had been deposited a box of wood, well secured by copper clamps, fastened by large round headed copper nails: the wood was entirely decayed, excepting some small parts, that adhered to the copper, but were entirely rotten.

The *Church* is a spacious edifice, dedicated to St. Nicholas, and consisting of a nave, aisles, and chancel, with a monumental chapel, or chantry, adjoining to the Church on the south side, formerly the property of the *Sedleys*, Baronets; whose family were possessed of the Manor from the time of Elizabeth till the present reign, and had been long seated at Scadbury, or Scotbury, in this Parish: at the west end is a large square tower. The East window was formerly richly ornamented with painted glass, of which only remain mutilated representations of St. Catherine, St. Mary, the Crucifixion, and a Bishop, under lofty gothic canopies. The sepulchral memorials are numerous: on a slab in the pavement of the chancel, are *Brasses* of a male and female, with an indent between them, in which has probably been a representation of the Virgin and Child, and this inscription below their feet:

> Hic iacent Johēs Arban Armig' qui obijt xvi die mēsis nouēbr Anno domini Millessimo cccc°xx° et Johne ux' ei' qui fuit filie Johēs Kellygrmer de Com Cornubie Milit' q'r aie ppiet' de'.

These figures are well drawn, particularly the female, who is habited in a close gown, with lappels, buttoned at the sleeves and neck, and a band round her waist. On another slab is the bust of a priest, who died about May, 1457, with this inscription beneath:

> Miserere Deus aie Johis Tubney quōd hui' ecclie Rectoris et Archidiaconi Assaphensis ac Capellani dni Johēs Lowe Episcopi Roffensis.

In

In the Chapel of the Sedleys is an ornamented tomb, the upper slab of which is inlaid with *Brasses* of a male and female, with labels proceeding from their mouths, and two groups of children below their feet: round the verge is an imperfect inscription, in memory of 'Johnes Sedley unus Auditor dni Regis de Scaccio suo et Elizabeth uxor ejus:' the former died in 1500. Another inscription in brass, on the same slab, records the interment of *John Sedley*, Esq. who died in 1581; and *Anne*, his wife, 'daughter of John Colepeper, of Aylesford, Esq.' she died in 1594. Near this is a superb marble monument, inscribed to the memory of *John Sedley, Esq.* who died in 1605, at the age of forty-four: his effigies in armour is lying on the tomb, and over it are his arms; with several banners, helmets, sword, spurs, &c.

In the chancel wall, on the south side, is a triple graduated *Stone Seat*, under pointed arches, embellished with finials and pinnacles; and at a little distance is a *Piscina*. In the pavement were several ornamented tiles, on which, besides the arms of England and France quarterly, and of De Grey, Earl of Kent, was a mermaid, holding a comb and mirror. The *Font* is of hard grey marble, of an octangular form, sculptured in very high relief, and standing on a neatly ornamented pedestal of the same shape. All the subjects bear relation to the Christian Faith; and represent, in succession, an Angel with expanded wings, sustaining the balances; the initials IHS on a shield, within a quatrefoil, surrounded by a circle; a Bishop in the act of benediction; a Chalice, with the Holy Wafer environed by the nimbus, and impressed with the figure of Christ; the Saviour bursting from the Sepulchre; St. John, clothed in a skin, baptizing Christ, and pronouncing the words Ecce Agnus Dei; the Lamb of God, with the cross and banner: the eighth compartment is hidden from its situation.† The *Parsonage House* at Southfleet was erected before the year 1422; but its ancient character has been destroyed by modern alterations.

SWANSCOMBE, written *Suinescamp* in the Domesday Book, was so named from the Danish King Sweyn, or Svein, who, according to Philipott, 'erected a *Castle* here to preserve a winter

† A wretched engraving of this *Font* has been given in the *Custumale Roffense.*

station for his ships;* of which the 'dismantled ruins' remained in his time. This place, however, has derived its celebrity from another cause, from being assigned as the spot where the march of the Conqueror was impeded by the men of Kent, till he had consented to grant them 'a full confirmation of all their ancient laws and privileges.' Sprot, on whose authority this story has been promulgated, was a Monk of Canterbury in the time of Edward the First, and is thought to have invented the tale to magnify the valor of his countrymen; yet it is probable, that he took some local tradition for his guide, and that some mixture of truth is blended in the fable. That the Kentishmen did preserve their privileges, is a remarkable, and an indisputable fact; and these were as frequently insisted on before the Justices Itinerant in the reigns of Henry the Third, and his successor, Edward, and as frequently acknowledged and allowed. Hasted, in the Preface to his 'History of Kent,' has quoted from the library of Sir Edward Dering, of Surrenden, a manuscript record of proceedings before the above Justices, wherein the ground-work of Sprot's relation stands confirmed; the reason for admitting the validity of the claims being expressly stated to be, '*Because the said county was not conquered with the rest of the kingdom, but surrendered itself up to the Conqueror by a peace made with him, and a saving to himself of all liberties and free customs before that time had and used.*'

The

* *Villare Cantianum*, p. 306, Edit. 1776. "The tradition of the country is, that that valley which interposes between the hill which ascends up to Northfleet, and that which winds up to Swanscamp, was once covered with water, and being locked in on each side with hills, made a secure road for shipping, which invited the Dane to make it a winter station for his navy; and the same report will tell you likewise, of anchors which have been digged up about the utmost verge of that marsh, which is contiguous to the Thames: and certainly, if we consider the position of this valley, which is nothing but a chain of marshland, interlaced with a stream called Ebbs-fleet, which swells and sinks with the flux and reflux of the adjacent river, and the dimensions of their ships, then at that time in use, which were not of any extraordinary bulk, this tradition is not improbable." *Ibid. p.* 307.

The Manor of Swanscombe, which had anciently belonged to William de Valence and his heirs, was afterwards the property of the Mortimers, Earls of March, whose descendants ascending the throne in the person of Edward the Fourth, it became vested in the Crown. Queen Elizabeth granted it, in her second year, to Anthony Weldon, Esq. who was afterwards Clerk of the Green Cloth to that Princess; and whose grandson, also named Anthony, was knighted by James the First, and obtained from that Sovereign a grant of Rochester Castle, with all its services: his descendants sold them about the year 1731, and by a subsequent sale, about ten or twelve years afterwards, they became vested in the Child family. This Manor is held of Rochester Castle, and the owner was anciently considered as one of the principal captains of that fortress. In the *Church*, which is dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, many of the Weldons lie buried; one of whom, SIR RALPH WELDON, "was Chief Clerk of the Kitchen to Queen Elizabeth, afterwards Clerk Comptroller to King James, and died Clerk of the Green Cloth," in November, 1609, aged sixty-four. His effigies, and that of his Lady, *Elizabeth*, daughter of Levin Buffkin, Esq. lie upon the tomb; and at their feet, a son and a daughter: three other sons and five daughters are represented kneeling, in front of the tomb.

STONE CASTLE was the name given to a castellated dwelling in the Parish of Stone, which, in the reign of Edward the Third, belonged to Sir John de Northwood; and was afterwards possessed by a family named Bonevant, or Bontfant. Dr. Thomas Plume, Archdeacon of Rochester, who had purchased this estate in the seventeenth century, bequeathed it on his death, in 1704, to trustees, for the purpose of augmenting the revenue of such benefices within the Diocese of Rochester, as did not amount to 60l. *per annum*, and for other uses. A small square tower, at the east end of the mansion, is the only part that has any appearance of a fortress.

STONE, a small village about two miles north-west from Dartford, was given to the Church and See of Rochester, by King Ethelred, in the year 995; and the Bishops had afterwards a house

here, in which they occasionally resided, particularly on their journies to and from London: the Manor still continues to belong to them. The *Church* is a spacious and lofty edifice, dedicated to St. Mary, and standing on a commanding eminence. It is built in the pointed style; and consists of a nave, chancel, and aisles, with a small chapel, adjoining to the chancel on the north, and a square massive tower, embattled, at the west end. The interior has a light and elegant appearance: the nave is separated from the aisles by pointed arches, rising from slender columns, and from the chancel by a similar arch, enriched with ornaments, as are the adjoining arches of the nave, and the windows opposite. The east window is large and handsome, and round the chancel goes a low range of trefoil-headed arches, in relief, springing from small pillars of grey marble. The north door opens under an elegant recessed pointed arch, having various rich mouldings, sculptured into quatrefoils, roses, &c. but somewhat defaced through long exposure. The tower was formerly crowned by a high octangular spire, which being greatly damaged by lightning, was taken down in the year 1638. This tower exhibits a very curious, and, to the lovers of our ancient architecture, very interesting specimen of the skill and science of those who were employed to erect Churches in the times commonly denominated Gothic. Standing *within* the area of the Church, its west side, besides being solid from the foundation, receives the support of two graduated buttresses, of considerable strength and projection; whilst its south, east, and north sides rest entirely upon arches, by which the space beneath is thrown open to the aisles and nave, and corresponds with the general lightness of the fabric. The comparative weakness resulting from this mode of construction, would have endangered the tower and its spire, had not the ingenuity of the architect devised two light and elegant flying buttresses, which shoot directly across the north and south aisles, and are constructed with so much truth, as to form one arch with that on which the east side of the tower rests, the base of which is the solid ground. The east side is abutted at the angles by the two tiers of arches, that divide the nave from its aisles; and thus, after a lapse of several centuries, this tower

remains as firm, and as upright, as at its first erection. In the pavement of the chancel is a slab, about six feet in length, inlaid with a very curious *Brass** of a priest in his proper vestments, standing in the centre of a cross, composed of eight trefoil arches: on the stem, which, as well as the cross, is adorned with vine leaves, and rises from four steps, is this inscription:

✝ Hic iacet dns Johes Lumbarde quondam Rector Eccliē de Stone. Qui obijt. xij°. die mensis marcij Anno die Dñi°.cccc°.viij°.

Over the head of the priest is a scroll, pointing from his breast, with these words: miserer' mei deus secm magnam unam tuam; and round the face of the arches, is inscribed that well-known text from Job, c. XIX. v. xxv. so common in sepulchral memorials of this age: 'credo qd redemptor meus vivit et in novissimo die de tra surrecturus sum Et in carne mea videbo deum Salutatorem meum.'

The Chapel which adjoins the chancel was built by SIR JOHN WILLSHYRE, Knt. who was owner of Stone Castle; and Comptroller of the Town and Marches of Calais in the twenty-first of Henry the Seventh. He died in December, 1526, and lies buried here, with Dame *Margaret*, his wife, under a rich altar tomb, behind which is an arched recess, adorned with niches, trefoils, quatrefoils, &c. with a cornice of grapes and vine-leaves, and the arms of Sir John, and his Lady. Various other memorials are in this Church, for the Lords of Stone Castle, and other respectable families.

Several strata of *Marine Shells*, both bivalve and turbinated, have been found in this part of Kent, in the Parishes of Stone, Southfleet, Dartford, and Bexley.† Near the south-east boundary of this Parish, on the road leading from Greenstreet Green towards Betsum, is a stratum of the former kind, about a foot in depth, at a place called SHELL-BANK from this circumstance: they

* This Brass is engraved in Gough's Sepulchral Monuments, Vol. II. and also in the *Custumale Roffense*.

† See *Custumale Roffense*, 234,-5.

they resemble the *Tellina Rugosa* of Pennant;* and are of a pure white, lying closely together.

At GREENHITHE, a hamlet in Swanscombe Parish, on the banks of the Thames, is a Ferry into Essex, for horses and cattle, which formerly belonged to the Nuns of Dartford, but is now an appurtenance to Swanscombe Manor. At a short distance westward from this spot, first appears the range of *Chalk Hills*, which, with little intermission, continues to form the boundary of the Marshes all the way to Cliff and Cowling. The *Chalk Pits* behind Greenhithe, and at Northfleet, are immense; the cliffs where the chalk has been dug, presenting, in many places, a precipitous face, from 100 to 150 feet in perpendicular height. The chalk forms a very considerable branch of commerce; and along the shore are several wharfs, for the conveniency of shipping it off, both in its natural state, and when burnt into lime, for which purpose here are several large kilns. The flints also, which pervade the chalk in thin strata, are collected for sale; and vast quantities are exported to China, as supposed, for the use of the potteries. Even our own potteries in Staffordshire, consume several thousand tons annually, the flints forming a material ingredient in the composition of the *Staffordshire Ware*. In some parts, the chalk works are many feet below the level of the Thames; and being interspersed with houses, lime-kilns, &c. present a very singular aspect.†

INGRESS, formerly called *Ince-grice*, the beautiful seat of Henry Roebuck, Esq. occupies an elevated situation rising from the

* British Zoology, Vol. IV. p. 88. Plate 57, f. 34.

† "Multitudes of diluvian remains are found embedded in the strata of chalk, all of them animal: of parts belonging to fishes, teeth of different species of sharks have been met with; and the boney palates of others, resembling the *strigillaria* of Llwyd, are not uncommon. Infinite numbers of the various species of *echini*, and of several most elegant forms, together with the most curious varieties of the spines, are collected here, for the cabinets of the curious. They are called, by the chalk-men, *sea-eggs*, and being filled with the finest chalks, are often carried by sailors, in their voyages, as a remedy for the fluxes they are

INGRESS PARK,
Kent.
The Seat of Wm Hamlock Esqr

the Thames, and commanding a beautiful view of that river, and of the opposite parts of Essex. This estate belonged to the Nuns of Dartford, but becoming vested in the Crown, at the Dissolution, was granted out by Elizabeth, in her fifth year, and having passed through various families by purchase and otherwise, became, in the year 1737, the property of John Carmichael, Earl of Hyndford, afterwards Envoy Extraordinary to the Courts of Russia and Prussia. He conveyed it, in the year 1748, to William, Viscount Duncannon, who, on the death of his father, in 1758, became Earl of Besborough, and married Caroline, eldest daughter of William, Duke of Devonshire. This Nobleman greatly improved the Mansion and surrounding grounds; but after the death of his Lady, and several of his children here, he sold the estate to John Calcraft, Esq. an Army Agent, who enlarged the grounds by new purchases, and materially added to the plantations which the Earl of Besborough had begun, and which are now extremely luxuriant. In an elegant summer-house, built in a hollow of the chalk cliffs, he also arranged a valuable collection of Roman Altars, brought from Italy; with statues, and other specimens of Roman sculpture, which were placed in different parts of the garden. He died in 1772, when Member of Parliament for Rochester, and was succeeded in the possession of this estate by his eldest son, John Calcraft, Esq. who sold Ingress, in the year 1788, to John Binney Roebuck, Esq. father of the present owner. The grounds are extremely beautiful, both in respect to home scenery, and to the prospects which they command: the views from the House are particularly fine.

NORTHFLEET

attacked with in the torrid zone: a very beautiful species of *anomia*, the *terebratula*, is very frequent. Few or none of these fossils are to be found in our seas, in a recent state; they must be sought in the most remote waters: the *echini* in the Red Sea, or in the seas of the more distant India. The forms, and the very substance of the shells, are preserved through the multitudes of ages in which they have been deposited; the colour alone is discharged: some have been entirely pervaded with flint, which, subtilly entering every minute pore, assumes, with the utmost fidelity, the exact figure of the recent shell."

Pennant's Journey from London to the Isle of Wight, Vol. I. p. 54, 5.

NORTHFLEET was very anciently possessed by the See of Canterbury, but was alienated by Archbishop Cranmer, in exchange for other lands, with Henry the Eighth: it has since had some intermediate possessors, but was finally granted, by the Crown, to the late Earl of Besborough, about the year 1758, at the annual rent of six shillings and eight-pence. This Nobleman sold it, with Ingress, to John Calcraft, Esq. whose son was the late possessor.

The north-west part of this Parish is a low marsh, formerly covered by the Thames, and now crossed by a high causeway, and bridge, with flood-gates, to prevent the tides flowing beyond it, and at the same time to give issue to the freshes. The village is irregularly built round Northfleet Green, and at the sides of the high road, which passes close by a large building erected as an Inn, but from the scheme not answering, since let out in tenements. The contiguous *Chalk Works* employ a great number of hands, and extend from the northern side of the village to the Thames; their average width being nearly two furlongs.

The *Church*, which is one of the largest in the diocese, and a peculiar of the Archbishop of Canterbury's, is dedicated to St. Botolph, and consists of a nave, aisles, and chancel, with a low tower, erected within the site of the foundation walls of the preceding one, at the beginning of the last century, and by no means correspondent with the rest of the building. The nave is separated from the aisles by octagonal massive columns, which spread off into pointed arches, without the intervention of capitals: in the chancel, which is very spacious, are remains of some ancient oak *Stalls;* and in the south wall, of the south aisle, are three *Stone Seats*. On a slab in the pavement of the chancel, is a full-length *Brass* figure of a Priest standing beneath a rich ornamental canopy; and round the verge of the slab, this imperfect inscription: On

— — — — ns Petrus de Lucy quonda Rector istius ecclie et prebendarius p'bende de Swerdes in ecclia Cathedrali Dublin qui obiit decimo octavo die mensis Octobr. dni millimo CCC Septuagesimo quinto cujus — — — —.*

* The grave beneath this stone was opened about thirty years ago, and the body of Peter de Lucy was found wrapped in *leather*, a mode of interment not unusual in early times.

On the south side of the chancel is a *Piscina* under a neatly-ornamented pointed arch; and on a carved wooden *Screen*, of the time of Queen Mary, which separates the chancel from the nave, is a range of heads, of the Saviour and twelve Apostles, now mostly defaced. Another *Piscina*, with plainer ornaments, is in the north chantry: and on a grey marble slab, raised a few inches above the pavement, are small whole-length *Brasses* of a Knight and his Lady, with two escutcheons above, one of which displays the arms of *Rykeld*, or *Rickhill*, a family long seated at Eslingham, in Frindsbury Parish, viz. Gules, two bars, argent, between three annulets, Or. The Knight is in close armour, standing on a lion, with a long sword at his left side, and a dagger at his right: his Lady is in a long cloak, the folds elegantly disposed, with a necklace and rose, and a small dog, collared, at her feet. The inscription is imperfect, which renders it difficult to ascertain the persons these figures were intended to represent; but from the costume, and other circumstances, Mr. Thorpe has assigned them to Sir WILLIAM RYKELD, Knt. and his Lady; the former of whom was a Justice of the King's Bench in the time of Richard the Second, and died about 1400.*

GRAVESEND,

WRITTEN *Graves-ham* in the Domesday Book, and *Gravesende* in the Textus Roffensis, is thought, by Lambard, to have derived its name from the Saxon word *Gerefa*, a Ruler, or Port-Reve, and to signify the end or limit of his jurisdiction;† yet, supposing the name to be correctly spelt in the Domesday Book, it will then signify, the *Ham*, or *Dwelling* of the Greve, or Reve; an etymology that seems the more probable of the two. A third, however, has been proposed, from the Saxon *Græf*, implying a coppice, or small wood, which, compounded with *ænde*, would form *Græf's-ænde*, and thus signify the place at the Wood-end.

This

* These figures are engraved in the *Custumale Roffense;* as is that also of Peter de Lucy; and the bust of another Priest, named *William Lye*, which is likewise preserved in this Church.

† Peramb. of Kent, p. 349.

This town consists of several narrow streets, built on a declivity leading to the Thames; and is partly situated in the Parish of Milton, which adjoins to that of Gravesend on the east side. At the period of the Domesday Survey, the Manor belonged to Odo, Bishop of Baieux; but after his disgrace, it became the property of the *Cramavilles*, or *Cremilles*, who had many other manors in Kent, and whose family continued in possession till the reign of Edward the Second, about which time it escheated to the Crown. Edward the Third granted it, in his fourth year, in special tail, to Robert de Ufford, for his better support in the wars in Gascoigne. This eminent statesman and warrior, was created Earl of Suffolk in the eleventh of the same reign, and was one of the first Knights of the Garter in succession to those who had been admitted on its original foundation. His grandson reconveyed it to the King, who, in his fifteenth year, granted it, with other manors, for the endowment of his newly-founded Abbey of St. Mary of Graces, on Tower Hill; and the grant was confirmed by Richard the Second. After the Dissolution, the Manor of Gravesend was granted successively to different persons for life; till at length, in the twenty-third of Elizabeth, it was sold, under the Queen's license, by Robert, Earl of Leicester, to Thomas Gawdye, and James Morice, and their heirs. Two years afterwards, Sir Thomas Gawdye alienated it to William, Lord Cobham, on the attainder of whose son and successor, Henry, in the first of James the First, it fell to the Crown; and in the tenth of that reign, was granted to Lodowick Stuart, afterwards Duke of Richmond; whose collateral descendant, the Earl of Darnley, of Cobham, in this county, is now owner.*

The

* "The Lords of the Manor of Gravesend have a right to hold a court for the regulation of the boats and water-carriage between Gravesend and London. This Court is called, in an old roll, dated in the thirty-third year of Elizabeth, now in the possession of the Earl of Darnley, *Curia Cursus Aquæ:* in that year it appears to have been held by William Lambarde, Steward to William, Lord Cobham. This Court has not been held for a great number of years; notwithstanding which, in the several Acts for regulating the navigation of the river Thames, there is in general a reservation of the rights of the heirs of the Duke of Richmond and Lenox, which clause was added in respect to this water-court at Gravesend." *Hasted's Kent, Vol. I.*

The 'Parishes of Gravesend and Milton,' were incorporated by Letters Patent of Queen Elizabeth, dated at East Greenwich, in her tenth year; but the principal charter was granted by Charles the First, in the year 1632.* The chief officer had before been called the *Portreve*,† but by this charter he was ordered to be called *Mayor*, and in him, twelve Jurats, twenty-four Common Councilmen, a Seneschal, or High Steward, and other inferior officers, the government of the town is now vested. The liberty of holding two additional markets weekly, and a four days annual fair, was also granted at the same time, together with a full confirmation of the exclusive privilege, enjoyed by the inhabitants, of conveying passengers and goods by water to the Metropolis.

This sole right to the *Ferry* between Gravesend and London, seems to have been acquired from prescription: even as early as the year 1293, as appears from a record printed in the *Registrum Roffense*, the watermen had long possessed it, and were then ordered to take in future 'but one *Halfpenny* of a person passing, as they did formerly, and not to exact 'fares hurtful to, and against the will of, the people.'‡ Towards the latter end of the next century, Richard the Second granted to the Abbot and Convent

* A translation of this charter is printed at length, with the principal laws and regulations respecting the tilt-boats and watermen, &c. in Pocock's 'Hist. of the Incorporated Towns and Parishes in Gravesend and Milton.'

† The arms of the Portreve were very singular; they were emblazoned thus, 'Vert, a boat with one mast, Or. a sail furled, proper, rowed by five rowers, hooded and cloaked, with oars and anchor, sable, steered by a porcupine, azure, chained and quilled of the third.' The arms of the Corporation are a 'Boat, Or. with one mast, lying at anchor; on the hills beyond, a porcupine, sable.'

‡ This restraint to such a small sum as 'a *Halfpenny*,' seems oppressive on a first view; but when it is considered, that even after the year 1300, a quarter of wheat could be bought for 4s. a bull for 7s. 6d. a fat mutton for 1s. and an ewe sheep for 4d. the restriction will not appear unreasonable.

vent of St. Mary Graces, the then owners of the Manor, "that the inhabitants of Gravesend and Milton should have the sole privilege of conveying passengers from hence to London, on condition that they should provide boats for that purpose, and carry all passengers either at twopence per head, with their 'farthell, or trusse,' or let the hire of the whole boat at four shillings." These continued to be the prices charged till the year 1737, when the fare of a single person was raised to sixpence; and this again to ninepence about the year 1750, when the open *Tilt-boats*, which had been formerly used, were discarded for larger boats built with decks, but still retaining the former name. Since the year 1790, the boats have been made yet larger, and more commodious, and the sum now paid by each person, is one shilling. Five of the tilt-boats are licensed by the Mayor; these regularly sail to and from London, with every tide; when the wind is fair, they frequently complete their passage within four hours. Besides this, which is called the Long Ferry, there is a second Ferry, to Tilbury, in Essex, which lies immediately opposite to Gravesend.*

The Corporation of London claims the right of Conservancy on the rivers Thames and Medway, within certain limits; and two Courts of Conservancy for Kent are generally held every year at Gravesend, which is commonly supposed to be the extremity of the Port of London. Its immediate jurisdiction, however, extends

* To remove the inconveniencies that attend this Ferry, at which all horses, carriages, cattle, troops, &c. are obliged to pass from this part of the country into Essex, an ingenious plan was proposed, in the year 1798, by an engineer, named Dodd, to form a circular passage, or *Tunnel*, under the bed of the Thames, between Gravesend and Tilbury, sufficiently capacious for all the purposes of land-commerce, and to be illuminated by lamps, so that an uninterrupted communication might be preserved. This scheme being warmly patronised by the gentlemen of the two counties, a subscription was opened to defray the expense of carrying it into effect, and the work was commenced on the Gravesend side, under a strong impression that it would be successfully completed. The water, however, soon began to impede the progress of the workmen, and increasing in quantity with every yard excavated, occasioned the whole concern to be relinquished.

tends to about one mile below the town, to the extremity of the Parish of Milton; and beyond that, coals pay no duty to the city. All outward-bound ships are obliged to anchor in the reach before Gravesend, till they have been visited by the searchers belonging to the Office of the Customs, which has been established here.

The growing prosperity of this town was considerably checked in the reign of Richard the Second, when the French sailed up the Thames in gallies, and having plundered and burnt many of the houses, carried away a number of the inhabitants prisoners. It was the loss thus occasioned, that induced the King to give the towns-people a *legal* claim to the water-passage to London, by his grant to the Abbey of St. Mary of Graces. In August, 1727, the greater part of the town was again burnt down by an accidental fire, which commenced in a barn-yard adjoining to the Church, and consumed that fabric, with about 120 houses, besides out-buildings, stables, &c. but was at length stopped by blowing up some inns by gunpowder.

The present *Church*, which is dedicated to St. George, was erected on the old site, between the years 1731 and 1733, under an Act of the fourth of George the Second, which granted 5000l. for the purpose, from the duties on coals and culm, levied under the Acts of the ninth and tenth of Queen Anne, for building fifty new Churches in and near London. It is a plain brick edifice, with stone quoins, cornices, &c. and has the following inscription, on a fascia, going round the tower: HANC ÆDEM INCENDIO LUGUBRI DELETAM GEORGIUS II. REX MUNIFICENTISSIMUS SENATUS CONSULTO INSTAURANDAM DECREVIT. The interior consists of a spacious nave, and chancel, with a large gallery on the north side, and an organ-loft, furnished with a good organ, at the west end. It does not contain any monuments, no person having been suffered to be interred here since its erection. The original Church belonging to Gravesend, was dedicated to St. Mary, and stood above the town, on the north side of the Dover road, in a place still called Church Field; but this having been found inconvenient on the increase of the population, the inhabitants erected a Chapel where the new Church now stands, about the

year 1497, under a license from the official of the Bishop of Rochester; and this, on the decay of the old Church, was made parochial.

Henry the Eighth erected a strong Battery, or Platform, at Gravesend, to repel any desultory attack from the French, at the same time that he erected a Block-house at Tilbury for a similar end: the latter is now improved into a commanding and important fortress; but the Battery at Gravesend has been suffered to run into complete ruin, and even its exact situation is not with certainty known. A small Embrazure, mounting a few guns, seems, however, to have been kept up for the defence of Gravesend, till about the year 1778, when a new Battery, of sixteen guns, was raised on the east side of the town, near the New Tavern, which had been formed from the buildings of an ancient Chantry, belonging to the Parish of Milton, and which was then converted into apartments for the Ordnance and Artillery Officers. Since that time, another Battery, of sixteen guns, has been raised in a situation somewhat nearer to the town.

The Cod and Haddock fishery furnishes employment to about eighteen or twenty smacks belonging to Gravesend; and most of the Dutch turbot vessels lie off this town, and send their cargoes to the London market in small boats, &c. A Whale, measuring forty feet in length, was caught in the Thames, a short distance below Gravesend, in August, 1718; and in October, 1552, three great fish, called Whirle-pooles, were taken here, and drawn up to Westminster Bridge.*

Gravesend has been greatly improved since the year 1764, when a new *Town-Hall* was erected by the Corporation, having an open space beneath, where the poultry market is kept, supported in front by six columns, and at the back by three arches. In 1767, a new wharf, crane, and causeway, were made, the expense of keeping which in repair is reimbursed by small tolls for cranage and wharfage. In 1773, an Act passed for paving, cleansing, and lighting, the principal streets, &c. Under the respective

* Hasted's Kent, Vol. I. p. 450. Fo.

spective clauses of this Act, very material improvements have been effected; and a new road from Northfleet has been recently made, by which the high road to Rochester has been shortened considerably.

The increase of the trade, population, and buildings of Gravesend, has been particularly rapid since the middle of the last century. Under the late Act, the number of inhabitants was returned at 2483, and that of houses, at 412; yet these numbers are very incorrect, and the population can scarcely amount to less than 4000; nor the number of houses be fewer than 700. Most of the inhabitants are, in some way or other, engaged in maritime pursuits or employments. A small manufactory for cables and ropes is carried on here; and about thirty years ago, a *Yard* for shipbuilding, which had long been disused, at the north-western extremity of the Parish, was hired by a Quaker, named Cleverly, and several men of war and frigates, besides smaller vessels, have been since built here; among the former, were L'Achille, of eighty guns, the Colossus, of seventy-four, and the Director, of sixty-four.

Most of the East and West India trade, and, indeed, of the outward-bound ships in general, are supplied with live and dead stock at Gravesend; and also with vegetables; about eighty acres of ground in the two Parishes being cultivated for that purpose, and for supplying the London markets with asparagus, which is in particular request for its size, and fine flavour. The numbers of shipping that usually lie at anchor in the channel near the town, occasion a continued influx of seamen, and strangers; the inns and public-houses are, of course, numerous. In the summer season, additional visitors are attracted by a new *Bathing House*, erected by a subscription among some of the principal inhabitants, in the year 1796, for the purpose of salt-water bathing: the terms for the season, are one guinea; for the month, ten shillings. The fossils found in the neighbouring chalk-pits, are similar to those of Greenhithe. This Parish includes about 420 acres, varying in value, from twenty-five shillings to three pounds per acre.

Gravesend gave name to an ancient family, of whom Sir *Stephen de Gravesende* occurs in the list of Knights that accompanied

Edward the First to Scotland in his twenty-eighth year. *Richard de Gravesend*, another of this family, was made Bishop of London in 1280; as was his nephew, *Stephen de Gravesend*, in 1318. His heir, *Sir Thomas de Gravesend*, was a Knight in the reign of Edward the Third. The celebrated French mathematician, *Grandsand*, has been thought to be descended from this family.

The singular sculptures on the *Porch* at the west end of CHALK *Church*, have furnished a theme for an ingenious Essay by the late Rev. Samuel Denne, who, in his attempt to illustrate the subjects, has given an account of the various *Ales* that, in former ages, were usually kept, or celebrated, in Churches, or Church-yards. The porch appears of a date subsequent to the rest of the building, and immediately over the entrance arch, has a grotesque human figure, in a short jacket, holding a stoup, or flaggon, squatted beneath the base of a neat recess, or niche, above which, on the cornice below the gable, is an antick, or scaramouch, grinning from between his own legs; and on each side of him is a human head: on the faces of the latter, it has been observed, "as well as on the visage of the jovial tippler, the sculptor seems to have bestowed such an indelible smirk, that, however they have suffered by the corrosions of time and weather, nearly to the loss of features, it is yet visible."* The niche between these figures is thought to have contained an image of the Virgin Mary, to whom the Church is dedicated. Mr. Denne imagined them to have some connection with a *Give-ale* bequeathed by William May, of this Parish, by his Will, bearing date in May, 1512, in which he directed, "that his wife make every year for his soull, an *obit*, and to make in bread six bushells of wheat, and in drink ten bushells of mault, and in cheese twenty-pence, to give to poor people for the health of his soull: and he ordered that, after the decease of his wife, his executors and feoffees should continue the obit before rehearsed for evermore."† The inside of the Church presents little remarkable, excepting a *Stone Seat* and *Piscina* in the south wall of the chancel.

* Archæologia, Vol. XII. p. 11. † *Ibid.*

cel, and two ancient recesses for tombs, having Gothic arches, in the wall of the north chantry.*

SHORNE appears to have been ancient demesne of the Saxon Kings; but in the time of Henry the Third, was in private hands, and passed, by deed of gift, from John de Nevile, to Roger de Northwood, who died possessed of the Manor in the thirteenth of Edward the First. His son, Sir John de Northwood, had right of free-warren here, and changed the tenure of his lands from gavelkind to Knight's service. He attended the King in his successful expedition into Scotland, and was several times Sheriff of Kent, and had also summons to Parliament. His grandson, Roger de Northwood, had also summons to Parliament in the thirty-fourth of Edward the Third; and on his death, in the following year, was found to have held this Manor *in capite*, by the service of carrying a *White Standard* in the King's wars, towards Scotland, at his own expense, for forty days. From this family it passed, by sale, to Sir Arnold Savage, of Bobbing, who was Speaker of the House of Commons in the fifth of Henry the Fourth, and whose daughter, Eleanor, married first to Sir Reginald Cobham, and secondly, to William Clifford, Esq. became his heiress, and conveyed it to the Cliffords; by one of whom it was sold to Sir George Nevill, Lord Abergavenny: this Nobleman alienated it to George Brooke, Lord Cobham, whose grandson, Henry, forfeited it to the Crown; it has since passed through several families, by descent and purchase.† RANDALL, or ROUNDALL, a subordinate Manor in this Parish, and now the property of the Earl of Darnley, was an ancient estate of the *Cobhams;* and is said, by Philipott, to have been their '*seat,*'

 before,

* In the Archæologia, Vol. XI. is a very curious Essay on Episcopal Chairs, Stone Seats, Piscinas, and other appendages to altars in Churches, by Mr. Charles Clarke, F.S.A. late of Gravesend; in which is introduced a very particular description of Chalk Church, together with a plate of the Seat and Piscina mentioned above, and ingenious accounts of various others in this county.

† Hasted's Kent, Vol. III. p. 445,-6, 8vo. Edit.

before, " upon its decay, they were transplanted to Cobham Hall."*

In Shorne *Church*, which is dedicated to St. Peter,† was buried SIR HENRY DE COBHAM, who was Sheriff of Kent in the twenty-ninth and thirtieth of Edward the First, and also in the first and ninth of Edward the Second. His tomb, now 'foully defaced' and mutilated, is in the south or Roundall Chapel, and had formerly an inscription round the margin of the upper stone, in Saxon characters, which is thus given in the *Registrum Roffense:* 'ICY GIST SIR HENRI DE COBEHAM CHEVALER SEIGNOUR DE RONDALE . DIEU DE SA ALME — — — RCI.' His effigies is represented in plate armour, with a shirt of mail, and lying cross-legged: his head rests on an helmet; at his feet is a lion. He died about the tenth of Edward the Second, leaving issue, Stephen de Cobham, by his wife Joane, eldest daughter and co-heiress of the celebrated Sir Stephen de Pencestre. On a slab in the pavement, near this tomb, is a *Brass* of a female in a dress of the time of Richard the Third; and on the same stone are indents for a Knight, a son, and two daughters, with shields for arms at the corners; but all these Brasses are gone, together with the inscription, which was most probably for some of the *Cobhams*. In the chancel are several monuments for the *Pages*, of this Parish, of whom SIR WILLIAM PAGE died in 1613; and on a slab in the pavement, beneath a *Brass* chalice, containing the Holy Wafer, is an inscription for *Thomas Elys*, a Vicar of this Church, who died in March, 1519: some other ancient *Brasses* are in the nave and north chantry. The *Font* is octangular, and very similar, both in its form and ornaments, to that at Southfleet:‡ the principal variation is in the compartment containing the angel with the balances, who has here a good, and an evil, spirit, in the opposing scales; while those at Southfleet are empty; the Bishop also, is here

* *Villare Cantianum*, p. 325. Edit. 1776.

† *Custumale Roffense*, p. 112. ‡ See under Southfleet, p. 563.

here exchanged for St. Peter, who sustains a Church in his right hand, and holds a key in his left.

In the marshes bordering on the Thames, in this Parish, was raised, in the year 1796, a small *Battery*, mounting four twenty-four pounders; another, of similar size and force, was built at the same period, at the Lower Hope Point, in the Parish of Cliff.

HIGHAM, called *Hecham* in the Domesday Book, had a Church at the time of making the Survey, and was then parcel of the estate of the Bishop of Baieux. Here King Stephen founded a Benedictine NUNNERY, about the year 1151, of which his daughter Mary, who was afterwards Abbess of Rumsey, became the first Prioress.* In the sixth of King John, the Nuns purchased the Manor of Lille-Church from the King, for 100l. and from Henry the Third they obtained a confirmation of their former liberties, and a grant of a three days' annual fair. Through these privileges, this establishment flourished, and was able to support from eight to sixteen Nuns; but, from causes now unknown, their number was reduced to three in the reign of Henry the Seventh. In the next reign the Nunnery, or *Abbey*, as it was then, and had long been called, was suppressed, with that of Bromhall, in Berkshire, in order to increase the revenues of St. John's College, at Cambridge, to which foundation this Manor, and its appurtenances, are yet attached. The site of the Nunnery is now a farm-house and offices, situated at a short distance eastward from the Church: some small remains of the conventual buildings appear in the present dwelling. Towards the latter part of their residence here, the Nuns had become dissolute; and in 1513, were accused before the celebrated Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, of scandalous and licentious conduct. The charges brought against them, they do not appear to have denied; but requested that their punishment might be commuted to imprisonment in their own abode; and, 'for certain just and lawful causes,' they intreated his Lordship 'to direct their *Nunnery to be surrounded with a stone wall.*' An ancient

 Causeway

* Willis's Mitred Abbies, Vol. II. Additions, p. 13.

Causeway leads across the Marshes in Higham Parish to the banks of the Thames, whence there was formerly a Ferry into Essex.

The *Church* is dedicated to St. Mary, and is divided into two parts by four large pointed arches, springing from small octagonal and half-round columns. In the south wall of the chancel is an ancient pointed arched recess, now occupied by a more modern tomb; and immediately over the communion table, is a tablet in memory of SIR FRANCIS HEAD, Bart. who resided at his estate called the HERMITAGE, in this Parish, where he rebuilt the Mansion, and much improved the grounds: he died in 1768. In the south wall of the north chantry is a *Piscina*, and *Almerie* above; and in the north-east corner is a large ancient tomb, of grey marble, without inscription or date: this was, perhaps, raised over the Prioress *Joane de Hadloe*, who was buried by Bishop Hamo de Hethe, in the year 1328. Above it, against the wall, is a *Brass* plate, inscribed thus:

All those that for my Soule doth pray,
To the Lorde that dyed on Good Friday,
Graunte theym & me by their pet'cion,
Of owre offences to have remission:
Ye may p'ceive how yn every Age,
Thys lyfe ys but A pylgremage
Toward' heyvn that ys Eternall;
Wherinn to God bringe us all amen.
Here lyeth Robert Hylton late Yoman of
Garde to the high and mighty Prince of most
famous memory Henry the viiij; which
departed owte of this p'sent lyfe the iij day
of December Anno Dñi M°.cccc°xxiii.

In the pavement are some ornamented *Tiles*, that have been arranged in figures, but are now placed confusedly. The *Font* is square, and is supported on a circular column in the centre, and on four others at the angles. The Church is built with courses of squared flints and stone, and has been recently repaired.*

CLIFF,

* Most of the Churches in this peninsula, which is bounded by the waters of the Thames and Medway, are constructed in a similar manner; and the prevailing character of the Fonts is also the same.

CLIFF, called *Clive*, and *Bishop's-Clive* in ancient writings, has been conjectured, by some antiquaries, to be the place named *Cloveshoe*, where several synods, or councils, were held in the Saxon times, in pursuance of a decree made in the synod assembled at *Herudford*, (Hertford,) in the year 673. Others, however, and with greater probability, have assigned Abingdon, in Berkshire, which was anciently called *Sheoveshum*, as the place appointed for the meetings of these councils; all of them of which any records remain, appearing to have been held more centrically within the Kingdom of Mercia, and this even before Kent was incorporated with it. Whatever may be the fact, Cliff was certainly of far more importance anciently, than it is now; and the Rector still exercises several branches of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, either by himself or surrogate, which mark an independent authority. Every year, says Hasted, 'he holds a court soon after Easter, for taking the oaths of the Church-Wardens on their entrance into office; and he grants licenses for marriages, probates of wills, and letters of administration.'* At the annual court also, held at Cliff, a Borsholder is elected for each of its six subordinate hamlets, called *Streets*, as West-Street, Rose-Street, Wood-Street, Reed-Street, &c.† The present Lord of the Manor is the Earl of Darnley.

The *Church* is dedicated to St. Helen, and stands on the brow of the chalk eminence which bounds the marshes. It is a large handsome fabric, built in the form of a cross, and embattled, having an embattled tower also at the west end. The windows have been richly ornamented with painted glass. In the east window

* Hist. of Kent, Vol. III. p. 514.

† An ancient *Seal* of the Ecclesiastical Court of Cliff, is said, by Dr. Rawlinson, in his English Topographer, to have been found on Blackheath, having an engraving of 'a man's hand issuing out of a gown sleeve, and holding a long staff, with the cross at the top of it,' and inscribed with the words S. Officielit Jurisdictionis de liba pch de Clyff that is, 'The Official Seal,' or 'Seal of the Officiality of the Free Parish of Clyff.'

This is traditionally recorded to have been fixed up by John de Cobham, the builder, who, in the fourth year of Richard the Second, had obtained the King's license to fortify his dwelling; and is supposed to have been apprehensive that the strength of his Castle might give umbrage to the court, and therefore took this method to escape censure. Here Sir John Oldcastle, who, in right of his wife, had summons to Parliament as Lord Cobham, sought refuge when accused of heresy before Archbishop Arundel, and refused to admit the Archbishop's messenger, who had been sent to serve on him a citation of appearance. Sir George Brooke, Lord Cobham, defended this Castle against the unfortunate Sir Thomas Wyatt, in the reign of Queen Mary; and though the entrance gate was forced by the ordnance, succeeded in keeping possession of the other works, till Sir Thomas drew off his forces, and marched to Gravesend.

Cowling *Church* is dedicated to St. James, and consists of a nave and chancel, with a tower at the west end, having a square turret at the south-east angle. A range of trefoil arches, in relief, ornaments the chancel; and in the south wall is a large and curious double *Piscina*, and *Credence*, having pointed arches above, separated by a small column, with a column also on each side.

The ISLE OF GRAINE is separated from the Hundred of Hoo, by a water called the *Scray*, which was anciently of sufficient width to admit the passage of small vessels from the Medway to the Thames, and *vice versa*. This channel was named the *Yenlet*, (Inlet,) or *Yenlade*, *in Hoo*; and has been said, though probably on insufficient authority, to have been the usual passage to the port of London, even so late as the time of Edward the Third.* Off the end of this Isle, is the *Nore light*, which is here stationed, to enable the mariner to avoid the long and narrow sand-banks, which lie in parallel ranges, in the estuary of the Thames. The extent of the Isle is about three miles and a half from north to south, and two miles and a half from east to west. The whole is very

* See Hasted's Kent, Vol. IV. p. 154: and Pennant's Isle of Wight, Vol. I. p. 62.

very low and flat; the greatest part consisting of marsh and pasture lands. It contains only one Parish, called ST. JAMES'S, from its *Church* being dedicated to that Saint. On the south-east side, adjacent to the Medway, is a range of *Salt-Pans;* and about midway up the channel, on the west side, is a second range. The inhabitants are but few; and most of the houses are irregularly scattered in the neighbourhood of the Church. The land is kept from being overwhelmed by the sea, by strong embankments of earth, called sea-walls. The Manor is appendant to that of Gillingham; and from that circumstance, is included in the hundred of Chatham.

HOO, ST. WERBURGH, was anciently possessed by Earl Godwin, but at the time of the Domesday Survey, it belonged to the Bishop of Baieux, and is described, in the Domesday Book, as having "four carucates in demesne, and 100 villeins wanting three; with sixty-one cottagers, having forty-three carucates. The whole Manor, in the time of Edward the Confessor, was worth sixty pounds; when the Bishop received it, the like, and now as much, and yet he who holds it, pays 100 and 13 pounds." From this description, it is evident that the Manor was then of much greater extent than at present; and as the same record also informs us, that in Hoo, '*are six Churches,*' it becomes of some importance to ascertain how they were situated; the result would probably tend to correct those erroneous opinions that are sometimes formed from the brief statements of the Domesday Book, of certain places being considerably more extensive in the Norman times, than at present. *Three* of the six Churches that are mentioned as in Hoo, were certainly those that now belong to the distinct Parishes of *High Halstow, St. Mary's,* and *All-hallows:** probably *St. James's,* in the Isle of Graine, was a fourth; *St. Werburgh* in Hoo, was the fifth; and that of *Merston,* formerly a distinct parish, but now incorporated with Shorne, might be the sixth and last.† These six Churches, therefore, were not situated immediately in Hoo, but in a circuit of many miles round; and over some of them, the

* See Hasted's Kent, Vol. IV. under those parishes; and *Reg. Roff.* p. 423—424.

the Manor of Hoo is still paramount.* The Earl of Jersey, who is Baron of Hoo, is also owner of the Manor.

Among the few monuments in St. Werburgh's *Church*, is a singular *Brass* of an aged woman, for *Dorothye Plumly*, who died in 1615; two *Brass* figures of Vicars, *Richard Bayly*, who died in 1402; and *John Brown*, to whose inscription there is no date, but who preceded the former in the vicarage; and the figure of a *Knight*, (son of John de Cobham, the third Baron Cobham,) in curious plate armour, and his Lady; with this inscription beneath:

> Hic jacent Thomas Cobham Armiger. Qui. obijt viij. die. mensis. Junij. anno dni Millmo cccc°lxv°. Et Matilda. Uxor. eius. Quorum. &c.

PETER GUNNING, the once celebrated Bishop of Ely, was a native of this Parish, of which his father had been appointed Vicar by the Dean and Chapter of Rochester. He was born on the eleventh of January, 1613, and seems to have been very early distinguished for his propensity to learning. The earlier part of his education he received at King's School, Canterbury, but afterwards removed to Cambridge, and thence to New College, Oxford, where his attachment to royalty was more encouraged and rewarded. The ensuing Civil War retarded his advancement; but on the Restoration, he was rapidly promoted, and at length made Bishop of Chichester in 1669: in 1674, he was translated to Ely, where he remained till his death, in 1684. His benevolence was very great; and he bequeathed nearly his whole property for charitable uses, particularly for augmenting the revenues of poor vicarages.

UPNOR CASTLE was erected by Queen Elizabeth, to defend the passage of the Medway, but is now made use of as a *Powder Magazine*,

* Even so late as the year 1337, Bishop Hamo de Hethe decreed, with the consent of all parties, among other things, "that all personal tithes, and oblations made at the exequies of the dead, in the Parish Churches of St. Mary's, and Halstow, and other *Parish Churches* in Hoo, the bodies of whom ought to be buried in the cemetary of the Church of St. Werberge, &c. should belong to the Vicar, (of Hoo,) and his successors in the Vicarage." *Hasted, from Reg. Roff.*

Magazine, for the security of which, there is an establishment, of a Governor, Store-keeper, Clerk of the Cheque, Master Gunner, &c. with an Officer's guard of soldiers: the latter are lodged in barracks behind the Castle; and at a little distance, is a good house, with gardens, for the Store-keeper. The *Castle* is environed by a moat, and consists of a centre building, of an oblong form, connected with a round tower at each end. The only period in which this fortress proved of any utility, was in the reign of Charles the Second, in June, 1667, when the Dutch, under the famous Admiral de Ruyter, suddenly appeared at the mouth of the Thames, during a protracted negociation, and detached his Vice-Admiral, Van Ghent, with seventeen of his lighter vessels, and eight fire-ships, with orders to sail up the Medway, and destroy the shipping. Van Ghent took the fort of Sheerness with little difficulty, and after destroying the stores, made dispositions to proceed up the river. In the mean time, the gallant Monk, Duke of Albemarle, made every effort that the surprise would admit, to render his attempt abortive: he sunk several ships in the channel of the river, and drew a chain across, behind which he placed the Unity, the Matthias, and Charles the Fifth; three large men of war, that had before been taken from the Dutch, who were now advancing very fast, and having the advantage of wind and tide, passed through the sunken ships, and broke the chain. The three ships that guarded it, were instantly in one tremendous blaze; and Van Ghent continued to advance, till, with six men of war, and five fire-ships, he came opposite to Upnor Castle; but he here met with so warm a fire from Major Scott, Commandant in the Castle, and Sir Edward Spragge, who directed the batteries on the opposite shore, that he thought it best to draw off, his ships having sustained considerable damage. On their return, however, they burnt the Royal Oak, the Great James, and the Loyal London. The former was commanded by the brave Captain Douglas, who, in the confusion of the day, had received no directions to retire, and who perished with his ship! '*It never shall be said,*' were his last words, '*that a Douglas quitted his post without orders.*'

FRINDSBURY, anciently called *Æslingham*, which is now a distinct Manor in Frindsbury Parish, was given to the See of Rochester, in the eighth century, by Offa, King of Mercia, and Sigered, who styles himself, in the grant, 'King of the half part of the Province of the Kentishmen.' The Manor was afterwards dissevered from that See, in the Danish wars, but was restored to Bishop Gundulph, about the year 1076, by Archbishop Lanfranc, who had obtained restitution of this, and other estates, in a Solemn Assembly held on Pinenden Heath. Gundulph settled Frindsbury on the Monks of St. Andrew, in Rochester, who retained it till after the Dissolution, when Henry the Eighth granted it to the newly-founded Dean and Chapter.*

The *Church* is dedicated to All Saints, and stands on a commanding eminence rising from the Medway, over which river, the view from the Church-yard is extremely fine: it includes the Cathedral, Castle, and Bridge of Rochester, together with Chatham, and all the adjacent country. The Church consists of a nave, chancel, and south aisle, with a substantial tower at the west end, from which rises an octangular spire. The chancel is the most ancient, and may probably be of the building of Paulinus, Sacrist of Rochester, who is stated, in the *Registrum Roffense*, to have erected a Church here, of stone, between the years 1125 and 1137. It has, however, experienced several alterations; and the east window, which is divided by mullions, and has a quatrefoil light, with crockets above, is, perhaps, as well as those in the side walls, of the time of Bishop Young, who held this See from 1404 to 1418; and is recorded to have 'caused several windows to be made' in this fabric. The monuments are not particularly remarkable.

The high road to Rochester and Canterbury crosses GAD'S HILL, which begins near the twenty-sixth mile stone from London, and has been rendered memorable by the immortal Shakespeare, who has made it the scene of the cowardly exploits of *Sir John Falstaff*, where the "three misbegotten knaves in Kendal green—for it was so dark, Hal, that thou couldst not see thy hand,"

* In Thorpe's Antiquities in Kent, Part II. p. 44—58, are some curious particulars of the History and Customs of this Manor.

hand,"—and the "eleven in buckram suits," proved too powerful for the skill of 'poor old Jack.' The sign of Sir John Falstaff on this Hill, has long been the means of recalling the remembrance of the jocular Knight to the mind of the traveller.

COBHAM HALL, the ancient seat of the once illustrious, and far-spreading family of Cobham, is now, with its surrounding estates, the property of John, fourth Earl, and Viscount Darnley. During almost four centuries, from the reign of King John to that of James the First, *Cobham* was the head of the Barony of this noble race, which for a long period maintained pre-eminency in this county, and with whom, perhaps, the ancient nobility of Kent may be said to have expired. Henry de Cobham, who was one of the *Recognitores Magnæ Assizæ*, or Justices of the Great Assize, in the first of King John, obtained a grant of the Manors of Cobham and Shorne from William, a Norman soldier, surnamed *Quatre-mere*, or Knight of the Four Seas, from certain services which he had rendered to Henry the Second. He left three sons; John, who succeeded him; Reginald, or Reinold, who was a Justice Itinerant, and Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, in the time of Henry the Third; and William, who was also a Justice Itinerant in the same reign. The former was twice married, and had three sons: John; Henry, *Le Uncle*, as he was afterwards called, the possessor of Roundall, in Shorne; and Reginald, ancestor to the Cobhams, of Star-borough Castle, in Surrey. John, the eldest, was Constable of Rochester Castle, and became very eminent for his knowledge of the laws: he was several times a Justice Itinerant, in the reigns of Henry the Third, and Edward the First; and passed through various subordinate situations with great honor, till he at length was constituted a Baron of the Exchequer in 1284. On his death, in 1300, he was succeeded by his eldest son, Henry de Cobham, who, with three others of his family, was knighted in Scotland, for the eminent services they had rendered the King, at the siege of Carlaverock.* He was the first Lieutenant (so called)

* The 'flower of the Kentish gentry' accompanied Edward the First in this expedition: their names are recorded by Philipott; *Vill. Cant.* p. 122. Edit. 1776.

of Dover Castle, and Warden of the Cinque Ports; he was also promoted to many other distinguished offices of trust, and had summons to Parliament as a Baron, in the sixth of Edward the Second. John de Cobham, his son and heir, the second Baron, who, in the ninth of Edward the Third, had been made Admiral of the King's fleet, from the entrance of the Thames westward, was included in the Commission of the eleventh of the same King, with Bishop Hamo de Hethe, and Thomas de Alston, for demanding aid from the inhabitants of Kent, in support of 'the King's journey to war with France.' Under this Commission, they were authorized to call before them, in the 'Church of Rochester,' the clergy and people of this county, of whom, after some contention, they succeeded in obtaining 'a fifteenth.'* In the seventeenth of Edward the Third, he obtained license of free warren in his Lordship of Cobham, and all other Manors belonging to him in Kent; and in the twenty-fifth, had summons to Parliament: he afterwards served in the wars in France, and was made a Knight Banneret. John de Cobham, his son and successor, the third and last Baron Cobham of his family, commonly called the *Founder*, from his having founded and endowed a College and Chantry at Cobham, served also in the wars in France, both in the reigns of Edward the Third, and Richard the Second, by the latter of whom he was made a Knight Banneret. In the tenth of Richard, he was one of the fourteen Lords constituted Governors of the Realm, and empowered to inquire into the misconduct of the preceding administration; through which, on the Sovereign regaining his ascendancy, he was impeached of treason, and condemned to death; but his sentence was converted into banishment to the Isle of Jersey, by especial favor of the King. He was recalled on the accession of Henry the Fourth, and died in the ninth of the same reign, leaving by Joan, his daughter, who died before him, and her husband, Sir John de la Poole, Knt. a grand-daughter and heiress, also named Joan. This lady was married in succession, to Sir

* *Genealogy of the Cobhams*, in Pocock's Hist. of Gravesend, p. 40. This genealogy was drawn up by Mr. Charles Clarke, F. A. S.

Sir Robert Hermendale, Knt. Sir Reginald Braybrooke, Knt. Sir Nicholas Hawberk, Knt. (all of whom died during the life of her grandfather,) Sir John Oldcastle, Knt. the unfortunate victim of a jest on Archbishop Arundel, (who assumed the title of Lord Cobham in right of his wife, and was *burnt alive* for his adherence to the opinions of the Lollards, of whose sect he was considered as the chief,) and Sir John Harpenden, Knt. She had issue by all her husbands, but the last; yet all her children died young, with the exception of Joan, her youngest child by Sir Reginald Braybrooke, who became her heiress, and married Sir Thomas Brooke, Knt. of Brooke, near Ilchester, in Somersetshire. He assumed the title of Lord Cobham in right of his Lady, but was never summoned to Parliament; yet his son and successor, Edward, the friend of Richard, Duke of York, the ill-fated rival of Henry the Sixth, had that honor, he being advanced to the Barony of Cobham in 1446. John, his son and successor, and second Baron Cobham of this family, assisted at the coronation of Henry the Seventh; and united with Grey, Earl of Kent, against the Cornish insurgents at the battle of Blackheath. Thomas, his son and heir, was succeeded by his eldest son, George,* who was made a Knight of the Garter by Henry the Eighth, and Lord Deputy of Calais, which post he retained till the reign of Queen Mary, by whom he was for a short time imprisoned in the Tower, on suspicion of his being concerned in the rebellion of Sir Thomas Wyatt, though he had opposed the entrance of the latter into Cowling Castle. William, his eldest son and successor, entertained Queen Elizabeth at Cobham Hall, during her progress through Kent, soon after she had ascended the throne. He was afterwards sent Ambassador into the Low Countries; and for his conduct on his latter embassy to Don John of Austria, Regent to King Philip, was rewarded by being made a Knight of the Garter, and a Privy Counsellor. The Queen, with whom he became a great favorite, also appointed him

* In the Castrations to Hollinshed's Chronicle, is a list of grants made to this Nobleman; and among the Harl. MSS. Nos. 283, 284, are many State Letters sent to and from him, while Lord Deputy of Calais. *Hasted's Kent.*

Lord Chamberlain; and he was likewise made Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, Governor of Dover Castle, &c. He died in March, 1596; having by his Will directed the building and endowment of a *New College* on the site of that which had been founded by his ancestor, John, Lord Cobham. Henry, his eldest son, by Frances, daughter of Sir John Newton, his second wife, succeeded to his titles, inheritance, and places; though one of the latter, the government of the Cinque Ports, was contended for by the Sydneys. This was the man whose weak understanding, and abject soul, proved the ruin of Sir Walter Raleigh; with whom, the Lord Grey, of Wilton, and others, he had engaged in a conspiracy against the Cecils, and *possibly* with the ultimate design of advancing the Lady Arabella to the throne. His confession, if such it can be called, made up of a confused mixture of avowals, palliations, and denials, procured his own pardon; though the King, (James the First,) with an aggravation of cruelty worthy only of his own mean soul, caused his victims (Markham, Cobham, and the Lord Grey) to be brought upon the scaffold, and alternately prepared to the very verge of death, before his intentions were suffered to be declared. Cobham was afterwards committed to the Tower during pleasure; and all his possessions being seized by the King, was reduced to such extreme necessity, that he 'had starved,' says Weldon, 'had not a trencher-scraper, sometime his servant at Court, relieved him with scraps!' He died in January, 1619, without issue. His brother, George Brooke, who was beheaded for his concern in the conspiracy, had a son, named William, afterwards restored in blood, though not in title, and made Knight of the Bath. The male line of this family became extinct in 1651, on the death of Sir John Brooke, who had been advanced to the dignity of Baron Cobham in the twentieth of Charles the First.

After the attainder of the imbecile Cobham, an Act of Parliament was passed, to confirm his possessions to the Crown, and to render valid all grants that should be made of them by the King. Under this Act, and by the exercise of his own prerogative, James, in his tenth year, granted the Manor of Cobham, with Cobham Hall, and other estates of the Cobhams, to his kinsman, Lodowick

Stuart, Duke of Lenox, who, though thrice married, left no issue; and was succeeded by his only brother, Esme Stuart, Lord de Aubigny, who died in the following year. James, his eldest son and successor, who had been made Knight of the Garter by King James, was created Duke of Richmond in 1641; and was also Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, &c. Esme, his only son and heir, died in France, in his eleventh year, when his titles and estates devolved to Charles Stuart, Earl of Lichfield, his cousin-german, who was a Knight of the Garter, and died in Denmark, in 1672, whilst Ambassador Extraordinary to that Court. Catherine, his only sister and heiress, afterwards Baroness of Clifton, in right of her grandmother, was twice married: first to Henry, Lord O'Brien, heir-apparent to the Earl of Thomond; and, secondly, to Sir Joseph Williamson, Knt. who, after being employed on several embassies, was made a principal Secretary of State. This gentleman resided at Cobham Hall, which he had purchased, together with the Manor of Cobham, and other estates; the possessions of the Dukes of Lenox, in this county, having been sold to defray debts, and other purposes. He died in 1707, having bequeathed two-thirds of his estates to the Lady Catherine, his wife, and the remaining third to Mrs. Mary Hornsby, who had been his servant; and who afterwards defended her right against John Bligh, Esq. created Earl of Darnley in 1725, and his wife, the Lady Theodosia Hyde, Baroness Clifton: the latter had succeeded to these estates in 1713, on the death of her brother, Edward, Lord Clifton and Cornbury, son of Edward, Lord Cornbury, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, and Catherine, his wife, the only surviving daughter and heiress of the Lady Catherine, by her first husband, Henry, Lord O'Brien. After a vexatious course of litigation, it was agreed between the parties, that Mrs. Hornsby should be allowed a third of the sum of 50,000l. for her property in the estates; and this agreement was fulfilled about the year 1731, by Edward, second Lord Darnley, who thus became possessed of the entire fee. This Nobleman died in 1747, and was succeeded by his brother, John, on whose decease, in 1781, his titles and inheritance descended to his eldest son, the fourth and present Earl.

COBHAM HALL, though not externally grand, retains sufficient remains of its ancient baronial splendor to excite considerable interest: it is built in the form of an half H; the extremities of the side wings are terminated by octagonal towers, and, with the centre, and a sunk wall in front, inclose a quadrangular lawn, ornamented by statues, vases, &c. The centre of the building was planned by Inigo Jones, and was new cased with brick, and sashed, by the late Earl of Darnley; so that its appearance is not uniform with the wings, which formed part of the residence of the Cobhams. In these are projecting entrances, (now disused,) of stone, extending to the roof: that to the south, has the arms and supporters of the Cobhams, sculptured in bold relief, in the upper compartment.

The *Vestibule,* which opens from the lawn, is partly fitted up in the Turkish, and partly in the Italian manner. The chimney-piece is of marble, and extremely elegant; having in front, a sculpture of a bacchanalian subject, and being surrounded with beautiful marble statues, and other ornaments. The small figures of Hercules, and the Vatican Apollo, which stand above, and the group of Cupid and Psyche below, are wrought in the most superior style. This apartment opens into the *Music Room,* which has been magnificently fitted up and furnished, by the late and present Earls, at a vast expense: its length is fifty feet; its breadth, thirty-six; and its height, thirty-two. The ceiling, which was designed by Inigo Jones, is divided into various square and circular compartments, with a deep oval in the centre; all superbly gilt, and enriched by appropriate ornaments, among which are twelve pendant coronets. The lower part of the sides are lined with grey-veined marble, between pilasters of Scagliola, in imitation of yellow orbique marble, supporting a rich fascia and cornice. In the compartments above, are representations of all kinds of musical instruments, hanging in festoons, and most richly gilt. At each end is a gallery, supported by four columns, cased like the pilasters, and having bases and capitals of Parian marble; the latter are exquisitely sculptured. The chimney-piece, which corresponds in grandeur with the rest of the apartments, has full-length marble statues at the sides; and in front, a sculpture from the Aurora of Guido. Above, in a gorgeous frame, are portraits by Vandyck, in his finest manner,

manner, of LORD JOHN and LORD BARNARD STUART, sons of Esme, and brothers of James, Dukes of Richmond and Lenox: over this, beneath a massive gilt curtain, are the arms, supporters, and coronet, of Lord Darnley. The furniture is equally splendid with the decorations; and among the other ornaments are eight alabaster vases, on pedestals; together with full-length statues of the Venus de Medicis, and an antique, either of Meleager, or Antinous.

The interior of the north wing is undergoing a complete repair, under the direction of the celebrated Wyatt; and a new entrance on this side, by a Gothic arched gateway, is now building. This communicates with a vaulted passage leading to the grand staircase, which has also been recently altered in the Gothic style, and has on the ceiling an ornamental compartment, containing a shield, charged with the arms of Stuart, Duke of Richmond and Lenox, copied from Inigo Jones's ceiling. This leads to the *Gallery*, which, when finished, will be a very noble apartment, and is intended to be filled with pictures: its length is 134 feet. The chimney-pieces, which are four in number, are elaborately wrought in black and white marble, as are all the others in the ancient parts of this edifice; and though very large, and in some respects heavy, they have all a striking and sumptuous appearance: on one of them are the arms of the Lords Cobham, with the date 1587. In an apartment contiguous to this, Queen Elizabeth was lodged during her visit to William, Lord Cobham, in the first of her reign; and her arms are still remaining among the other ornaments on the ceiling. On the basement story is the *Dining-Parlour*, which is also in a state of reparation. The chimney-piece exhibits a full-length statue of Pomona in the centre, with fruits, &c. at the sides; and beneath the cornice, is an outline engraving of Moses striking the Rock.

The apartments in the south wing are decorated with many fine paintings which are to be placed in the Gallery; with many others that have been recently conveyed to London, till the improvements in the opposite wing are completed. Among the most eminent of those now here, is a large picture of the *Death of Cyrus*, by Rubens, for which Lord Darnley has refused 2000 guineas; a most spirited sketch of the *Lion Hunting*, by the same artist; the *Call*

of Samuel, by Sir Joshua Reynolds; a *Nativity*, with a great variety of figures, finely grouped and colored; *Judas betraying Christ*; and a large piece of *Fishermen in a Storm*, by Salvator Rosa, the figures and coloring of the sky in which are extremely fine.

The *Park*, which includes 1800 acres, and is nearly seven miles in circumference, is beautifully diversified, and abundantly wooded. The oaks are particularly luxuriant, and many of them are very large and venerable. On the south side, leading from the house, is a noble avenue of lime-trees, consisting of four rows, and extending to the length of upwards of 1000 yards. On an elevated site towards the southern extremity of the Park, is an extensive building, erected as a MAUSOLEUM, or CHAPEL, at an expense of 9000*l*. under an injunction in the will of the late Earl, and designed for the sepulture of the family. The basement story, which is rusticated, contains a vault and sarcophagus, surrounded by recesses for interments. The floor over this was intended for a Chapel, and is crowned by a dome, supported by eight Corinthian columns. The exterior part of this story has four wings with duplicated columns, sustaining sarcophaguses, and is terminated by a pyramid.

The present COLLEGE at COBHAM, which nearly adjoins to the Church on the south side, is a neat quadrangular building of stone, measuring about sixty feet by fifty-one. It contains a Hall, and convenient apartments for twenty persons, with gardens to each. Over the south portal, are the arms and alliances of Brooke, Lord Cobham, the founder, within a garter; and beneath, an inscription recording his name and titles, and the date of the erection of the College, which was 'finished in September, 1598.' This fabric, as has been mentioned, was built on the site that had been occupied by the *College* founded by John de Cobham, in 1362. The endowments of the old foundation were very ample, and were given, with the College itself, by Henry the Eighth, at the period of the Dissolution, to George, Lord Cobham, who had the King's "roiall assent and license by hys Grace's word, without any maner of letters patents, or other writings, to purchase and receyve to his heires for ever, of the late Master and Brethren of the Colledge or Chantry of Cobham, in the countie of Kent, nowe being utterly dissolved, the scite of the same Colledge or Chantry, and al and singular

singular their hereditaments and possessions, as well temporall as ecclesiasticall, whersoever they lay, or were, within the realm of England." Some small remains of the old College still exist; but the mass of materials was probably used in the new fabric erected under the Will of Sir William Brooke, Lord Cobham, who devised 'all those edifices, ruined buildings, soil, and ground, with the appurtenances which sometime belonged to the late suppressed College,' for the use of the *New College*, which he directs his executors to "erect within four years next after his decease." By an Act obtained soon afterwards, (thirty-ninth of Elizabeth,) the Wardens of Rochester Bridge for the time being, were made a body corporate, and declared to be perpetual *Presidents* of the New College; the government of which was to be wholly vested in them, and their successors. The first Presidents under this Act, were Sir John Leveson, Knt. and the Kentish Antiquary, William Lambard, Esq. who were also two of the executors of Lord Cobham; and by them, a series of excellent rules and ordinances were drawn up for the management of the College, which, with little alteration, has continued in force till the present time. The number of inmates is limited to twenty, but without restriction either to sex, or state: they are to be chosen from Cobham, and the adjacent Parishes of Shorne, Cowling, Stroud, Hoo St. Werburgh, Cliff, Chalk, Higham, St. Mary's Hoo, Cookstone, and Halling. The annual revenues of the College amount to about 120l.

Cobham *Church* is dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, and consists of a nave, aisles, and chancel, with an embattled tower on the west. In the chancel, which is very spacious, and has lancet windows, is a series of *Brasses* in memory of the Cobhams; some of which, for their antiquity, richness, and high preservation, have been considered as unrivalled. Twelve of these are inlaid on grave-stones, which measure upwards of eight feet long, by three broad, and are ranged in two rows in the pavement before the altar: the thirteenth, and last, which is the grave-stone of Ralph de Cobham, has been removed from its place, to make room for a more recent memorial for the late Earl of Darnley. The larger slabs, beginning with that at the south-east corner, contain representations of the following personages.

SIR

SIR JOHN DE COBHAM, the first Knight Banneret, and Constable of Rochester: represented standing on a lion, beneath a canopy, ornamented with finials and pinnacles. He is dressed in a shirt of mail, over which is a suit of face armour, of a very curious and antique fashion; with spurs and gauntlets. Round his waist is a rich girdle, sustaining a long sword: the verge of the slab is thus inscribed:

+ Mons qe passez icy entour
Priez pur Laime le cortays Mandour.
Me Johan de Cobham avoit anoun
Dieux luy face verray pardoun
Me trepassa lendemayn de seint Mathi
Le puissaunt oerte ademorer oue
Luy en lan de grace Mil cec L quatre.
Ces enemis mortels fiez abatre.

MAUDE DE COBHAM, wife to *Reynold, Baron Cobham,* Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Knight of the Garter, in the time of Edward the Third. She is standing on a dog, collared and belled, arrayed in a cloak or mantle, fastened by broaches across her neck, with a close dress beneath, buttoned from the waist upwards, and down the arms: her hair closely frizzed, and hanging in frizzes over her shoulders: the inscription is imperfect.

On the third slab is a female in a dress somewhat similar to the preceding, but without a mantle; her hair is disposed round her face in three ranges of curls; and at her feet is a dog, as before: the upper part of the canopy is gone, as well as the inscription. This seems to be the figure of MAUDE DE COBHAM, wife of *Thomas de Cobham,* who died in the reign of Richard the Second.

MARGARET DE COBHAM, daughter to the Earl of Devonshire, and wife to *John, Lord Cobham,* the founder of the College, represented standing under a rich canopy, upon the central pinnacle of which, is the Virgin and Child, and on each side, two escutcheons; one containing the Cobham arms, viz. on a chevron three lions rampant; and the other, the Cobham arms, impaling Courtenay. She also is habited in a close dress and mantle, with her hair disposed in three rows of close curls, and hanging in curls below

her shoulders: her head rests on an embroidered pillow. Round the verge of the slab is this inscription:

> + Sy gist dame Margarete de Cobeham ladys fille a noble s'le Counte de Devemschir': feme le Sire de Cobeham foundo — —
> — — — — — — — — — — — moys Daugst lan de grace M'.ccc.lxxxxv.
> lalme de qy. Deux eyt mercij. Amen.

JOHN DE COBHAM, *the founder of the College*, standing on a lion, under a canopy; on the central pinnacle of which, has also been a Virgin and Child. He is clothed in plate armour, and a shirt of mail, with spurs and gauntlets; the latter jointed for the fingers. Round his waist is an ornamented belt, composed of quatrefoil compartments; to which are appendant a sword and dagger. In his hands he sustains a Church, which is described as being in the form of a cross, with a spire rising from the intersection of the aisles. He wears a close scull-cap, and long whiskers. The inscription is as follows:

> + De terre fuy fait et fourme.
> Et en Terre et a terre suy retournee.
> Jehan de Cobham foundeur de cesty Place qui fui nomee.
> Mercy de malme eit la Seinte Trinite — — — ccc — —.

THOMAS DE COBHAM, in armour similar to the last, and a lion also beneath his feet: the inscription is imperfect.

JOAN DE COBHAM, probably the daughter of John, Lord Beauchamp, and mother of Lord Cobham, the founder. She is represented under a trefoil-headed canopy, with finials and pinnacles; dressed in a flowing robe, with a wimple; round her forehead a string of jewels, and over all, a large handkerchief. The verge of the slab has this inscription, in Saxon capitals:

> Dame: Jone: de: Kobeham: gist: isi:
> Deus: de: sa: alme: eit: merci:
> Kire: pur: le: alme: priera:
> Quarawnte: iowrs: de: pardown: avera.

SIR JOHN BROKE, Baron of Cobham, and the LADY MARGARET, his wife, under a very rich canopy, with pendants, and other ornaments; over the arches are pinnacles, with triangular compartments,

compartments, containing circles with shields, one of which bears the cross, and crown of thorns, and the other the five wounds: between the pinnacles, in the centre, is a curious representation of the Trinity, in which the Deity is delineated with a triple crown, and the Holy Spirit has a human face. The figure of the Knight is gone, but that of his Lady remains; and beneath, are groups of eight sons and ten daughters. Round the verge was this inscription: the words in italics, are supplied from Weever, and Thorpe.

Hic jacent Johanes Broke Miles ac baro baronie de Cobhm et domina Margareta uxor sua quondam filia nobilis viri Edwardi *Nevil super Domini de Burgavery, qui quidem Johanes* obijt — — — die mens' *Septemb.* A°. dni M°. CC°. *VI* ipa vero *dne Margareta obijt ultimo die mens' Septem. A°. dni M°. V°.* quaru &c.

Sir Reginald Braybroke, second husband to Joan, Lady Cobham, in plate armour, with scull-cap, whiskers, jointed gauntlets, and spurs; standing on a lion under a canopy, as before. From the centre of the canopy rises an elegant Gothic tower, containing, in the upper compartment, a representation of the Trinity, somewhat different from the former one, the Holy Spirit being here depicted as a dove, nestling in the breast of the Father, whose head is surrounded by the nimbus. The inscription round the verge has the words, 'Dns Regenaldus Braybrok miles filius Gerardi Braybrok militis ac maritus dne Johanne dne de Cobham heredis dni Johannis de Cobhm *fundatoris* istius Collegij, *&c.*' Sir Reginald died at Middleburgh, in Flanders, the 20th of September, 1405. On small pedestals, standing within the pillars of the canopy, at his feet, were two youths, part of one of which only remains; on the pedestal are these words: Hic iacet Reginal d' filii' eor'. The other, as appears from Weever, was inscribed, *Hic iacet Robertus filius eorum.*

Sir Nicholas Hawberk, third husband of Joan, Lady Cobham: his grave-stone is more elegantly inlaid than any of the others. He also is represented under a canopy, in plate armour, standing on a lion, with a sword and dagger dependant from a rich girdle, and has on a scull-cap, with a hauberk of mail.

The

The summit of the canopy is divided into three compartments, highly enriched with finials and pinnacles, and exhibiting the Trinity in the centre, and the Virgin and Child, and St. George killing the dragon, at the sides: at the basis of the pillars which appear to support the central division, are ornaments of lions' heads. At the side of the Knight was a youth standing on a pedestal inscribed thus: Hic jacet Johnes fili' eor'; and round the verge of the slab is this inscription:

+ Hic iacet dns Nicholaus Hawberk miles quondam maritus dne Johne dne de Cobhm Heredis dni Johis de Cobhm fundatoris istius Collegij qui quidm Nicholaus obijt apud Castrū de Cowlyng Mono die Octobris Anno domini Millimo. Quadringentesimo. Septimo. Cujus &c.

JOAN DE COBHAM, wife to *Sir Reginald Braybrook*, Sir Nicholas Hawberk, &c. She died on the day of St. Hilary the Bishop, 1433, as appears from the inscription: at her feet are six sons, and four daughters; and surrounding her are six escutcheons of the Cobham arms and alliances.

The last of the larger slabs contains the figures of SIR THOMAS BROOKE, Lord Cobham, and one of his three wives. The former is in plate armour, much ornamented, with large roundels at the elbows and knees: he wears spurs, with a sword and dagger, but has neither gauntlets, cap, nor helmet. Over his shoulders is a chain, to which is appendant a small cross. His Lady is in a square head-dress, with a long cloak, folded across her feet, and fastened over her breast by a cord, which hangs down in tassels. Below them are seven sons, and five daughters; and at the corners of the slab are four escutcheons of arms, displaying, quarterly, first, on a chevron, a lion rampant; second, on a chevron, three lions rampant; third, seven mascles, three, three, and one; and last, on a fess between three leopards' heads, langued, an annulet. This Nobleman, as appears from the inscription, which is partly gone, was kinsman and heir to Sir Richard Beauchamp: he died in 1529.

RALPH,

RALPH, or RAUF, DE COBHAM is represented by a bust, in a scull-cap, and shirt of mail, with face armour: he died, as appears from the inscription, the twentieth of January, 1402: beneath is a shield of arms, displaying, on a chevron, three cross crosslets, bottoné; in the dexter point, in chief, a star.*

There is yet one monument of this family to be described, which is that of GEORGE, Lord Cobham, the Lord Deputy of Calais, and ANNE, his Lady, sister and co-heiress of John, Lord Bray; both of whom are represented by recumbent figures, on a stately tomb of white marble, which seems to have once been surmounted by a canopy, but was greatly damaged by the falling of a beam many years ago: round it are the portraitures of their children, ten sons, and four daughters, kneeling. This Nobleman died on the third of the kalends of October, 1558, and his Lady in the November following, of sheer grief.

The *Wooden Seats* for the choir attached to the foundation of John, Lord Cobham, are still remaining, round the west end of the chancel; and on slabs in the pavement, are *Brasses* of 'William Tanner,' who died 'first Master of the College,' in June, 1418; and 'John Sprotte,' another Master, who died in February, 1478: the former is represented by a bust; the latter by a small whole-length, in a curious collared cloak, with large sleeves.

STROUD may be considered as a suburb of Rochester, the greater part being included within the jurisdiction of the Corporation of that city, under the name of *Stroud Infra*. It chiefly consists of one narrow street, extending along the sides of the high road, and connecting with the west end of Rochester Bridge. Its inhabitants are mostly supported by maritime occupations, and by the fisheries on the river Medway, of which that of oysters is the principal. The *Church* is dedicated to St. Nicholas, and measures 100 feet in length, and fifty in breadth: it consists of a nave, chancel, aisles, and south Chapel, with a tower, surmounted by a low

* This description of the Cobham *Brasses* has been partly drawn up from a curious set of drawings made by Mr. T. Fisher, when the monuments were in better preservation than at present; the mutilated inscriptions have mostly been supplied from the same authorities.

low spire, at the west end. In the south wall of the chancel is a graduated *Stone Seat*, of three compartments. On a slab in the nave, are small whole-length *Brasses* of a man between three females, in memory of *Thomas Glover*, and his wives *Agnes*, *Alicia*, and *Joane:* he died in 1444. Many other monuments are in this Church; and the tombs in the Church-yard are also numerous. Dr. John Harris, F.R.S. Prebendary of Rochester, and author of a History of Kent, of which only the first volume was ever published, was Curate of this Parish.*

Stroud was originally a chapelry to Frindsbury: the Manor was given, by Henry the Second, to the Knights Templars: at the dissolution of that Order, it was granted, with most of their other possessions, to the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem. It was afterwards conveyed to Edward the Second, whose successor exchanged it for other lands, with Mary de St. Paul, Countess of Pembroke; by whom it was given to the Abbey she had then recently founded at Denny, in Cambridgeshire. After the Dissolution, the Manor of Stroud came into the possession of the Lords Cobham, and has since passed through a variety of families. An HOSPITAL was founded in Stroud, near the Church, in the reign of Richard the First, by Gilbert de Glanville, Bishop of Rochester, for a Master, or Warden, and several Priests, who were to "relieve and cherish therein, the poor, weak, infirm, and impotent; as well neighbouring inhabitants, as travellers from distant places." This Hospital was afterwards called the *Newark*, probably from having been rebuilt; though Bishop Tanner supposes it to have been so called to distinguish it from the House of the Knights Templars;† its revenues, at the Dissolution, amounted, according to Speed and Dugdale, to 52l. 9s. 10½d. annually; and were granted to the Dean and Chapter of Rochester. It was dedicated to the 'Blessed Virgin Mary,' as appears from the charters given in Dugdale. Leland and Speed have called it the Hospital of St. Andrew. The

* Dr. Harris fell into difficulties in the latter part of his life, and died insolvent, which occasioned his remaining collections to be secreted.

† Vide Notitia, under Strode, (Stroud,) Note.

The TEMPLE FARM, in Stroud Parish, about half a mile from the village on the south, was the site of the ancient *Manor-House* of the Knights Templars; the *Cellar* with a groined roof, and a vaulting of squared chalk, is still remaining beneath the present dwelling, which appears to have been built about the time of James the First. Grose, in the view given in his Antiquities, calls it 'the Preceptory;' yet it does not appear that the Knights Templars had ever any establishment here; and the probability is, that it was nothing more than a grange, or farm-house: the foundation walls of the more ancient mansion are of very great thickness.

LIST

OF THE

Principal Books, Maps, and Prints that have been published in Illustration of the Topography and Antiquities of the Counties described in the Seventh Volume of the Beauties of England and Wales.

HERTFORDSHIRE.

THE earliest attempt towards a Delineation of Hertfordshire was published by John Norden, in 1593, under the title of "*Speculum Britannicæ; the First Parte; an Historicall and Chorographical Description of Middlesex and Hartfordshire*: wherein are also alphabetically set down the Names of the Cyties, Townes, Parishes, Hamlets, Houses of Name, &c with Direction spedelie to finde anie Place desired in the Mappe, and the Distance betwene Place and Place, without Compasses." 4to. This was reprinted in 1637, and again in 1723, with the addition of "*A Preparative to this Work*, intended a Reconciliation of sundrie Propositions, by divers Persons tendred concerning the same, by the said Author."

The next general account, and the most complete yet extant, though containing many inaccuracies, was, "*The Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire;* with the original of Counties, Hundreds, or Wapentakes, Boroughs, Corporations, Towns, Parishes, Villages, and Hamlets; the Foundation and Origin of Monasteries, Churches, Advowsons, Tythes, Rectories, Impropriations, and Vicarages in general, describing those of this County in particular; as also the several Honors, Manors, Castles, Seats, and Parks, of the Nobility and Gentry, and the Succession of the Lords of each Manor therein; also the Characters of the Abbots of St. Albans. Faithfully collected from Public Records, Leiger Books, ancient Manuscripts, Charters, Evidences, and other select Authorities. Together with an exact Manuscript of Domesday Book, &c. as far as concerns this Shire; and the Translation thereof in English. To which are added, the Epitaphs and memorable Inscriptions in all the Parishes; and likewise the Blazon of the Coats of Arms of the several Noblemen and Gentlemen, Proprietors in the same. Illustrated with a large Map of the County, a Prospect of Hertford, the Ichnography of St. Albans and Hitchin, and many Sculptures of the principal Edifices and Monuments. By Sir Henry Chauncy, Knight, Serjeant at Law." Lond.

Lond. 1700. Fol. The Number of Engravings, including the Portrait of the Author, is forty-six.

This Book was originally intended for Publication at One Guinea; but Sir Henry, in a subsequent advertisement, apologizes for being obliged to raise the price to One Pound Five Shillings. So greatly, however, has its value increased, that a good copy will now sell at from Thirty to Thirty-five Guineas. In the Library of the Society of Antiquaries is a copy, with many Manuscript Additions, by Peter le Neve. Another copy, with considerable Additions in Manuscript also, by the late Mr. Cracherode, is in the British Museum. Sir Henry himself had collected various materials in Illustration and continuation of his own History. These coming into the possession of Mr. Nathaniel Salmon, were, by him, formed, with other papers, into a new book, and published in 1728, with the title of, "*History of Hertfordshire;* describing the County and its ancient Monuments, particularly the Roman; with the Character of those that have been the chief Possessors of the Land, and an Account of the most memorable occurrences." Lond. Fol. This is partly an abridgment, as well as continuation of Chauncy's Herts.

Weever, in his "*Funerall Monuments*," p. 542-597, has given a very imperfect Register of the Sepulchral Inscriptions in about Forty Parishes in this County. His Account of *St. Alban's Abbey*, *St. Peter's*, *Standon*, *Digswell*, *Berk-amsted*, and *King's Langley*, are most at length. Accounts of about Sixty Parishes in Herts, belonging to the Diocese of London, may also be found in "*Newcourt's Repertorium*," Vol. I. p. 777-914. Lond. Fol. 1708. This volume contains a View of the North Front of St. Alban's Abbey Church.

A very interesting History of *St. Alban's Abbey*, with some Particulars of *Verulam*, may be found in "*Vitæ Dvorvm offarvm sive Offanorvm, Merciorvm Regvm; Cœnobii Sancti Albani, Fundatorvm: et Viginti Trivm Abbatvm, Sancti Albani: una cvm Libro Additamentorum.*" By Matthew Paris. Lond. Fol. 1639.

This forms the ground-work of the Rev. P. Newcome's "*History of the ancient and royal Foundation, called the Abbey of St. Alban*, in the County of Hertford, from the founding thereof, in 793, to its Dissolution, in 1539; exhibiting the Life of each Abbot, and the principal Events relating to the Monastery during his Rule and Government. Extracted from the most faithful Authorities and Records, both printed and in Manuscript. With Plates, and a new Map of the County." Lond. 4to. 1795. Some of the mistakes in this work have been commented on, and corrected, in Whitaker's "Ancient *Cathedral of Cornwall* Historically surveyed." Lond. 2 vols. 4to. 1805; yet various new mistakes, respecting the time of building the *present* Abbey Church, are made in the latter publication.

A Black Letter Tract, of twelve pages, now very scarce, was printed at Cologne in 1502, intituled, "*De incliti & glorioſi protomartyris Anglie Albani: quem in Germania & Gallia Albinum vocant: conversatione, translatione, & miraculorum choruscatione.*" 4to. This is dedicated to Henry the Seventh, by the Abbot and Convent of St.

St. Pantaleon, at Cologne, who assert, that the Body of St. Alban is in their keeping; but admit that the Thighs, Legs, and Face, are in the Monastery of St. Alban, in England.

"*Fanum St. Albani, Poema Carminé Heroico.*" Lond. 4to. 1683. This was written by John Jones, an Usher of the Free School at St. Alban's.

"*A true Relation of a devilish Attempt to fire the Town of Barnet, in the County of Hertford*, Thursday, 16th October, 1676, in a Letter to a Friend in London. 1679." Two Sheets. Fol.

"*The Foundation and Incorporation of Jesus Hospital, in Chipping-Barnet*, in the County of Hertford, 28th Aprill, in the Year of our Lord God 1679; together with the Statutes, and Ordinances for its better Government, are printed at the End of the Second Edition of the Liber Niger Scaccarii. Lond. 8vo. 1774.

The Discovery of the *Subterraneous Chamber*, since called the *Cave* at Royston, gave rise to an acrimonious Controversy between Dr. Stukeley and the Rev. Charles Parkin, Rector of Oxburgh, Norfolk. The former, in his "*Palæographia Britannica*, or Discourses on Antiquities in Britain, No. 1, Origines *Roystonianæ*." &c. published in 1743, 4to. endeavours to prove it to have been the Oratory and Burial-place of Lady Roisia, who was first, the Wife of Sir Geffery de Magnaville, first Earl of Essex, and secondly of Paganus de Beauchamp, third Baron of Bedford. This was replied to by Mr. Parkin, in an "*Answer to, or Remarks upon*, Dr. Stukeley's Roystonianæ, wherein the Antiquity and Imagery of the Oratory lately discovered at Royston, in Hertfordshire, are truly stated, and accounted for;" in which it was affirmed, that the subterraneous Crypt was an Hermitage long before the time of Lady Roisia; and that her Ladyship was not buried there, but at her Priory at Chicksand, in Bedfordshire. In the Second Part of his "*Palæographia, Origines Roystonianæ*," the Doctor published his Defence of Lady Roisia de Vere, Foundress of Royston, against the Calumny of Mr Parkin, Rector of Oxburgh, 'wherein his pretended Answer is fully refuted, and the former Opinion further confirmed and illustrated. To which occasionally are added many curious Matters in Antiquity, and Six Copperplates.' Stamford. 4to. 1746. Two Years afterwards his Opponent closed the Controversy by another 4to. Tract, published at Norwich, and intituled, "*A Reply to the peevish, weak, and malevolent Objections brought by Dr. Stukeley*, in his Origines Roystonianæ, No. 2, against an Answer to, or Remarks upon, his Origines Roystonianæ, No. 1, wherein the said Answer is maintained; Royston proved to be an old Saxon Town; its Derivation and Original; and the History of Lady Roisia to be a mere Fable and Figment."

In Murden's "*Collection of the Burghley Papers*," page 575-8, is an Account of Rooms and Lodgings in the two Courts at Theobalds, (near Cheshunt,) 27 May, 1583, transcribed from the Original in Lord Burghley's own Hand-writing. In the '*Athenæ Oxon.*' Vol I. page 3-5, is mentioned King James's Entertainment at Theobalds, with his Welcome to London, and a salutary Poem, by John Saville. Lond. 1603. 8vo.

The "*Entertainment of King James and the King of Denmark at Theobalds,*" in 1606, and of King James and Queen Anne, when the House was delivered up to her Majesty, 22 May, 1607, were both written by Ben Jonson, and are published in his Works.

An Imitation of Leland's '*Cygnea Cantio,*' was republished, by Hearne, in the 5th Volume of Leland's Itinerary, under the Title of a "*Tale of Two Swannes.* Wherein is comprehended the Original and Increase of the River Lee, commonly called Ware River, together with the Antiquitie of sundrie Places and Townes seated upon the same. Pleasant to be read, and not altogether unprofitable to be understood." By W. Vallans. Lond. 1590. 4to.

A "*Report on the new making and completing the Navigation of the River Lee, from the Thames, through Stanstead and Ware, to Hertford,*" was drawn up by the celebrated John Smeaton, and published in Folio.

On the same Subject are "*Extracts*" from the Books of the Mayor and Aldermen of Hertford, together with Copies of Papers in their Custody, relating to the River Lee between Hertford and Ware." 1734.

Several *Acts of Parliament* were passed in the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and James the First, for the Purpose of forwarding the Design of supplying the Metropolis with Water; which was at length effectually done by the patriotic Exertions of Sir Hugh Middleton, though he ruined his own Fortunes in accomplishing it. The New River was begun in February, 1608; and the Water first admitted into the Bason in Spa Fields, near Islington, on Michaelmas-day, 1613; soon after which was published a Pamphlet, in 4to. with the following Title, "*The Manner of the Lord Mayor's Entertainment on Michaelmas-day last,* being the Day of his honourable Election; together with the worthy Sir John Swinarton, Knight, then Lord Maior, the learned and judicious Henry Montague, Maister Recorder, and many of the right worshipfull the Aldermen of the Citty of London, at that most famous and admired Worke of the running Streame from Amwell Head into the Cisterne neere Islington, being the sole Invention, Cost, and Industry of that worthy Maister Hugh Middleton, of London, Goldsmith, for the general Good of the Citty." By T. M. Lond. 1613. 4to.

The *New River*, a Poem, by W. Garbot, was published in 8vo. but without a Date.

Some Particulars of this River, and the Country it flows through, are also to be found in the late benevolent John Scott's pleasing Poem, intituled, "*Amwell.*"

About the beginning of the last Century, the public Mind was considerably agitated by a Tale of Witchcraft, said to have been practised by *Jane Wenham*, of *Walkerne*, in this county; whose Trial gave rise to various Pamphlets, in which the Question of Witchcraft was argued with much Vehemence and Passion. The Trial itself went through several Editions, under the Title of

"*A full*

"*A full and impartial Account of the Discovery of Sorcery and Witchcraft, practised by Jane Wenham*, of Walkerne, in Hartfordshire,* upon the Bodies of Anne Thorne and Anne Street, &c. The Proceedings against her from her first being apprehended, till she was committed to Gaol by Sir Henry Chauncy; also her Tryal at the Assizes at Hertford, before Mr. Justice Powell, where she was found guilty of Felony and Witchcraft, and received Sentence of Death for the same, March 4, 1711-2." By T. Bragge. 8vo.

This was replied to in "*The Case of the Hertfordshire Witchcraft;* being an Examination of a Book, intituled, A full and impartial Account." 8vo. On which Mr. Bragge, who was Vicar of Hitchin, published a second Tract, with the Title of,

"*Witchcraft further displayed;* containing, 1. an Account of the Witchcraft practised by Jane Wenham, of Walkerne, in Hertfordshire, since her Condemnation, upon the Bodies of Anne Thorn and Anne Street, and the deplorable Condition in which they still remain. 2. An Answer to the most general Objections against the Being and Power of Witches: with some Remarks on the Case of Jane Wenham in particular, and on Mr. Justice Powell's Procedure therein. To which are added, the Tryals of Florence Newton, a famous Irish Witch, at the Assizes held at Cork, Anno 1661; as also of two Witches at the Assizes held at Bury St. Edmunds, in Suffolk, Anno 1664, before Lord Chief Baron Hale, who were found guilty, and executed." Lond. 1712. 8vo.

This was replied to in an octavo Pamphlet, ascribed to Mr. Pittis, formerly Fellow of New College, Oxford, intituled,

"*The Impossibility of Witchcraft;* plainly proving, from Scripture and Reason, that there never was a Witch; and that it is both Irrational and Impious to believe there ever was. In which the Depositions against Jane Wenham, lately tried and condemned for a Witch, at Hertford, are confuted and exposed." 1712.

About the same time was also published, in 8vo. "*A full Confutation of Witchcraft;* more particularly of the Depositions against Jane Wenham, lately condemned for a Witch, at Hertford; in which the modern Notions of Witches are overthrown, and the ill Consequences of such Doctrines are exposed, by Arguments proving that Witchcraft is Priestcraft. In a Letter from a Physician in Hertfordshire to his Friend in London. 1712." 8vo.

The

* This poor woman, against the opinion of Judge Powell, who tryed her, was found guilty by the Jury: she, however, received a pardon from the Queen; and a gentleman in the county provided her an apartment over his stables, sent her victuals from his table, and suffered her to attend on his children. She was ever after looked upon, by the family, as an honest, good-natured woman. See Burt's Letters from the North of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 280. Mr. Bragge, in his evidence on her Trial, declared, on 'the faith of a Clergyman,' that 'he believed her to be a Witch;' whereupon the Judge told him, that, 'therefore, on the Truth of a Judge, he took him to be no Conjuror.'" Gough's Brit. Top. Vol. I. p. 434.

The two last Pamphlets were answered by a "*Defence of the Proceedings against Jane Wenham*, wherein the Possibility and Reality of Witchcraft are demonstrated from Scripture, and the concurring Testimonies of all Ages," &c. By Francis Bragge, A. B. late of Peter House, Cambridge. Lond. 1712.

About the same Time was published, "*The Belief of Witchcraft vindicated;* proving, from Scripture, that there have been Witches; and, from Reason, that there may be such still. In answer to a late Pamphlet, intituled, The Impossibility of Witchcraft; plainly proving, from Scripture and Reason, that there never was a Witch," &c. By G. R. A. M.

This was answered by "*The Impossibility of Witchcraft further demonstrated,* both from Scripture and Reason, wherein several Texts of Scripture, relating to Witches, are proved to be falsely translated; with cursory Remarks on two trifling Pamphlets in Defence of the Existence of Witches."

Six years afterwards, anno 1716, the affair of Jane Wenman was again discussed by Dr. Hutchinson, in his *Historical Essay concerning Witchcraft*, Chapter X. page 1-29.

Another reputed Witch, named *Ruth Osborn*, was sacrificed by a frantic Mob, at Tring, in this County, in the year 1751. The most active of the Persons concerned was afterwards tried and executed; on which occasion was printed, in 4to.

"*The Tryal of Thomas Colley*, before Sir William Lee, at Hertford, 1751, for the Murder of Ruth Osborn, under supposition of her being a Witch."

"*Survey of Aspendon Church*," with four Plates; one of which represents the Head of Sir Ralph Jocelyn, some time Lord Mayor of London, copied from the stained Glass forming one of the Windows here; but now in the Possession of S. E. Brydges, Esq. Denton Court, Kent. 4to. Lond. Chauncy has omitted this Church.

Some Account of *Herton* may be found in Hearne's 'Robert of Glocester.'

In the PHILOSOPHICAL TRANSACTIONS, No. 333, p. 486, is an Account, by the celebrated Cheselden, of some very large Human Bones, supposed to have been those of a Man Eight Feet high, found near an Urn, inscribed *Antoninus*, within the walls of ancient Verulam. In No. 229, p. 557, are Particulars of a Hail-Storm at Hitchin, by Mr. Tailor. In No. 439, p. 119, are Observations, by Mr. Cope, on an ancient Date over a Door-way at Widgell Hall, pulled down in 1734, and given to the Royal Society. In the next Page are Mr. Ward's Remarks upon it. In No. 476, is an Account, and Print, of some Antiquities found in a Chalk Pit near Rooky Wood, in Barkway Parish, in 1743. In Vol. XLIX. Art. 26, are Dr. Parsons's Remarks on a singular petrified Echinus, found at *Bovingdon;* and in p. 684, are Particulars of a remarkable Agitation of Waters at several Places in this County, on November 1, 1755. In Vol.

LI.

LI. is an Account of the Effects of a Storm at *Rickmansworth*, June 16, 1759.

In Lysons's ENVIRONS OF LONDON, are Particulars of the Parishes of *Chipping Barnet*, *East Barnet*, *Elstree*, *Theobald's*, *Totteridge*, and *Waltham Cross*; with useful Historical and Biographical Notices.

In the ARCHÆOLOGIA, Vol. II. p. 184, is an Account of '*The Construction of the old Wall of Verulum*,' in a Letter from Mr. Webster to Bishop Lyttleton, with a Print.

PRINTS, MAPS, PLANS, &c.

Many Engravings have been made of *St. Alban's Abbey Church*; and the Society of Antiquaries intend to publish a complete Series of Views of that Building, from Drawings by Mr. John Carter, whose professional Knowledge of our ancient Ecclesiastical Architecture is, perhaps, unrivalled by that of any Man now living. This Church was engraved by King in 1680, with an Account beneath in three Columns. The same Artist also engraved the N. and S. sides for Dugdale's Monasticon. N. side, and a Plan, by J. Kip and G. Hulett, with Inscriptions at the Corners, by Archdeacon P. Stubbs, 1621. Ditto, and Plans, by Hawksmoor and B. Cole, 1723; afterwards reduced for Stevens's Additions to Dugdale, by J. Harris. S. W. View, by Buck, 1737. A S. W. View, in Aquatint, from a Painting by George Arnald, was published in 1798. Another, and very fine, S. W. View was given in Hearne and Byrne's Antiquities, Vol. II. in 1798. Dr. Stukeley published two Views of the High Altar in his *Itinerarium Curiosum*.

Hatfield House, S. was engraved by James Collins in 1700, from a Drawing by Thomas Sadler, Jun. Several other Views of the same Building have also appeared.

In the Vit. Brit. Vol. IV. is a Plan and Elevation of *Moor-Park House*, J. Gardon, del. M. Darley, sc. and in the same Work, Vol. V. the Bridge at the *Hoo*, built by Sir W. Chambers, engraved by White, from a Drawing by Gardon.

The W. Prospect of *New Place*, in East Barnet, was engraved by J. Schynvoet, from a Sketch by Warburton, Somerset Herald.

In Sprat's Account of the Rye House Plot, 1685, fo. and 8vo. are a Plan and View of the *Rye House*, which has also been several times engraved for other Works.

The Manor Houses of *Tring* and *Hammels* have been engraved by Baddeslade and Harris.

In Stukeley's Itin. Cur. Vol. II. are Prints of the ancient Camp at *Berkhamstead*, and of the six Barrows near *Stevenage*, by Hulett and Vandergucht.

The earliest Map of Herts, with Hundreds, was published by Saxton in 1577, with the Title, '*Hartfordiæ comitatus nova, vera ac particularis descriptio*.'

Speed's

Speed's Map has Plans of *Hartford* and *Verulam.*

Hollar engraved a smaller Map in 1670.

In 1676 was published, *Hertfordshire actually Surveyed and Delineated, by John Seller, John Oliver, and Richard Palmer.*

"*The actual Survey of the County of Hertford;* containing the Miles, Furlongs, and Poles between Place and Place on all the Roads in this Survey, exactly measured, and set forth in a printed Account hereunto annexed; a Work never done to any County before: also an alphabetical Table of the Nobility and Gentry, with a ready Method for the finding their Seats, or Places of Residence in the said County." By John Oliver. 1695.

Mr. Warburton published a Map of this County on a Sheet of Imperial Atlas, and afterwards connected it with Essex and Middlesex.

Another Map was included in the Set engraved by Kitchen.

In 1770 was published, "*A Topographical Map of Hartfordshire,* from an actual Survey, in which is expressed all the Roads, Lanes, Churches, Noblemen and Gentlemen's Seats, and every thing remarkable in the County; together with the Division of the Parishes." By Andrew Dury and John Andrews. Nine Sheets; with an Index Map, and Plans of the Towns of *St. Alban's* and *Hertford.*

A Plan of old *Verulum,* made by Dr. Stukeley, aided by Dr. Hardisware, Mr. Cole, and other Gentlemen of St. Alban's in 1721, was published by the Society of Antiquaries; and has been connected with the Plan of St. Alban's, and re-engraved for the *British Atlas.*

SUMMARY

Of the POPULATION of Hertfordshire, from the Returns made to the House of Commons under the Act of 1800.

	Inhabited Houses.	By how many Families inhabited.	Uninhabited Houses.	Males.	Females.	No. of Persons chiefly employed in Agriculture.	Do. in Trade, Manufacture, or Handicrafts.	Do. not included in preceding Classes.	Total No. of Persons.
HUNDREDS.									
Braughin,	2,141	2,47*	94	6,302	6,622	1,916	1,334	8,797	12,924
Broadwater,	2,208	2,522	64	6,118	5,963	3,770	2,195	5,716	12,081
Dacorum,	3,511	3,785	70	9,037	9,540	4,438	2,834	11,305	18,579
Edwintree,	1,328	1,542	35	3,521	3,680	1,753	1,082	4,888	7,201
Hertford,	1,765	1,918	56	4,828	4,999	1,605	859	7,356	9,827
Hitchin and Preston,	1,361	1,446	22	3,299	3,432	1,149	738	4,258	6,731
Odsey,	970	1,099	30	2,592	2,640	1,680	505	3,049	5,232
Cashio,	3,358	4,017	95	9,305	9,299	4,000	2,574	12,233	18,604
TOWN of Hertford,	529	666	13	1,762	1,598	199	437	2,724	3,360
TOWN of St. Albans.	515	625	12	1,297	1,741	101	575	2,362	3,038
	17,681	20,092	491	48,061*	49,514*	20,611	13,131*	62,688*	97,577

All the columns marked thus * are cast up wrong in the abstract of the returns printed by order of Parliament.

HUNTINGDONSHIRE.

THIS COUNTY has never yet had a regular Historian; though more than one attempt has been made to collect sufficient materials for the purpose. Those collected by the late Rev. B. Hutchinson are lodged in the hands of Thomas Martyn, Esq. of Pertenhall, Professor of Botany at Cambridge, in trust, for the benefit of Mr. Hutchinson's widow: they chiefly relate to the natural history of Huntingdonshire. After the decease of the collector, his effects were mostly sold by auction, and his cabinet of fossils, many of the specimens of which were collected in this county, was bought by the present Colonel White, of Slepe Hall, St. Ives.

The short description of Huntingdonshire given in Speed, is supposed to have been either drawn up by Sir Robert Cotton, or from

information communicated by him. In the thirty-sixth volume of Baker's Manuscripts, in the University Library at Cambridge, are forty pages of '*Extracts* from a MS. entituled, or indorsed, Cotton, said to be Sir Robert Cotton's; but if it were his, the Additions are more than the Original,' &c. These have been constantly referred to in drawing up the Account of Huntingdonshire given in this Volume: from the internal evidence of dates and names, it may be fairly questioned, whether Sir Robert Cotton had any concern in the manuscript. It seems rather to have been originally compiled about the year 1680.

In Gale's *Historiæ Britannicæ Scriptores*, XV. Vol. I. were published three parts of a Latin History of *Ramsey Abbey*, by an anonymous Author; but who, as may be gathered from the history itself, was evidently a monk belonging to the Abbey. The fourth and last part, is supposed to be lost, though it has been quoted by Spelman in his Glossary.

With Hearne's *Sprotti Chronica*, 8vo. 1719, is printed 'A Tract relating to Peterburgh and *Ramsey* Abbies, transcribed from a strange old defaced Parchment MS. (of the time of Edward II.) in the Hands of Mr. John Murray, of London, Gent.' This, which is also in Latin, has been translated in the first Volume of Stevens's Additions to the Monasticon.

In the *Liber Niger Scaccarii*, also published by Hearne, 8vo. Vol. II. p. 723*-732*, is 'The Privy Councill's Letter to our very lovinge Freinds the High Sheriffe of the County of Huntingdon, and the rest of the Commissioners for the levyinge of the Ayde in that County,' for making Prince Henry a Knight, sixth of James I. together with the 'Date of the Composition,' made in the *Hundreds* of *Normancross* and *Hurstingstone*, '*ex chartis originalibus domini Roberti Bevill*,' who was the Collector for those Hundreds.

In Noble's 'Memoirs of the Protectoral House of Cromwell,' 2 vols. 8vo. third edition, 1787, are many incidental Notices of those Parts of Huntingdonshire that were in the possession of the *Cromwells*, who, for upwards of a Century, had the greatest Sway of any Family in the County.

A Belief in *Witchcraft* seems to have been deeply imbibed by the Inhabitants of this County, and even to the present Day, as has been evidenced by some late Events at Great Paxton, the lower Classes are not free from a strong taint of the same superstitious Credulity. The Notion of Witches, indeed, is far more prevalent than is generally imagined; and the invisible Empire of the Fairies, and Pixies, and White Witches of the West, may, by the curious Enquirer, be traced in its Effects through most Quarters of the Kingdom, even till it unites with the sister State, of the Wraiths, the Brownies, and the Warlocks of the North, where

> ——— framing hideous spells
> In Sky's lone isle, the gifted wizard-seer,
> Lodg'd in the wint'ry cave with Fate's fell spear,
> Or in the depth of Uist's dark forest dwells;

Where

Where they, whose sight such dreary dreams engage,
With their own visions oft astonish'd droop,
When o'er the watery strath, or quaggy moss,
They see the gliding ghosts embodied troop:
Or if in sports, or on the festive green,
Their destin'd glance some fated youth descry,
Who now, perhaps, in lusty vigour seen,
And rosy health, shall soon lamented die.
For them the viewless forms of air obey,
Their bidding heed, and at their beck repair;
They know what spirit brews the stormful day,
And heartless, oft like moody madness, stare
To see the phantom train their secret work prepare.

COLLINS.

The original Account of the Witches of *Warboys*, was published in 8vo. Black Letter, with this Title, "*A True and Particuler Observation of a notable Piece of Witchcraft*, practised by John Samuell, the Father, Alice Samuell, the Mother, and Agnes Samuell, their Daughter, of Warboise, in the Countie of Huntingdon, upon five Daughters of Robert Throckmorton, of the same Towne and Countie, Esq. and certaine other Maide-Servants, to the Number of Twelve in the whole, all of them being of one House; November, 1589."

This was reprinted in 4to. 1693. Lond. under the new Title of, "*The most strange and admirable Discoverie of the Three Witches of Warboys*, arraigned, convicted, and executed at the last Assizes at Huntingdon, for the bewitching of the five Daughters of Robert Throckmorton, Esq. and divers other Persons, with sundry devillish and grievous Torments; and also for the bewitching to Death of the Lady Cromwell: the like hath not been heard of in this Age," 4to. 1693. Lond.

A "more tragical Story," says Mr. Gough, "we have in '*The whole Trial and Examination of Mrs. Mary Hickes, and her Daughter Elizabeth*, but of *Nine* Years of Age, who were condemned the last Assizes held at Huntingdon, for Witchcraft, and there executed on Saturday, the 28th of July, 1716, with an Account of the most surprizing Pieces of Witchcraft they played whilst under their diabolical Compact; the like never heard of before; their Behaviour with several Divines who came to converse with 'em whilst under sentence of Death; and their last dying Speeches and Confession at the Place of Execution.' Lond. 12mo. eight pages. A substantial Farmer apprehends his Wife and favourite Child; the latter for some silly Illusions practised on his Weakness, the former for the antiquated Folly of killing her Neighbours in Effigy: and Judge Wilmot suffers them to be hanged upon their own Confession, four years after his wiser Brother (Judge Powell) had ventured his own Life to save that of an old Woman at Hertford*."

Some "Account of a Family," says the same Gentleman †, "that made much noise at the beginning of the Civil Wars, and was objected to Laud, as an instance of his affection to Popery, may be seen in '*The Arminian Nunnery at Little Gidding*, in Huntingdonshire,

* Brit. Top. Vol. I. p. 439. † Ibid. p. 436.

shire, humbly recommended to the wise Consideration of the present Parliament. The Foundation is by a Company of Farrars at Gidding." Lond. 1641. 4to. Reprinted by Hearne at the end of Langtoft's Chronicle. 1725. p. cxxiv. No. X." This was printed, but with unwarrantable Alterations, from a Letter written by Edward Linton to Sir Thomas Hedley, Knight, Serjeant at Law, in answer to his request to Linton, 'to certifie as he found concerning the reputed Nunnerie at Gidding.' The best and truest Account of the Ferrars, and their singular Establishment, was published in 8vo. Camb. 1790. by Dr. Peckard, under the Title of, "*Memoirs of the Life of Mr. Nicholas Ferrar.*"

Some Account of *Somersham* Spaw, was published by Dr. D. P. Layard, in 8vo. 1759, and 1767; and his and Dr. Morris's Experiments on the Water are inserted in the Philosophical Transactions, Vol. LIV. Art. 3.

Bishop Kennet's traditional Account of the ancient Monument of a Knight, cross-legged, at *Overton Longueville*, was printed by Peck, in his *Desiderata Curiosa*, Vol. I. B. vi. No. xix. and the Monument itself has been engraved from a Drawing by Carter, in the Gentleman's Magazine, for July, 1807.

The great *Hurricane* which passed through this County, September 8, 1741, was described by Stephen Fuller, Fellow of Trin. Coll. Camb. in the Philosophical Trans. No. 461, p. 851.

A Poem, intituled, "*Kimbolton Park*," was printed in 4to. about 1766, and reprinted in Pearch's Poems, Vol. IV. p. 65.

Another Poem, called, "*The Stilton Hero.*" Lond. 1745, was written on the celebrated Cooper Thornhill, of equestrian Celebrity; but still more famed through the Destruction of his large Corn-rick by Rats and Mice.

PRINTS, MAPS, PLANS, &c.

A geometrical Elevation of the W. Front of *St. Neot's Church* was engraved by P. S. Lamborn, in 1764. *Hinchingbrook Priory*, N. E. and W. View of the *Palace* at *Buckden*, were published by Buck, 1730. *Bluntisham Church* was engraved by Vertue, from a Drawing made in 1738, by *Jos. Eayre*, "a Huntingdon Man, who had a very mechanical Genius, and was the Inventor of the Weighing Engine for Waggons; and, after raising an easy Fortune by his Ingenuity, died under Infamy in advanced Life"*.

This County is included in Saxton's Map of Northampton, and other Shires, 1576, but wants the Hundreds, which are supplied in Speed's Map, 1610, in which also are Plans of Huntingdon and Ely. In the years 1730 and 1731, "An *Actual Survey* of the County of Huntingdon, after a new Method, was made by W. Gorden, and afterwards engraved by Em. Bowen; who likewise engraved a second Map of this County, in concentric Circles. In 1770, a new *Map* was published by T. Jeffereys, on a Scale of Two Inches to a Mile, taken from his own *Survey* in six Sheets.

* Gough's Brit. Top. Vol. I. p. 440.

INDEXES

TO THE SEVENTH VOLUME OF THE

BEAUTIES OF ENGLAND AND WALES:

The principal Abbies, Castles, Churches, Encampments, Monuments, Pictures, Portraits, Priories, Roman Stations and Antiquities, *described* in this Volume, will be found referred to under those heads.

☞ The MARKET TOWNS are distinguished by small Capitals; the *Villages* by Italics.

HERTFORDSHIRE.

A

ABBEY, St. Albans, 22-93; *Abbots Langley*, formerly belonged to St. Alban's Abbey, church, mon. to Dame Ann Raymond, 285; Nicholas de Breakspear, *ib.*

ST. ALBANS, the site of the martyrdom of Albanus, or St. Alban, 21-27; miracles attending his death, 27, 28; the abbey founded by King Offa, 20-31; growth of the town of, 33; materials collected for rebuilding the abbey church, 34-36; singular account of St. Alban's relics, 36, 37 (note); heroism of Abbot Frederic, 38; abbey lands seized, and new church built, 39; town plundered, 46; fortified in the Barons' wars, 48; townsmen besiege the abbey, and demand privileges, 49, 50; more disorders, and punishment of the towns-people by Richard II. 52, 53; battles of St. Albans, 57-60; the art of printing established here, 64; dissolution of the abbey, 65-67; description of the abbey church, 67-89; abbey buildings, 90-93; St. Michael's church, 93-96; St. Peter's church, 96-103; charitable foundations, 103, 104; schools, 105; corporation, town hall, 106; market and clock house, 107; improvements, population, silk mills, *ib.*; Holywell House, 108; eminent natives, 109.

ST. ALBANS ABBEY CHURCH: its general architectural character, external appearance, tower, 67; arches, buttresses, porch, 68; interior, successive styles of building, 69; nave, columns, and arches, 70-73; St. Cuthbert's screen, 73; choir, 74; altar screen, 75; presbytery, 76; transept, 77; aisles, 78; piscina, 79; cielings, 80; chapel of the Virgin, 81; dimensions of the church and chapel, 82; sepulchral monuments and inscriptions of Humphrey Duke of Glocester, 82, 83; of Abbot Whethamsted, 84; of Abbot Ramryge, 85; of Abbot De la Mare, of Robert Beamier, a monk, 86; of Sir Anthony Grey, Thomas Rutland,

loud, the Maynard family, Sir John Mandeville, 87; of Christopher Rawlinson, Esq. 88; eminent persons buried here, *ib.*; font, 89; library, scriptorium, 90; monastic buildings, 91; Gate-house, Monk's Holes, 92, 93.

ST. ALBANS, ABBOTS of, with interesting historical, biographical, and literary notices, 24-67: Willegod, 32; Vulsig, addicted to intemperance, and wore silken vestments, 33; Vulnoth, Ædfrid, Ulsinus, *ib.*; Ælfric composes a Saxon grammar, 34; Eadred collects materials at Verulam for building the abbey church, 24-34, 35; Eadmer follows the plan of his predecessors, his discoveries, 35; Leofric, his beneficence, 36; Fretheric, his heroism, 38; Paul rebuilds the church, 39; Richard de Albany, 40; Geoffrey de Gorham prepares a sumptuous shrine for the relics of St. Alban, 41; Ralph, 42; Robert de Gorham procures distinguished privileges for the abbey, 42, 43; Symond, his learning, 43, 44; Warren, *ib.*; John of the Cell rebuilds the west front of the church, 45, 46; William de Trumpington completes the building, &c. 47; John of Hertford enlarges the abbey, 47, 48; Robert de Norton, *ib.*; John of Berkhamsted, 49; Hugo de Eversden besieged in his abbey, *ib.*; Robert de Wallingford makes a very curious clock, 50, 51; Michael de Mentmore dies of the great plague, 52; Thomas de la Mare erects a wall round the abbey, and adorns the church, 53; John de la Motte makes great additions to the buildings, 54; dispute between Abbots of St. Albans and Westminster about uppermost seat in parliament, 54, &c. (note); William de Heywood, 54; John of Wheathamsted makes great improvements in the abbey, 55; a pardon obtained by him, 56; John de Stoke, 57; William Alban, 63; William Wallingford introduces printing into the abbey, *ib.*; Thomas Ramryge, Cardinal Thomas Wolsey, 64; Robert Catton refuses to surrender the abbey to the King, 65; Richard de Stevanache, or Boreman, appointed for the purpose of a formal surrender, 66.

Albanus, or St. Alban, a citizen of Verulam, 21; his martyrdom, *ib.*; his history in the British language, found at Verulam, 25, 26; miracles attending his execution, 28; a church built on the spot where he suffered, 29; translation of his remains into it, 30; curious particulars concerning his relics, 36, 37 (note); opening of his tomb, 41; his shrine described, 41, 42 (notes).

Albury, manor of, 208; church and monuments, 209.

Aldbury, village, descent, church, 147.

Amphibalus, some particulars of, 27, 151.

Amwell, pleasing scenery here, poetically described, 245; plague here, 246; fortification here, *ib.*

ANECDOTES of Alexander Neckam, Sir John Mandeville, Sir John King, Sir Francis Pemberton, 109; Lord Bacon, 94, 118, 123; Edward Grimston, Esq. 119; Sir Harbottle Grimston, 120, 121; Sir Samuel Grimston, 122; George Lord Baltimore, 124; Earl of Portland, 125; Earl of Worcester, Earl of Pembroke, 126; Sir Nicholas Bacon, 129; O Piers Shoukes, 189; Judge Powel, 201; Lord Hunsdon, 219 (note); Richard Cromwell, 235 (note); Mr. Charles Blount, 282 (note); Archbishop Neville, 308, 309 (note).

Anstey, or *Anstie*, site of a castle, descent of manors, 186, 187; artificial mount, church, 187.

Apricots, Moor Park, why so called, 315.

Arbury Banks, an ancient camp, 177, 178.

Ashwell, of Roman origin, 176; Arbury Banks, an ancient fortification, 177; descent of manor, church described, *ib.*; monuments, 178.

Aspenden, manor, church, and monuments, 194, 195.

Aston, a seat, 202.

Ayot St. Lawrence, manor, new church, 145; inscription, old church, 155; monuments, ancient sculpture, 156.

B

Bacon, Francis, Lord Verulam, statue of, 94, 95; death of, 94 (note); memoirs of, 118-123.

Baldock, the manor and parish co-extensive, 179; formerly belonged to the Knights Templars, descent of, 174; church, monuments, 175; population, 176.

Balls, a seat, 266.

Barnet, a busy town, church, 317; monuments, alms houses, race ground, mineral spring, 318, 319; battle of Barnet, 3.9-324.

Barkway, anciently a market town, descent of the manor, 185; church, painted glass, 186.

Barrows, long, near Ravensbury, 164; on Royston Downs, 178; near Stevenage, 202; at Haven End, and Widford, 213.

Battle, direful one near Barnet described, 319.

Battle of St. Albans, first, 57; second battle, 59.

Bayford, a manor, and Bayford-bury, a seat, 267; monument, *ib.*

Bearne River, its course, 18.

Beechwood, seat; nunnery, mansion, park, 148, 149.

Benington, a great council held here, descent of the manor, 195-198; the site of a castle, 198; church and monuments of the Cæsars.

Berkhamsted, 133; ancient history of the castle and honor, with the successive possessors, 133-136; castle described, 137; church, monuments, 138-140; free school, 140, 141; buildings, 142.

Berkhamstead Place, seat, Herts.

Berkhamstead, assembly here in the time of the Conqueror, 38.

Biggin Priory, 168.

Bishops Stortford, made a borough town, 213; castle, church, and monuments, 214; canal, grammar-school, population, 215.

Blakeaware, a seat, 218.

Boleyns, family of, 161.

Book, curious, in the British language, found at Verulam, described, 25, 26.

BRASSES, *sepulchral*; of Abbot de la Mare, and Robert Beamier, a monk, 86; of Sir Anthony Grey, 87; in St. Peter's church at St. Albans, 100, 101; at Harden, 152; at Hitchin, 163; Water Somoner, 178; Rob. White, 183; at Furneux Pelham, 190; Dame Margaret Southwell, 193; of the Botelers and Bardolfs, 204; of a Huntsman, 221; of a priest, 228; at Broxbourn, 227-229; at Wormley, 231; Nicholas Dixon, 233; Johanne Clay, *ib.*; Will Dyke, Eliz. Garnett, 234; John Hunger, 264; John Perient, and Lady, 273; John Carter, and others, 289; Thomas Day and his wives, 307.

Brandfield, manor of, 268.

Braughing, manor and church, 207; the supposed Cæsaromagus, encampment here, 208.

Breakspear, Nicholas de, some account of, 285.

Brocket Hall, seat, house and grounds described, 275.

Brookmans, a seat, 281.

Broxbourn, manor and church, 226; chapel and monuments of the Says, 227, 228; brasses, 229; monuments, *ib.* 230.

Broxbourn Bury, a seat, 230.

Brickendenbury, a seat, 266.

Buntingford, chapel, almshouse; Bishop Seth Ward born here, 192.

Bushey, a manor, 315; church, &c. *ib.* 316.

C

Cæsar family, some account of, 197, 198.

Camfield Place, or Wild-Hall, a seat, 280.

Canal, Grand Junction, its course, 17.

Capel family, account of, 295.

Cashiobury, seat of Earl of Essex; descent of the manor, 295; mansion, portraits, 297; pictures, park, 298.

Cassii, ancient inhabitants of Herts, 5.

Cassivelaunus, resides at Verulam, 5.

Castles, at Anstey, 186; at Benington, 198; Bishops Stortford, 214; at Hertford, 256-262.

Cathcart, Lady, singular anecdote of, 270.

Catieuchlani, ancient inhabitants of Herts, 5.

Cave, a curious one at Royston, 181; supposed to have been an Hermitage, 182.
Cecil, William Lord Burleigh, some account of, 279; Robert, youngest son of Lord Burleigh, 280; William, *ib.*
Chadwell-Springs, source of New River, 255.
Cheshunt, 231; Roman coins found here, account of manor, 232; church, brasses, 233; tombs, 234; residence of Richard Cromwell, Lord Protector, *ib.*; singular anecdote concerning him, 235 (note); nunnery, *ib.*; manor of St. Andrew de le Mote, 236.
CHURCHES described; at St. Albans, the Abbey church, 67-90; St. Michael's, 93-96; St. Peters, 96-103. St. Stephens, near St. Albans, 111; Hemel-Hemsted, 131; Berkhampsted, 136-140; Tring, 143; Kensworth, 149; Flamsted, 150; Harden, 152; Whethamsted, 153; Ayot St. Lawrence, 154-157; Offley, 162, 163; Hexton, 165; Hitchin, 167; Ashwell, 177; Royston, 183; Barkway, 186; Brent Pelham, 189; Furneux Pelham, 190; Bennington, 199; Sawbridgeworth, 216; Broxbourn, 226; Wormley, 231; Cheshunt, 233; Ware, 252; at Hertford, 264; Digswell, 273; Hatfield, 276; North Mims, 281; Abbots Langley, 285; Kings Langley, 287; Watford, 299; Rickmansworth, 305; Elstre, 316; Chipping Barnet, 317.
Chiltern Hills, infested by wild beasts and robbers, 37.
Chimnies, their early construction at St. Albans, 48.
Chipping Barnet, see Barnet.
Clock, an astronomical and very curious one, made at St. Albans, temp. E. III. described, 51.
Cockenhatch, a manor and seat, 185.
Coffins, stone, found near Ware, 253.
Coins, British, found at Verulam, 20.
College of East India Company fixed at Hertford, 259; plan, and account of the establishment, (note) 260.
Colne River, its course, 18.
Colney House, seat, house described, 283.
Cotton, Dr. author of Visions in Verse, notice of, 103.
Crosses, erected to the memory of Queen Eleanor, 243; that at Waltham described, 244.

D

Digswell, possessors of the manor, 272; brasses of the Perient family, with inscription, 273.
Dinsley, hamlet, ancient preceptory here, 160.

E

Eadmer and Ealdred, abbots of St. Albans, their discoveries at Verulam, 24, 25, 34, 35.
Eastwick, church and monuments, 221.
Edward the Fourth, vanquishes the Earl of Warwick, near Barnet, 319-324.
Eleanor, Queen, some account of, 243.
Elstre, the *Sullonicæ* of the Romans; manor, church, Miss Ray buried here, 316.
ENCAMPMENTS; at Ravensbury, 164; Wilbury Hill, 176; at Braughing, 208; Cheshunt, 232; Amwell, 246.
Ermin Street, its course, 7.
EPITAPHS; on Humphry Duke of Gloucester, 84; Lord Bacon, 95; Ralph Babthorpe's, 104; Robert Clavering, 105; John Rolfe, esq. 112; Sir John Spence, 162; O Piers Shoukes, 189; Thomas Day, 309.

F

Fanshaw, Sir Richard, some account of, 254.
Flamstead, 149; ancient history and possessors, church, monuments, 150.
Frederic, abbot of St. Albans, his heroism, 38; causes William the Norman

Norman to take an oath to observe the laws, *ib.*

G

Gaddesden Little, church, monuments, eminent native, 147, 148.
Gaddesden Great, church, 148.
Gaddesden, seat, Herts, 148.
Gilston, manor of, and park, 218; church, *ib.*
Gobions, seat of the Moore family, 281.
Gladsmore Heath, near Barnet, scene of a dreadful battle, 319-324.
Gorhambury, a seat, successive possessors of, 113, 114; mansion, ornaments, 114; paintings, 115-117; memoirs of the families of Bacon and Grimstone, 117-122.
Gorhambury House, 122; portraits at, 123-129; park, 136.
Grimston, Sir Harbottle, memoirs of, 120, 121.
Grove, a seat; house described, possessors, 290; portraits, 291-293; agricultural improvements, 294.

H

Hadham Little, manor, church, and monuments, 200.
Hamells, a seat, 206.
Harpenden, 151; manor, church, monuments and inscriptions, 152.
Hatfield Wood Hall, seat possessed by the Basinbourns, 275.
HATFIELD, or BISHOP'S HATFIELD, so called because possessed by the Bishop of Ely, who had a palace here, 276; church, monument of Robert Cecil, *ib.*; of Sir John Brocket and others, 277.
Hatfield House, seat of the Cecil family, 277; pictures, 278; parks, experimental grounds, 279.
Haven End, barrows here, 213.
HEMEL-HEMPSTED, ancient manor, 130; church, 131; market-house, 132.
Hempsted Bury, seat, 132.
Henry the Second, his remarkable speech, 44 (note).
HERTFORD, county town of great antiquity, 255; derivation of name, 256; castle, its history and possessions, 257; measures and weights kept here, 258; college of East India Company, 259; government of borough, 263; churches, 264; monuments and inscriptions, *ib.*; priory, 265; blue coat school, *ib.*; grammar school, 266.
HERTFORDSHIRE, general description, history, topography, and local beauties of, 5-324; ancient name, 5; Roman stations and roads, 6, 7; extent, and general features, 7, 8; agriculture of, prevailing soils, produce, grass-lands, ploughs, orchards, woodlands, cattle, roads, manufactures, canals, rivers, and medicinal springs, 8-20; towns, parishes, villages, seats, &c. 21-324.
Hertingfordbury, manor, park, village, church, 268.
Herring Pies, made for the monks of St. Albans, 40 (note).
Hexton, a manor, 164; church described, 165.
HITCHIN, an ancient town, descent of the manor, 166; church, monuments, 167; brasses, font, 168; Biggin priory, *ib.*; Hitchin priory, charitable donations, 169; market and population, 170.
Hoddesdon, manor, market-house, 225; chapel, conduit, and population, 226.
Hoo, a seat, 157.
Hormead Great, a manor, 191.
Hospital of St. Mary de Pratis, 113.
Hunsdon, manor and house, 218; anecdote of Lord Hunsdon, 219 (note); church and monuments, 220; brass of a huntsman, 221.

I

Ickleford, king of gypsies interred at, 165.
Icknield Way, its course, 6.

K

Kensworth, church, doorway, sculpture, 149.
Kingsbury, a manor, palace, 34-42.

King's Langley, a palace here, 286; a priory, manor, church, 287; altar, tomb, Sir John Verney, 288; Edmund of Langley buried here, 289; Hon. Wm. Glascocks, 289; brasses, *ib.*
King's Walden, seat, 160.
Knebworth, 157; manor, seat, church, chapel, 158.

L

Lamer, manor, mansion, 154.
Layston, manor and church, 191.
Langley Bury, seat, 290.
Lea River, its course, 17.
Lilley, a seat, 164.
Lockleys, a manor, 274.

M

Marden, a seat, 272.
Mardley Bury, a manor, 274.
Middleton, Sir Hugh, inscription to, 246.
Mimeran River, its course, 19.
Miracles, reputed, attending the execution of St. Alban, 27, 28.
MONUMENTS AND TOMBS: of Humphrey Duke of Glocester, 82, 83; of Abbot Whethamsted, 84; of Abbot Ramryge, 85; of Abbot de la Mare and Robert Beamier, a monk, 86; of Sir Anthony Grey, Thomas Rutlond, the Maynard family, and Sir John Mandeville, 87; of Christopher Rawlinson, Esq. 88; of Lord Bacon, 94, 95; of Edward Strong (mason to St. Paul's Cathedral), 103; in Berkhamsted Church, 138-140; of the Spencers, 162; Sir Thomas Salusbury, Sir John Spencer, Bart. 163; Henry Boswell, king of the gypsies, 165; Sir Robert de Kendale, Sir Edward de Kendale, 167; Reynard de Argenthene, 175; O Piers Shonkes, 189; at Widdial, 193; Benstedes, and Cæsars, 199; Botelers, 204; Brograms, 208; at Albury, 209; Capels, 26; Sadliers, Sir W. Coffyn, Philip Astley, Esq. 212, 213; the Dennys, 214; Jocelyns, 216; Hewyts and Mildmays, 217; Alys de Ros, 218; Sir J. Cary, Sir Thomas Forster, 220; the Plumers, 221; the Says, 227, 228; Sir Henry Cock, Wm. Gambler, Henrietta Bosanquet, &c. 229, 230; Atkins family, 234; at Ware, 252; Sir John Harrison, 264; Sir George Knighton, 267; the Cowpers, 268; Dr. Young, 274; Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, 276; Sir John Brocket, Sir Francis Boteler, 277; Dame Ann Raymond, 285; at King's Langley, 288; Edmond de Langley, Princess Isabel, Hon. W. Glascocks, 289; Sir Charles Morison, 299, 300 (note); Sir Charles Morison and Lady, 300, 301; Bridget Countess Dow. of Bedford, 301; Dame Eliz. Russel, Hon. John Forbes, Lady Forbes, Will. Anne Holles Capel, 302; the Bucks, 303; Jane Bell, *ib.*; Henry Cary, Earl Monmouth, 305, 306; Sir Tho. Fotherley, Timothy Earle, Esq. Adm. Will. Bladwell, 307; Lady Mary Barnard, 315; Mrs. Eliz. Fuller, 316; Tho. Ravenscroft, Esq. 318.
Monks Holes, subterraneous passages, so called at St. Albans, described, 92, 93.
Monmouth, Duchess of, singular tradition concerning, 314.
Moor, manor of, its history, 308-311.
Moor Park, a seat, its beautiful house described, 311-314; park described, 314, 315.
Morison, Sir Charles, inscription of, 300.
Mundane Little, church and monuments, 206.

N

Neville, Archbishop, anecdote of, 308, 309.
Neville, Richard, Earl of Warwick, killed in the battle of Barnet, 325.
Newcells, a seat, 184.
North Mims, manor of, 281; park, *ib.*; church, monument to John, Lord Somers, 282.
NUNNERIES, Sopwell, 109, 110; Beechwood, 148; Rownes, 206; Cheshunt, 235.

Oak,

O

Oak, an old one, 269.
Offa, King of Mercia, founds an abbey at St. Albans, 28, 29; confirms the Peter-pence to the see of Rome, 30; assembles his nobles at Verulam, *ib.*; his death and burial, 32.
Offley, or *Great Offley*, palace of King Offley, granted to the St. Legers, 160; descent of the manor, 161.
Offley Place, church, tombs of the Spencers, and other monuments, 162, 163.

P

Pansanger, a seat, an old oak here, 269.
Paul's Walden, manor, seat, 159.
Pelhams, three parishes so called, 187; descent of the manors of, Pelham Hall, 188; church of Brent Pelham, curious monument of O Piers Shonkes, 189; church at Furneux Pelham, described, monuments, &c. 190.
Pendley House, seat, 142.
Peter-pence, origin of the tax so called, 30.
PICTURES, at Holywell House, St. Albans, 108; at Gorhambury House, 123-129; at Tring Park, 145; at Hatfield House, 277-279; at the Grove, 291-294; at Cashiobury, 297, 298; at Moor Park House, 312, 313.
Pirton, anciently the site of a castle, 165.
Pishobury, a seat, 217.
Porters, a seat, 285.
PORTRAITS, of Lord Bacon, Archbishop Abbot, Earl of Clarendon, Queen Elizabeth, Dukes of Richmond, Lord Baltimore, Earl of Essex, 124; Richard Earl of Portland, 125; Edward Earl of Worcester, Philip Earl of Pembroke, 126; Duke of Buckingham, Sir Nathaniel Bacon, George Monk Duke of Albemarle, Earl of Cleveland, Sir Harbottle Grimston, 127; Earl of Nottingham, Earl of Northumberland, 128; James I. and II. Charles I. Catherine Queen of Charles II. Earl of Totnes, Earl of Dorset, Earl of Holland, Catherine Howard, Countess of Suffolk, Duke of Norfolk, Sir Nicholas Bacon, 129; Lord Burleigh, Robert and William Cecil first and second Earls of Salisbury, 277; Lord Viscount Cranbourn, James second Earl of Salisbury, James fourth Earl, Lady Latimer, Algernon Earl of Northumberland and his Countess, Queen Elizabeth, Mary Queen of Scots, Rob. Dudley, Earl of Leicester, Richard the Third, Margaret Countess of Richmond, Petrarch's Laura, Henry VI. Catherine de Cornara, Henry VIII. Anne Boleyn, 278; Francis Lord Cottington, Earl of Kinnoul, Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia, Margaret of Hertford, Jerome Weston, Earl of Portland, Queen Elizabeth, James I. Lord Burleigh, Lord Chancellor Clarendon, Edward Earl of Jersey, John Earl of Rochester, Anne Hyde, Queen Mary, Queen Anne, William III. James II. Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, 291; Henry Earl of Clarendon, Lawrence Earl of Rochester, Lady Rochester, Lady Charlotte Hyde, Duchess of Queensbury, Jane Countess of Essex, Catherine of Braganza, Lady Clarendon, Sir Thomas Ailesbury, Lady Ailesbury, James Duke of Richmond, Mary Duchess of Beaufort, Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, Lady Newport, Sir Henry Capel, Waller, Sir Geoffery Palmer, 292; Lord Keeper Coventry, Villiers, Viscount Grandison, Villiers Duke of Buckingham, William and Philip Earls of Pembroke, Lord and Lady Cornbury, Lady D'Aubigny, Count de Borghe, James Stanley Earl of Derby and Countess, Sir John Minns, Lord Goring, Lady Barbara Villiers, Philip Villiers Great Prior of France, Duke of Saxony, John Selden, Sir Henry Spelman, Duke of Monmouth, 293; Algernon Earl of Northumberland, Elizabeth his daughter, Algernon second Earl of Essex, Mrs. Strangeways, Lady Ann and Lord Percy, Earl and Countess of Clarendon,

Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, Arthur Lord Capel and Elizabeth his Lady, George fifth Earl of Essex and his Countess, 297; Charles I. Count of Ranelagh, Children of Charles I. Charles II. 298; Mrs. Elizabeth Fuller, 304.
Powel, Judge, his humanity, 201.
Presbyterian academy at Wimondley House, 173.
PRIORIES, at Hitchin, 168, 169; Little Wimondley, 172; at Ware, 251; at Royston, 179; at Hertford, 265; King's Langley, 287.
Putteridge, 163; held by a singular tenure, 164.

R

Ravensbury Castle, an ancient camp, 164; contignous barrows, *ib.*
Ray, Miss Martha, shot by her lover, 316.
Redburne, manor, relics of St. Amphibalus, priory, 151.
Rib River, its course, 18.
RICHMANSWORTH, manor of, 304; Bury, church, 305; monuments, 306; brasses, market-house, 307.
Rivers, 17-19.
Rockley Wood, Roman antiquities found here, 184.
ROMAN ANTIQUITIES, at Verulam, walls, coins, statues, &c. 23, 24; urns, vases, coins, 26; vessels, cups, altars, &c. 35; near Henxworth, pateræ, rings, urns, lachrymatories, 176; at Wilbury Hill, coin, *ib.*; at Rockley Wood, figure of Mars, &c. 184; at Westmill, vessels, 206; Bishops Stortford, coins, 214; Cheshunt, coins, 230.
ROMAN ROADS, Watling Street, 6; Icknield Way, *ib.*; Ermin Street, 7.
ROMAN STATIONS, *Durocobrivis*, 6; at Verulam (*Verulamium*), 20-27; at Brockley Hills (*Sattonicæ*), 6, and 316.
Rownea, in Great Mundane, a nunnery here, 206.
ROYSTON, its situation and origin, 178; called Roises Cross, monastery founded here, 179; its privileges, 180; other religious foundations, King James's palace, cave, or oratory, 181; cave described, 182; church and monuments, 183; Royston Crow described, *ib.*
Russel Farm, seat, 290.
Rye House, scene of a pretended conspiracy to assassinate Charles II. and the Duke of York, 222-224; account of, and manor, 224.

S

Sacombe, a seat and manor, descent of, 204-206.
Sadleir, Sir Ralph, some account of, 210.
Sawbridgeworth, manor, 315; church, brasses and monuments, 216.
Seth Ward, Bishop, born at Buntingford, 192.
Shenley, church, monument to Rev. P. Falle, 284.
Shonkes, O Piers, singular tradition relating to, 189.
Shrine, the sumptuous one of St. Alban, described, 41, 42 (note).
Sopwell Nunnery, ruins of, 109; establishment, revenues, and dissolution, 110.
Springs, medicinal, 19.
Stagenhoo, manor, seat, 159.
Standon, descent of manor, 210, 211; a seat of the Abbots of Croyland, preceptory, hermitage, 212; church and monuments, 212, 213.
Stanstead Abbot, descent of manor, 222.
St. Albans, see Albans, St.
St. German's, farm and chapel, 22; chapel founded, 33.
Stevenage, manor, church, population, and barrows, 202.
Stokes, Gregory, &c. constable of Hertford, killed at St. Albans, 48, 49.
Stortford Bishops, see Bishops Stortford.

T

Temple Chelsing, a preceptory of Knights Templars, 206.
TENURES, singular; at Putteridge, 164; at Great Wimondley, 170; Ashwell,

Ashwell, 178; Mardley Bury, 274; Moor Park, 308.
Tewing, manor of, possessed by the Tywinge family, 270.
Tewing House, seat, 271.
Theobalds, a seat of Lord Burleigh, 236; descent of manor, *ib.*; Queen Elizabeth entertained here, 237, 238; James the First entertained here, *ib.*; obtains Theobalds in exchange, 239; resides here, *ib.*; described, 240-242 (and note); Theobalds park, 243.
Throcking, formerly a seat, 193.
Tiles, Roman, those of Verulam described, 23 (note).
Tittenhanger, an ancient seat of the Blounts, 282.
Totteridge, 316; park, &c. 317.
Tournament at Ware, 251.
TRING, town, 142; descent of the manor, 142, 143; church, sculptures, *ib.*; monuments, 144; market-house, *ib.*
Tring Park, seat, mansion, hall, pictures, 145; inscription, ball-room, park, 146.
Tring Grove, seat, 146.
Turnips, when introduced into Herts, 13.

V

VERULAM, a British city, British coins found here, a Roman Municipium, 20; martyrdom of Albanus, or St. Alban, 21; Pelagian Heresy, Uter Pendragon, St. Alban's grave, a synod held here, 22; its ancient state and modern appearance described, 23, 24; numerous and curious antiquities found here, 24-27; history of St. Alban, 27, 28; nobles and prelates assembled here by Offa, 30; its ruins collected to build a church at St. Albans, 34, 35.

W

Walkern, descent of manor, 201; monument of a Knight Templar, trial of Jane Wenham for witchcraft, *ib.*
Waltham Cross, a hamlet, 343; a fine cross here, 244.
WARE, descent of manor, 247; account of its possessors, 248, 249; damaged by a flood, 251; priory, *ib.*; church and monuments, 252; almshouses, *ib.*; Bury Field, coffins found here, 253.
Ware Park, seat, 253; birth place of Sir Richard Fanshaw, 254.
Warwick, Earl of, see Neville.
WATFORD, manor of, 298; church, monuments, 299-303; free school, silk mills, 304.
Watling Street, its course, 6; infested by wild beasts, 37.
Watton, church, its brasses and monuments, 204.
Watton, a seat, 203.
Watton Wood Hall, a seat, described, 203.
Welwyn, manor of, 273; Dr. Young possessed the rectory, *ib.*; was buried here, 274.
Wenham, Jane, tried for witchcraft, 201.
Westmill, Roman vessels found here, 206.
Whethamsted, church, monuments, 153.
Widdial, manor, church, and monuments, 193.
Widford, barrows here, 213.
Wiggen Hall, a seat, 315.
Wilbury Hill, an ancient camp, 176.
Wimondley, Great, held by a curious tenure, 170; descent of the manor, 171; site of an ancient castle, 172.
Wimondley, Little, a priory here, descent of the manor, 172; Wimondley Bury, *ib.*; Wimondley House, an academy for presbyterians, 173.
Witchcraft, presumed instance of, 201.
Wormley, manor and Bury, 230; church and brasses, 231.

Y

Yardley Bury, the seat of the Chauncys, 199; descent of the manor of Yardley, 199-201.

INDEX TO HUNTINGDONSHIRE.

A

ABBEY: at Ramsay, 509-529*; at Sawtrey-Judith, 548*.

Abbo, a learned man, presides over the schools at Ramsey, 514*.

Ædelwold, Bishop, his purchase of Bluntisham, 486-488*.

Æthelric, Bishop, his benefactions to Ramsey Abbey, 518, 519*; his singular purchase of the ville of Athelinton, 519-523*.

Æthelstan Manvessune, a noble Saxon, manumits his tenants, 514*.

Agitators, a counsel so called, instituted by the parliament's army, 396.

Ailwin, Duke, Æthelwyn, or Aylwin, his extraordinary title and character, 512*; commences a monastery at Ramsey, and founds the church, 512-514*; his grants to the abbey, *ib.*; procures it a privilege, and secures its endowments, 515-517*; his death and epitaph, *ib.*; state of in old age, *ib.* (note); his residence at Upwode, 549*.

Alconbury, given to Simon de Segrave, church, 551*; monuments, 552*.

Alwalton, given to Peterborough, 533*; its ancient name, 538*.

Ambrose, Sir Nicholas, born at Needingworth, 486*.

ANECDOTES: of Henry the Eighth and Sir Rich. Cromwell, 359, 360; of a judge, 363 (note); of Oliver Cromwell and a monkey, 265 (note); of a Clergyman and Oliver Cromwell, 366; of Major Streater, 422* (note); of O. Cromwell and the Lord Broghill, 439*; of an independent Minister, 455*; of witchcraft, 503-508*; of Bishop Æthelric, 519-523* (note); Sir Ed. Montagu and Henry the Eighth, 559*.

Ap-Williams, Morgan, an ancestor of the Protector Cromwell, 357.

Arms of Huntingdon, 347; ancient grant of, 548* (note).

Arundel, Sir John, his seat, 353.

Assembly of the county of Huntingdon, 487*.

Athelinton, village of, bought under singular circumstances by Bishop Æthelric, 519-523*.

B

Backgammon, or the dice and tables, played at by King Canute, 522* (note).

Ballad, a curious one on Cromwell, 371, 372 (note).

Barrow, a large one near Bury, 508*.

Beaumais, Bishop, born at Sautrey, 548*.

Bells, given to Ramsey Abbey by King Edgar, 514*.

Bluntisham, given to the monks of Ely, 486*; singular account of the purchase of by Bishop Ædelwold, 487, 488*; its curious church described, *ib.*; monument of Dr. Knight, font, charity school, 489*; epitaph on a prize fighter, rectory of, 490*; an extraordinary hurricane here, *ib.*

Boadicea, her brave defence against the Roman power, and death, 325.

Bodsay-house, a seat, 531*.

Bordarii, what, 348 (note).

Borough English, in Godmanchester, 457*.

Bottle Bridge, a seat of the Draitons, Lovets, and Shirleys, 536*.

BRASSES, *Sepulchral*; at All Saints, Huntingdon, 354 (note); at Somersham, 499*; for Ricus Thwaytes, 500*; of a priest, 503*.

Brith-

Brithnoth, Duke, some account of, 495 (note); his gifts to Ely, and why, 496*; his gallant death in battle with the Danes, 497*.
Bromeswold Leighton, manor of, and church, 557*.
Broughton, head of the barony of the Abbots of Ramsey, 550*.
Broughton, Richard, born at Stukeley, 551*.
Brunswick, House of, how descended, 332 (note).
Buckden, granted to the Bishops of Ely, 573*, who build a palace here; church and monuments, 574*.
Bulwalk, an encampment so called, described, 491*.
Bury, or *Berry*, manor of, 508*; church and monuments, 509*.

C

Cæsar, Sir Charles, his death, 571*.
CASTLES, at Huntingdon, 345; at Connington, 543*; at Kimbolton, 558-564*.
Catworth, Sir Wolston Dixie, born here, 558*.
Cenimagni, why so called, 325.
CHARLES the First, stops at Huntingdon before the civil war, 349; bruised when a child by Oliver Cromwell, 367; when born, *ib.* (note); governs the nation without the authority of Parliament; makes various concessions, 379; accuses Lord Kimbolton, and five Commoners of high treason, 380; attempts to arrest them, 381, 382; loses the battle of Naseby, and with it his private cabinet, 392; makes repeated overtures to the Long Parliament, 395, and privately seeks protection from the Scotch army, *ib.*; surrendered to the Parliamentary Commissioners, and conveyed to Holmby House, 396; his removal to Hinchingbrook, 474*; to the army at Triplon, 396; his dissimulation and wavering conduct, 399, 400; withdraws from Hampton Court to the Isle of Wight, 401; refuses to sign the four bills proposed by the Long Parliament, 401; determination of a council of general officers, to prosecute him as a criminal, *ib.*, and remonstrance of the army to the House of Commons to that end, 403; an ordinance issued for his trial, 404; brought to the bar of the high court of justice, but refuses to plead, sentenced to die, and executed before Whitehall, 405*; attempt of Col. John Cromwell to prevent his death, 406*, 407*.
Charles the Second, crowned at Scone, 413*; assembles a large army, 414*; invades England, 415*; and arrives at Worcester, *ib.*; defeated by Cromwell, and becomes a fugitive, 416*; escapes to France, 417*.
Cheese, Stilton, its origin, 546*.
CHURCHES described; St. Mary's and All Saints, Huntingdon, 352, 353; Godmanchester, 458*, Hartford, 475*; Wyton, 476*; Houghton, Hemmingford, 477*; Hemmingford Grey, 478*; St. Ives, 481*; Holywell, 486*; Bluntisham, 488*; Colne, 494*; Somersham, 498*; Wood Hurst, 501*; Warboys, 502*; Bury, 509; Ramsey, 529*; Denton, 540*; Connington, 544*; Yaxley, 547*; Alconbury, 551*; Leighton Bromeswold, 557*; Kimbolton, 564*; Great Stonghton, 566*; St. Neot's, 568*; Offord Cluny and D'arcy, 572*; Great Paxton, 573*.
Chesterton, descent of the manor, church, 535*; its contiguity to the Roman Durobrivæ, and encampment in Castle Field, 536*; Roman antiquities found near the high road, 538*.
Civil war, brief sketch of its causes, 375-382.
Coat, a cloth one, occasions a fatal plague at Ramsey, 531*.
Colne, site of a palace, 491*; quarrel between Lady Blanch Wake and Bishop Lylde, 492-494*; made a rectory, church described, 494*; monuments, 495*.
Connington, village and seat, formerly site of a castle, descent of the manor, 543, 544*; manor-house, church, *ib.*; monument of the Cottons, 545*.

Cotton family, some account of, 344*.
Cotton Manuscript, some account of, 345 (note).
Cotton, Sir Robert, born at Denton, 540*; arrested, his famous library unjustly seized by the government, 540, 541*; his consequent death, 542*; his epitaph, 545*.
CROMWELL, family of, how descended, and memoirs of, 357-456*.
Cromwell, Richard, Esq. father of the Protector, resides at St. John's, Huntingdon, marries Elizabeth Steward, his family, 364; decease of his wife, and indecent exposure of her remains, 365.
Cromwell, Elizabeth, mother to the Protector, some particulars concerning, 364, 5.
CROMWELL, OLIVER, the Protector, born at St. John's, Huntingdon, 357; register of his birth, *ib.* (and note); account of his immediate ancestors, 357-365; endangered by a monkey, 365 (note); his mischievous pranks, and narrow escape from drowning, 366; bruises Prince Charles, his singular dream, and early ambition, 367, 368; dissipated life whilst at College, and singular character of written in the College Register, 368, 369 (and note); his youthful vices, 369; his repentance and splenetic fancies, 370; becomes a Justice of Huntingdon, 371; his life in a Ballad, 371, 372 (note); sells his estates, and stocks a farm at St. Ives, 372, 373; removes to Ely, obtains the title of *Lord of the Fens*, and prepares to emigrate to America, 373; stopped by the government when on shipboard, and returns to Ely, his discontent, and religious melancholy, 374; chosen a member of the Long Parliament, 376, and by a single vote, *ib.* (note); his slovenly appearance and mode of dress, 377, and subsequent improvement, *ib.* (note); his energy as a speaker, 378; an active promoter of the Remonstrance, 380; appointed a Captain of Horse, his determination and zeal, 383; raises a troop, their superior discipline and success, 383-385 (and notes); his danger in Windsby Field, 385; made Governor of the Isle of Ely, 386; gains the battle of Marston Moor, 387: wounded, made Lieutenant General, accuses the Earl of Manchester, 388-390; cowardice unjustly imputed to him, *ib.* (note); plot to charge him with being an incendiary, 389; his influence with the Independents, 390; defeats the King and Prince Rupert at Naseby, 391, 392 (and notes); his further successes, 393; and great danger at Bristol, *ib.* (note); storms the castle at Devizes, takes Winchester and the Bazing House, and defeats the Lord Hopton, 394; causes Charles I. to be brought from Holmby House to the army, 396; his covert designs, danger of impeachment, and artifices, 397; treats privately with the King, but deserts him through discovering his insincerity, 398-400; his daring intrepidity at Ware, 400; endeavours to intimidate the House of Commons, defeats the Duke of Hamilton, charged with High Treason, 402; his conduct on the charges being made against the King, 404, and supposed influence respecting his execution, 406, 407*; appointed a Member of the council of state, *ib.*, and Lord General of Ireland, 408*; his activity against the rebels in Ireland, takes Tredagh by storm, *ib.*; takes Clonmell, 409*; recalled to fight against the Scots, and made Captain General of all the Parliament forces, *ib.*; marches northward, 410*; much distressed through the wary conduct of Gen. Lesley, 411*; gains the victory at Dunbar, 412*; his previous enthusiasm, *ib.* (note); takes Edinburgh Castle, *ib.*; falls sick, and recovery, 414*; follows the Scots into England, 415*: attacks them at Worcester, *ib.*, and totally defeats them, 416*; his account of the battle, and curious phrase, 417*; marches to London, and splendid reception, 418*; his address respecting the settlement of the nation, 420*; aspires to the throne, *ib.*; his remarkable conversation with Whitelocke, 420-422*;

422*; dissolves the Long Parliament, 423-427*; and Council of State, 427, 428*; issues writs for a new parliament, *ib.*; declared Lord Protector, 429*; concludes a treaty with the Dutch, and establishes the famous Navigation Act, 430*; assembles a new parliament, and dissolves it within five months, *ib.* 431*; endangered by the Cavalier plot and insurrection in the West, 432*; summonses a third Parliament, and excludes ninety-eight of the elected members, 433, 434*; voted to be made King, 435*, but harrassed by new plots, and opposed by the army, declines to accept that title, *ib.*; 438*, (and note); curious report concerning his marriage with the daughter of Charles I. 439*; declared Protector of the Commonwealth, with additional powers, 440,441*; chooses a House of Lords, 441, 442*; admits the excluded members to take their seats, *ib.*, and soon afterwards dissolves the Parliament, 443*; new conspiracies against him, upholds the glory of the English name in foreign states, 444-446*; his firmness, 447*; his illness and death, *ib.*; buried in Henry VII's. Chapel, 449*; his remains exposed, and his head set upon Westminster Hall, *ib.*; his character from the pens of Fox and Welwood, 450,451*; his family, 451-456*.

Cromwell, Henry, born at Huntingdon, 453*; appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland, *ib.*; returns to England, and lives in retirement at Spinney Abbey, 454*.

Cromwell, Richard, born at Huntingdon, 452*; raised to the Protectorship, and resignation of, *ib.*; his debts and exile, 453*.

Cromwell, Bridget, daughter of the Protector, a native of Huntingdon, married to Ireton, 454*; death of, *ib.*

Cromwell, Eliz. daughter of the Protector, born at Huntingdon, 454*; her decease and burial, 455*; her death greatly affects O. Cromwell, 447*.

Cromwell, Frances, daughter to the Protector, some account of, 455*.

Cromwell, Mary, daughter to the Protector, some account of, 455*.

Cromwell, Sir Henry, alias Williams, highly esteemed by Queen Elizabeth, called the Golden Knight from his generosity, 362; death of his lady attributed to witchcraft, 363; his decease, *ib.*

Cromwell, Col. Henry, resides at Bodsay-House, 531*; made a Knight of the Royal Oak, *ib.*; presented to the manor-court for his hogs, *ib.* (note).

Cromwell, Colonel John, his exertions to prevent the execution of Charles I. 406, 407* (note).

Cromwell, Sir Oliver, his splendid mode of living, 460*; entertains James the First at Hinchingbrook, 461, 462*; his loyalty, 463*; visited at Ramsey and plundered by the Protector, *ib.*; his decease, 464*; account of his buildings at Hinchingbrook, 471, 472*; buried at Ramsey, 530*.

Cromwell, Richard, alias Williams, obtains the favour of Henry the Eighth, who grants him many estates in this county, 358, (and note;) his bravery at a Tournament, 359, 560, (and note;) his conduct in France, 361; his death, 362.

Cromwell, Major Williams, dies of the plague at Ramsey, 530*.

D

Denton, an estate of the Cottons, birth place of Sir Robert Cotton, 540*.

Desborough, Colonel, his opposition to Oliver Cromwell's measures to become king, 437, 438*.

Dixie, Sir Wolston, born at Great Catworth, 556*.

Drunken Barnaby, his account of Wansforth Brigs, 538, 539*; some conjectures concerning him, 539, 540*, (note); his account of Stilton, 546*.

DUROBRIVÆ, a Roman Station described, 536*.

DUROLIPONTE, a Roman Station described, 546, 547.

E

Earldom of Huntingdon, some account of, 327-333; Held by the Scottish Princes, *ib.*
Ednoth, Bailiff of Slepe, plagued with boots by St. Ivo, 481*.
Elizabeth, Queen, sleeps at Hinchingbrook, 362.
Elton, a seat, 547*.
ENCAMPMENTS, at Huntingdon, 346; near Erith, 491*; near Chesterton, 536*.
English soldiers, their bravery before Dunkirk in Cromwell's time, 445*.
EPITAPHS; curious one on a Gamester, 482*, (note); on Dr. Knight, 489*; on a Prizefighter, 490*; Rev. Thos. Whiston's, 500*; on Duke Ailwin, 517*; on Sir Robert Cotton, Bart. 545*; on Sir Thomas Cotton, *ib.*: on Sir Peter Phesant, 550*; Henry first Earl of Manchester, 564*; and Sir Lau. Pakenham, 572*.
Erith, a respectable hamlet, 491*; the Bulwalks, an encampment, *ib.*
Ermin Street, an ancient road, its course, 327.
Everton, birth-place of Silvester de Everton, and John Lord Tiptoft, 570*.
Eynesbury, manor and church, 569*; an inhabitant licensed to eat flesh, *ib.*

F

Fenny Stanton, manor and market of, 571*.
Fens, general account of, and mode of management, 335-338.
Fenton, a hamlet, 501*.
Ferling, what, 348 (note).
Ferrars, family of, their descent, 552*; and monuments, 556*; Ferrar, Mr. Nicholas, particulars of his travels and early history, 553*; retires to Little Gidding, and forms a singular establishment there, 554*; which is several times visited by Charles II. 555*; his death, *ib.*
Ferrar, Mr. Nich. Jun. his extraordinary accomplishments, 555, 556*.
Fishbourn, Richard, born at Huntingdon, 356; his charities, 353.
Fire, a dreadful one at St. Ives, 482*; another at Ramsey, 531*.
Fletton, given to Peterborough Abby, 533*.
Fox, Hon. Charles James, his character of Oliver Cromwell, 450*; register of his marriage, 476*.
Fuller, Dr. presumed instance of his plagiarism, 554, 555*.

G

Gains Hall, a seat, 567*.
Giddings the, three villages so called, singular tenure at Great Gidding, 552*; Gidding Parva, made the retreat of the Ferrars, who form a singular establishment here, 553-556*; visited by Charles II. 555*; mansion and church ransacked, *ib.*; memorials in church-yard, *ib.* 557*.
Glatton cum *Holme*, 542*; gives name to the Glatton of fifty guns, 543*.
Godmanchester, Roman coins found here, 456*; the residence of the Danish Chief, Guthrun, *ib.*; singular customs of the manor, 457*; church, grammar school, long famous for its husbandry, 458*; made a borough, eminent native of, 459*.
Great Gransden, a manor of Sir Charles Cæsar's, 571*; his death, *ib.*
Habredes, large pikes so called, 510*.
Hail Weston, Springs here, 567**.
Hampden, the patriot, embarks with Oliver Cromwell and others for America, 373; his remarkable speech respecting Cromwell, 377.
Hardecanute, King, his grant to Ramsey, 477*.
Hartford, church and monuments, 475, 476*.
Hemmingford Abbots, manor, church, and altar piece, 477*.
Hemmingford Grey, manor of granted to Ramsey Abbey by King Hardecanute. 477*; church and monuments, 478*.
Hewit Dr. executed for a conspiracy against Oliver Cromwell, 444*, (and note).
Hinchingbrook, a seat built on the site of a nunnery, 459*; James the First entertained here by Sir Oliver

Oliver Cromwell, 460-462*; sold to the Sandwich family, 464*; some account of the Montagues, 464*-471*; house described, 471, 472*; account of the pictures here, 472-475*; and grounds, *ib.*

Holbeach, Lawrence, a monk of Ramsey, compiles a Hebrew Lexicon, 527*.

Holland, Earl of, made prisoner at St. Ives, 481*; his defeat at St. Neot's, 569*.

Holme, see Glatton, 542*.

Holywell, supposed site of a Roman station, 486*; church and monuments, *ib.*

Houghton church, 477*.

HUNTINGDON, ancient name and situation, the Roman *Duroliponte*, castle rebuilt by Edward the Elder, 345; site of the Roman station described, 346; Castle Hills, derivation of Duroliponte, 337; Portsholm, a fine meadow, 348; races held here, *ib.*; borough of, *ib.*; ravaged by King Charles, *ib.*; again plundered, 349; Austin priory, 349, 350; St. Margaret's Hospital, *ib.*; Leprous Hospital, Friary, 351; anciently fifteen churches here, *ib.*; St. Mary's church described, 352; All Saints, 353, 554; Grammar-school, Walden's charity, Town-hall and Assembly Rooms, 355; charter presented by King John, *ib.*; members of parliament, town described, trade, 356; eminent natives, 356-456*; annual sermon preached here against witchcraft, 363 (and note).

Huntingdon, Earls of, 327-333.

Huntingdon, Henry de, an eminent historian, 356.

Huntingdon, Geoffrey, a learned monk of Ramsey, 526*.

HUNTINGDONSHIRE, its history, general description, topography, and local beauties, 325-572*; ancient inhabitants, 325; history, 325, 326; Roman stations and roads, 327; descent of the Earldom of, 327-333; described, *ib.*; population, government, formerly a forest, 334; fens, and management of fen land, 335-338; meadows, soils, woodlands, sheep, 338-339; cattle, mares, labourers, high roads, cottages, 340, 341; rivers, meres, 342; Land Owners from Domesday Book, charter of Richard the First, 343; summary of population, 344.

Hurricane, an extraordinary one, 490, 491*.

Hurst Old, church and font, 501*.

Hurst Wood, church, 501*; ancient stope, *ib.*

I, J

James, Duke of York, his alarm and danger in battle, 467*; his sarcasm on the Earl of Sandwich, and his conduct, 469* (and note).

JAMES the First, his reception at Godmanchester, 458* (and note); and at Hinchingbrook, 460 462*.

Iceni, ancient inhabitants of this county, 325; their conflicts with the Romans, and final subjugation of, 325, 326.

Johnson, Rev. William, his remarkable deliverance, 503*.

ST. IVES, anciently called Slepe, given to Ramsey Abbey, 479*; remains of St. Ivo found here, and conveyed to Ramsey, 479, 480*; church built and priory, 481*; Earl of Holland taken here, church described, *ib.*; fire, flood, and bridge, 482*; epitaph on a gamester in church-yard, *ib.* (note); wharf, fossils, market, breweries, &c. 483, 484*; Slepe Hall, eminent natives, *ib.*

St. Ives, Roger de, a learned Friar, 484*.

K

Kate's Cabin, a well-known inn, 535*.

KIMBOLTON, its ancient castle, 558*; descent of manor, *ib.*; —564*; castle described, church, monuments, and population, *ib.*; 565*.

King's Delf, or Dyke, its supposed origin, 532*; danger of Canute's sons, *ib.*; the road so called thought to have been made by some Abbot, 533*.

L

Lambert, Major General, his bravery, 415*.

Land Owners in Huntingdonshire from Domesday Book, 348.
Lesley, Lieutenant General, his wary conduct, 411*; forced to fight, and loses the battle of Dunbar, 412, 413*.
Library, a curious one at Ramsey Abbey, 526, 527*.
Lingua, a play, a passage from, singularly applied by Oliver Cromwell, 368.
Lockhart, Sir William, besieges Dunkirk, 444*; defeats the Spaniards, 445*; obliges the French to deliver up Dunkirk, 445-447*.
LONG PARLIAMENT, its members, and early proceedings, 376-378 (and notes); passes the famous *self-denying Ordinance*, 390; contends for mastery with the army, 396; eleven of its members arrested, 398; over-ruled by Cromwell, *ib.*; proposes the four celebrated bills for the King's signature, 401; purged by Colonel Pride and the army, 403; passes an ordinance to try the King, 404; abolishes the house of Peers, and monarchical government, 406, 407*; votes a pension to Cromwell, 419*; its duration becomes obnoxious to the people, *ib.*; and to Cromwell, 422*; curious account of its dissolution by Cromwell, 423-427*.
Longueville, Lord, singular tradition concerning, 535, 536*.
Lylde, Bishop Thomas, his quarrel with Lady Blanch Wake, 492*; much persecuted, and death, 492-494*.
Ludlow, General, his opinion of Cromwell's ambition, 417*; his success in Ireland, 419* (note).
Ludlow, Earl, his seat, 567*.

M

Magnaville, Geoffrey de, Earl of Essex, slain at Ramsey, 524* (and note).
Major Generals, civil, instituted, 433*; and dissolved, *ib.* (note).
Malcolm, King of Scots, some particulars of, 380.
Manumission, an instance of in the Saxon times, 514*.
Marshal, Stephen, head of the Smectyminions, born at Godmanchester, 459*.
Mazarine, Cardinal, his saying of O. Cromwell, 450*.
Meres, various pools so called, 342.
MONTAGUES, Earls of Sandwich, their descent, 454*; anecdote of *Sir Sydney Montague*, 465*; *Edward*, first Earl, raises a regiment for the parliament, 465; supports and forwards the Restoration, 466*; promotions, his bravery in a sea-fight with Admiral Opdam, 467*; his dangerous situation in another engagement in Solebay, 468*; his gallant death, and magnificent funeral, 469*; family and successors, 469, 470*; *Edward*, third Earl, confined in his own house by his Countess, and death, *ib.*; *John*, fourth Earl, his successive promotions, 471*; connection with Miss Ray, *ib.*; and children by her, 475*; *John*, fifth Earl, 471*.
Montagues, Earls and Dukes of Manchester, supposed to be descended from the Earl of Salisbury, 558*; Sir Edw. Montagu threatened by Hen. VIII. 559*; Hen. Montagu created a Baron and Earl, 560*; Edward, the Parliamentary General, *ib.*; his public actions, 561, 562*; Robert and Charles, *ib.*; and other descendants, 563, 564*.
MONUMENTS AND TOMBS, of Geo. Sayer, gent. Mary Elizabeth Montague, Sir Nicholas Pedley, 352; Elizabeth de Cartasonett, 355; of the Fullwoods, 354; Syner Suell, D. D. Rev. Robert Vanburgh, 476*; Dickens' family, John Hildersley, Esq. 477*; Dr. James Johnson, Griffin Lloyd, Esq. Green's family, 478*; Rev. Henry Parrot, Rev. Benjamin Hutchinson, 486*; Dr. Knight, 489*; Adrian Lucas, a prize-fighter, 490*; Anthony Hammond, Esq. 499*; of the Whistons, 500*; John Leman, Esq. and Elizabeth his wife, 502*; Rev. Thomas Whiston, 509*; Elizabeth Tabbot and Mary Armine, 534*; of a Knight Templar, *ib.*; of the Bevills, 536*; Sir Robert Cotton, and Sir Thomas Cotton, 545*;

Sir

Sir Peter Pheasant, 549*; Anthonina Wickham, Thomas and Elizabeth Wolriche, 552*; John Ferrar, Esq. 556*; Henry, Earl of Manchester, and his wives Essex and Anne, 564*; Sir George Wauton, 566*; John Baldwin, Esq. the Deyers, 567*; Sir Humphrey Winche, 570*; the Marshes and Hewitts, *ib.*; at Buckden, 574*.

N

Navigation Act, established by Oliver Cromwell, and his council of officers, 430*.
Nunnery, a Protestant one, 554*.
Nunnery, at Hinchinbrook, 459*.
Needingworth, a large hamlet, eminent native of, 486*.
St. Neots, its origin, 567*; priory, church, 568*; eminent natives, 569*.
Norman Cross, large barracks here, described, 546*.

O

Offord Cluny, church, 572*.
Offord D'Arcy, church, brass of Sir Laurence Pakenham, 572*.
Organ, one at Ramsey, fabricated in the Saxon times, 516*.
Oswald, Bishop, his address, 511*; assists in the foundation of Ramsey Abbey, 512*; dedicates the church there, 514*, and rebuilds the towns, 515, 516*; his death, 517*.
Overton Longueville, a village and seat, descent of manor, church and presumed monument of a Knight Templar, called Lord Longueville, 534, 535*.
Overton Waterville, given to Pembroke Hall, 536*.

P

Paxton Great, church, stone seat, 572*.
Paxton Little, seats here, 573*.
Pedley, a small village, 501*.
Ploughs of Huntingdonshire described, 337 (note.)
Population, general table of, 344.
Portraits, George the Second and Third, and their Queens, Caroline and Charlotte, John, late Earl of Sandwich, 55; Charles VI. John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, Edward Lord Montagu, Edward I. Earl Sandwich, Lord Viscount Hinchinbrook, Archbishop Land, Hon. Captain William Montagu, Commodore Sir Richard Bickerton, 472*; Admiral Richard Edwards, Lord Shuldham, Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, Anne Hyde, Sarah Duchess of Marlborough, George III. Queen Charlotte, Duchess of Cleveland, Charles II. William Duke of Cumberland, Edward first Earl Sandwich, Edward second Earl, Edward third Earl, George II. Queen Hen. Maria, Elizabeth third countess of Sandwich, Madame de Berri, Duchesses of Mazarine and Orleans, Ninon de L'Enclos, 473*; John fourth Earl Sandwich, John Duke of Montagu, Ralph Duke of Montagu, Charles Lord Wilmot, Charles II., Anne Maria Queen of Spain, Elizabeth Viscountess Hinchingbrook, Countess of Northumberland, Lady Anne Harvey, Jemima first Countess of Sandwich, Mallet Viscountess of Silburne, Edward first Earl of Sandwich, 474*; Prince Rupert, General Ireton, Oliver Cromwell, Richard Cromwell, Esq. the Protector's father, and Elizabeth his mother, 475*.
Portsholm, a fine meadow near Huntingdon, 348.
Pratt, S. J. Esq. born at St. Ives, 484*; some account of, and works, 485*.
Priories, at Huntingdon, 349, 350; at St. Ives, 480, 481*; at Stonley near Kimbolton, 565*; at St. Neots, 567, 569*.
Purge, Colonel Pride's, what, 403.

R

Ramsey, site of a famous Benedictine abbey, 509*; origin of its name, and description of Ramsey Isle, *ib.* 510*; foundation of the abbey, and account of the erection of

of the church, 511-514*; various grants to the abbey, 514, 515; tower of the church rebuilt, and the organ fabricated, 516*; its possessions secured, *ib.*; account of the Abbots of Ramsey, with incidental notices, 517-526*; another church built by Canute, 518*; relics of St. Felix brought hither, 519*; Geoffrey de Magnaville killed before the church. 524 (and note); abbey library described, 526, 527*; its abbots seated in parliament, 528*; dissolved, and granted to the Cromwells, *ib.*; its subsequent descent, 528, 529*; remains of abbey described, and church, 529*; sepulchral memorials, schools, 530*; town described, *ib.*; ravaged by a plague, *ib.* and 531*; burnt, *ib.*

Ramsey, William de, born at Ramsey, 531*.

RAMSEY, ABBOTS of, some account of, with historical and other notices; Ædnoth made Bishop of Dorchester, and killed with Wefsi at Ashenden, 517*; Wythman accuses the monks wrongfully, and turns hermit, 518*; Athelstan, his murder, 520*; Alfwin attends the great council at Rheims, 523*; Ailfsi, 524*; Herbert, a celebrated courtier, 524*; Aldwin, Bernard, Reginald, Walter, 524*; William, Robert Trionel, Endo, Robert de Redinges, W. de Lincoln, Richard, Hugh Foliat, Ranulfus, William Acolt, Hugh de Sulgrave, William de Gurmecester, John de Sautre, Simon de Eye, 525*; Robert de Nassington, Richard de Shennington, Edmund de Elyngton, Thomas Boterwike, John Tychemarch, John Crowland, John Stowe, William de Wyttlesey, John de Wardeboys, John Huntingdon, Henry Stewkeley, and John de Wardeboys, alias Lawrence, 526*.

Ray, Miss Martha, her unfortunate death, 471*; and family by the Earl of Sandwich, 475* (note).

Relics, singular ones given to Ramsey abbey, 522*.

Richard Cœur de Lion, his treaty with the Scots, 331.

Ripton Abbots, and *Ripton* Regis, manors of, 550*.

RIVERS described, the Nen, or Nene, and the Ouse, 342.

ROMAN ANTIQUITIES, *Godmanchester*, coins, 456*; *Holywell*, pottery, 486*; near *Somersham*, urns and coins, 501*; near *Chesterton*, coffins, coins, urns, Lachrymatories, &c. 536-538*; *Sautre* Field, urns, 548*.

ROMAN ROADS, *Ermin Street* and *Via Devana*, 327; *Ermin Street*, 536*.

ROMAN STATIONS, at Huntingdon (*Duroliponte*), 327, and 345-347; near Dornford Ferry, (*Durobrivæ*), 327, and 336-338; supposed one at Holywell, 486*.

Ross, Bishop of, his cruel speech, and execution, 409*.

Rupert, Prince, his imprudence at Marston Moor, 386 (and note); loses the battle of Naseby, 391, 392 (and notes); surrenders Bristol, 393.

S

Samwell, family of, accused and executed for witchcraft, 503-508*.

Sawtreys, three villages so called, 547*; Sawtrey Judith, the site of an abbey, Roman urns found in Sautre Field, 548*; eminent natives of, *ib.*

Sea Fights, off Lowestoffe, 467*; in Solebay, 468, 469*.

Seals, when first brought into use, 515*.

Seccombe, Captain, killed at Calabria, 543*.

Segrave, Simon de, his diversified life, 551*.

Shirtloe, a seat, 573*.

Slepe Hall, a seat, curious picture here, 484*.

Slepe, manor of, now St. Ives, 479*; body of St. Ivo found here, 479-480*.

Small pox, natural, instance of its being twice caught by one person, 571*.

Somersham, soke and manor of, 495*; granted to the monks of Ely, *ib.* (and note); site of the palace of the

the Bishops of Ely, 496, 497*; descent of manor, 498*; described, account of church, *ib.*; monuments, brasses, and rich living, 499, 500*; mineral spring, Roman coins found, 501*.
Southoe, a manor, seat of the Lovetotes, 573*.
Springs, mineral, at Somersham, 501*; at Hailweston, 567*.
Stilton, gives name to a peculiar kind of cheese, 546*; account of Cooper Thornhill, *ib.*; description of by Drunken Barnaby, *ib.*
Stuart, House of, how descended, 331, 332 (note).
Stukeley, *Great* and *Little*, ancient owners of, 550*; family named *Stivecle*, 551*; eminent native of, *ib.*
Summons, laconic and singular answer to one, 414*.

T

Temure, singular, at Great Gedding, 552*.
Thornhill, Cooper, a famous rider, 546*; his corn-rick eaten by rats and mice, *ib.*
Titus, Col. Silas, purchases the manor of Ramsey, 528*.
Toseland, manor of, 571*.
Tournament at Westminster, account of an interesting one, 359, 360 (and note).
Turkill, the Dane, parcels out the fens at Whitlesea, 533*.

U, V.

Union of Scotland, decreed by Oliver Cromwell and his council of officers, 430*.
Upwood, a seat of Duke Ailwin's, descent of the manor, 549*; Upwood House and Church, *ib.*
Via Devana, a Roman road, its course, 327.
Virginia Company, basely oppressed by James the First, 462* (note).

W

Wake, Lady Blanch, her disputes with the Bishops of Ely, 491-494*; her palace destroyed, *ib.*
Waltheof, Earl of Huntingdon, beheaded, 328.
Wandsford, or Walmesford Bridge, 538*; described by Drunken Barnaby, 539*.
Warboys described, 502*; church monuments, *ib.*; some particulars of Rev. W. Johnson, once a rector here, 503*.
Warboys, witches of, an ill-fated family so called, 503*: narrative of their pretended witchcraft, 504, 505*; incredulity of Lady Cromwell, 506*; tried for witchcraft, 507*; and executed, 508*.
Welwood, his character of Oliver Cromwell, 450, 451*.
Whitelocke, his remarkable conversation with Oliver Cromwell, 420-422*; sent on an embassy to Sweden, *ib.* (note).
Whittlesea Mere, intended drainage of, 347, 348; danger of Canute's sons when navigating here, 532*; described, agitated by internal winds, frozen over, 533*.
Williams, ancient name of the Cromwells, 337.
William, surnamed the Lion, King of Scotland, made prisoner, and ransomed, 331.
Witches of Warboys, account of, 503*.
Writ, form of Oliver Cromwell's, for calling a Parliament, 428* (note).
Wyton, church, register of Mr. Fox's marriage, 476*.

Y

Yakesley, Abbot, born at Yaxley, 547*.
YAXLEY, its market, and church, 547*.
Yelling, manor of, 571*.

INDEX

TO THAT PART OF KENT CONTAINED IN THE PRESENT VOLUME.

A

ABBEY, at Lesnes, 542.
Ales, church, some particulars of, 584.
Alphage, Archbishop, murder of, 469.
ANECDOTES: of Archbishop Alphage, 468, 469; Capt. Douglas, 595; Q. Elizabeth, 474-477, 510-512; Flamstead, the astronomer, 499; of Gavelkind, 429-433; the Kentishmen, 570; King John, 522; the nuns at Higham, 587; Peter the Great, 458; Mon. de St. Pierre, 498 (note); Andrew Schalch, 530, 531; Walworth, Lord Mayor of London, 560; Wat Tyler, 559, 560.
Arms, singular, belonging to Gravesend, 579 (note).
Arsenal, Royal, at Woolwich, singular occurrences relating to its establishment, 529-532; described, 533.
Aulus Plautius lands in Britain, 413.

B

BARROWS: in Greenwich park, 498; on Blackheath, 512; at Green-street Green, 566.
Belvidere, a seat, 545; pictures at, 546.
Bexley, 553; seat of Camden the antiquary, church, monuments, population, 554, 555.
BLACKHEATH, barrows, Roman remains found here, 512; Wat Tyler and Jack Cade, encamp here, *ib.*; Henry the Sixth, the Bastard Falconbridge, and the Cornish insurgents, encamp here, 513; the scene of various triumphal processions, 513, 514; Henry the Eighth and Anne of Cleves meet here, *ib.*; much contracted of late years; house of the late Sir Gregory Page Turner, 515; villas on, 516-518; famous for gravel, 519; Wat Tyler encamped here, 559.
Blendon Hall, a seat, 556.
Boleyn, Anne, arrested at Greenwich, 474.
Bourne Place, a seat, 555.
Boys, Capt. William, his remarkable deliverance, 487.
Brasses, sepulchral; of John Aylmer and his wives, 550; Richard Bayly, 594; John de Bladigdone, 541; Richard Bower, 502; Sir Reginalde Braybroke, 608; Sir John Broke, 607; Sir Tho. Brooke, Lord Cobham, 609; John Brown, 594; Ellenore de Clive, 590; Tho. Cobham, Esq. 594; Sir John de Cobham, Maude de Cobham, Margaret de Cobham, John de Cobham, Tho. de Cobham, Joan de Cobham, 600-607; Joan de Cobham, 608; Rauf de Cobham, 610; Tho. Elys, 586; Tho. Glover, and his three wives, 611; Sir Nicholas Hawberk, 608; Ed. Hawke, 550; Rob. Hylton, 588; John Lombard, 573; Peter de Lucy, 576; Richard Martyn, 563; William Payn, 541; Dorothy Plumly, 594; Sir Will. Rykeld, knt. 577; John Sedley, 569; Rog. Sencler, 550; William Tannere, 610; Tho. Sparrow, 554; John Sprotte, 610; Tho. Tallys, Henry Traifford, 503; John Tubney, 568; John Urban, 568; Walden Family, 541; Sir Rich. Walden, knt. 549; John Whythe, 503; Emma Wode, 550.
Britain, Great, supposed to have been originally

originally united with the Continent, and why, 405.
Britons, ancient, bravely resist the Romans under Cæsar, 406-412.
Brooke, Lord Cobham, defends Cowling Castle, 592.
Browne, Rev. Moses, author of Piscatory Eclogues, buried at Morden College, 516.

C

Cæsar invades Britain, lands at Rutupiæ, 407; his battles with the Britons, 408; his sudden departure and second descent, 409; forms a strong camp, 410; defeats Cassivelaunus, 411, 412; re-embarks for Gaul, 412.
Cantium, Cant-guar-landd, Caint, Chenth, ancient names of Kent, 406.
Canute invades England, 423.
CASTLES. Cowling, 591; Stone Castle, 571; Swanscombe, 569; Upnor, 594.
Cavern, a singular one, 518.
Caves, ancient ones near Crayford, 552.
Chalk church, singular sculpture over west porch, 584.
Chalk-works at Greenhithe, 574; Northfleet, 576.
Charlton-House described, 523, 524.
Charlton, manor, &c. 521; Hornfair, church, 522; monuments, 522, 523.
Cherries introduced into England by the Romans, 440; Kentish cherry first planted at Teynham, in the reign of Henry VIII. *ib.* (note.)
Chest at Chatham removed to Greenwich, 510.
Chesterfield House, a seat, 517.
Child born without arms, baptized at Greenwich, 505.
CHURCHES described; at Boxley, 554; Chalk, 584; Charlton, 522; Cliff, 589; Cobham, 605; Cowling, 592; Crayford, 551; Darent, 565; Dartford, 562; Deptford, St. Nicholas, 461; Deptford, St. Paul's, 464; East Wickham, 541; Erith, 549; Frindsbury, 596; Gravesend, 581; Greenwich, 502; Higham, 588; Hoo, St. Werburgh, 594; Northfleet, 576; Plumstead, 542; Shorne, 586; Southfleet, 568; St. James's, 593; Stone, 572; Stroud, 610; Swanscombe, 571; Woolwich, 528.
Cliff, supposed to be the place where several Synods were held, church, 589; painted glass, monuments, curious patinæ, 590.
Cobham Church, 605; brasses of the Cobhams, 606-610.
Cobham College, account of, 604, 605.
Cobham Hall, a seat, interesting particulars of the Cobham family, 597-601; described, vestibule, music-rooms, gallery, pictures, park, mausoleum, 602-604.
Cooper, Ould, married at the age of 108, 505.
Cowley, the poet, resided at Deptford, 467.
Cowling, 591; castle described, *ib.*; Sir John Oldcastle, and Sir Geo. Brooke, Lord Cobham, take refuge here, 592; church, *ib.*
Crayford, battle here between Hengist and Vortimer, 550; descent of manor, May Place, church, monuments, population, manufactories, 551, 552.

D

Danson Hill, a seat, 556; described, 557.
Darent, or *Darenth*, church, font, 565.
DARTFORD, 557; descent of the manor, 558, 559; tournament held here, insurrection under Wat Tyler, 560; nunnery, *ib.*
Dartford Place, 561; church, monuments, hermitage, 562, 563; manufactures, population, 564.
Dartford Brent, encampments here, 565.
Dartmouth House, a seat, 517; Roman urns found here, 518.
Deptford, anciently a small fishing village, 456; successive possessors, 456-459; burnt, royal dock, victualling-office, or red-house, 459, 460; private docks, St. Nicholas church, 461; monuments, 462, 463; St. Paul's church, 464; monuments, 464, 465; rectory house, Trinity-

house and hospital, charity school, 465, 466; eminent inhabitants, bridge, 467; population, 468.
Dimchurch-wall, an immense embankment in Romney-marsh, 444.
Dock-yard at Deptford, 459; ships built here, visited by Queen Elizabeth, 460; at Woolwich, 526, 527; ships built here, 527; at Gravesend, 583.
Dock-yards, private, 461.
Douglas, Capt. his brave conduct in opposing the Dutch, 595.
Domesday Book, its brief statements sometimes occasion erroneous assertions, 593.

E

East-combe, a manor, 519.
East Kent, its soils, agriculture, woodlands, 435, 436.
East Wickham, 540; manor house, church, brasses, 541.
Elbow-chair, made of the wood of the vessel in which Sir Francis Drake circumnavigated the globe, 460.
Elizabeth, Queen, description of her person and court by Hentzner, 476; some particulars of, 510-512.
ENCAMPMENTS: on Blackheath, 512; Dartford Brent, 565; Green-street Green, 566; Greenwich, 468; Southfleet, 566; Swanscombe, 569.
EPITAPHS, on Thomas Tallys, a musician, 502; Richard de Lucy, 543; Robert Hylton, 588.
Erith, 546; descent of the manor, 547, 549; church, monuments, brasses, 549, 550.

F

Ferry between Gravesend and London, curious particulars concerning, 579, 580.
Flamsteed, the astronomer, some particulars of, 499.
Flood, great, at Deptford, 459; at Woolwich, 526.
FONTS, *curious*, at Chalk, 584; Darent, 565; Shorne, 586; Southfleet, 569.
Fossils, at Hanging Wood, 524; at Greenhithe, 574 (note); at Shepey, 705.
Foundery for cannon in Upper Moorfields, 529; accident there, 530, 531.
Freeholds of Kent, 447.
Frindsbury-church, 596.

G

Gad's Hill, scene of the exploits of Sir John Falstaff, 596.
GAVEL-KIND, its etymology, 425; its equitableness, 426; why observed in Kent, 427; disgavelling acts, 428; restrictions on, 429; its benefits lost by females guilty of incontinence, 430; benefits of, 431, 432; disgavelling acts not observed, 433.
George the Second, statue of, at Greenwich, 485.
Glass, *painted* or *stained*; at Southfleet, 568; Cliff, 590.
GoldenDevil, ship so called, 527, 528 (note).
Gunning, Peter, Bishop of Ely, some account of, 594.
Graine, Isle of, 592; Nore light, *ib.*; St. James's church, salt-pans, 593.
GRAVESEND, its etymology, 577; descent of the manor, 578; rights of its lords, *ib.* (note); incorporated, ferry to London, 579; singular arms, *ib.* (note); tilt-boats, projected tunnel, 580; town burnt, church, 531; batteries, large whale caught here, town-hall, 582; population, private dock, bathing-house, 583; ancient family of, 584.
Greenhithe, chalk-pits, 574.
Green-street-Green, entrenchments here, 566.
GREENWICH, a principal station of the Danes, 468; Archbishop Alphage killed here, on the spot where the parish church now stands, 469; possessors of the manor, 470; park inclosed, and palace built, 471; Henry the VIIIth born here, makes it his principal residence, 471; tournaments and masquerades held here, and many festivals, 472, 473; Queen Anne Boleyn arrested here, Edward the Sixth born here, 474; Queen Elizabeth keeps her court here, 474-477; James the First resident here, 477; new palace erected by Charles the Second,

Second, 478; origin and description of Greenwich Hospital, 478-497; Greenwich Park, 497; barrows, ranger's lodge, royal observatory, 498-500; community of Minorites founded at Greenwich, 501; church, 502; monuments in the old church, 502, 503; inscriptions in register, 504, 505; hospitals, or alms-houses, 505; Norfolk, college and chapel of, 506; schools, 507; inhabitants, iron wharf, 508; Nelson's remains landed here, his character, 508, 509; natives of Greenwich, Henry the Eighth, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth, 510-512.

GREENWICH HOSPITAL, origin of, 478; reasons for its establishment, 479; proceedings of the commissioners, 480; revenues of, 481-483, Qu. Anne's charter, 483; officers, 484; description of, 484-485; Q. Anne's and King Charles's buildings, 486; King Williams's and Queen Mary's buildings, 487-493; vestibule, great hall, 488; chapel, 489-493; school, 493, 494; pensioners, their allowances, 494, 495; globes at entrance, 495; infirmary, mausoleum, 496; longevity of pensioners, 496, 497.

GREENWICH PARK first inclosed, 471; Queen Elizabeth entertained here by the city of London, 474, 475; ranger's lodge built, 477; One Tree Hill, 497; ranger's lodge described, 498; royal observatory built on the site of an ancient tower, 498; described, 499, 500; Dr. Johnson composed great part of his Irene here, 508.

H

Hall Place, a seat, 555.

Hanging-Wood, Fossils found here, 524.

Hengist and Horsa, Saxon chiefs, land at Ebbs'-Fleet, in Thanet, 414; Hengist assumes the title of King of Kent, 416; his treachery and death, 416, 417.

Henry the Eighth, born at Greenwich, 471; Sketch of his character, 510.

Hermitage, a seat, 588.

Higham nunnery, singular anecdote of the nuns, 587; church, and monuments, 588.

High-Street House, a seat, 555.

Holly-Hedge House, a seat, 518.

Hoo, St. Werburgh, its presumed ancient importance, 593; church, monuments, Peter Gunning, Bishop of Ely, born here, 594.

Hops, much cultivated in Kent, British name of, and mode of cultivation, 437-439.

Horn Fair, at Charlton, 522.

Horseman's Place, a seat, 563.

Hulks at Woolwich, 534.

I

Ingress, a pleasant seat, 574.

K

KENT, general description, history, topography, and local beauties of, 405-556; its superior importance, 405; presumed to have been once joined to the Continent, 405, 406; ancient names of, 406; invaded by the Romans under Cæsar, 406-409; again invaded by Cæsar, 409-412; conquered and included in Britannia Prima, 412-414; subjugated by the Saxons and erected into a kingdom, 414-416; succession and history of the kings of Kent, 416-420; infested by the Danes, 421-423, its boundaries, extent, population, and parliamentary representatives, 423-425; custom of Gavel-kind, and history of Gavel-kind, 425-433; aspect, agricultural divisions, agriculture, soils, woodlands, 433-437; hop grounds, and modes of cultivating hops, 437-439; apples, cherries, filberts, 429-440; agriculture continued, Weald of Kent, Romney Marsh, sheep, cattle, 440-447; manufactures, religious houses, 448; Roman roads, and stations, 448-450; castles, rivers, the Thames, 455; the Medway, 451-453; the greatest Stour, 453; the lesser Stour, 454; the Rother, the Darent, the Cray, the Ravensbourne, 455; the

Lee Bourne, 456; cities, towns, villages, seats, &c. 456 et seq.
Kings of Kent, 416-420.

L

Lambard, the Kentish antiquary, some particulars of, 520.
Lamienby, a seat, 556.
Land Peerage, a singular custom in the Weald of Kent, 443.
Lesnes Abbey, 542, 543; antient monuments, 544; ruins, and farm-house, 545.
LONGEVITY, remarkable instances of, 464, 465, 496, 497, 505, 533 (note).
Lucy, Sir Richard de, some account of, 542, 543; his monument, 544.
Luxborough galley, burnt, great distresses of the crew, 487.

M

Mary, Queen, born at Greenwich, sketch of her character, 510, 511.
Masquerade, account of the first ever celebrated in England, 472, 473.
May Place, a seat, 551.
Maze-Hill, or Maize-Hill, 519.
Montague-Walk, Blackheath, 517.
MONUMENTS AND TOMBS.—Grace, Viscountess of Armagh, 523; Sir Richard Austen, Bart. 554; Dr. Benjamin Barnett, 542; Henry Roger Boyle, 462; Sir Edward Brett, Knight, 544; Sir R. Brown, Knight, 463; Sir John Champeneies, Knight, 554; Sir Henry de Cobham, 586; James Cragge, Esq. 523; Sir James Creed, Knight, 502; William Draper, Esq. 551; John Earl of Egmont, 523; Captain Edward Fenton, &c. Mathew Finch, Gent. Mary Finch, 465; Sir Richard Ford, 554; Margaret Hawtree, 565; Sir Francis Head. Bart. 588; W. Lambard, 505; Sir W. Langhorne, Bart. 523; Sir J. Lethieullier, Knt, 502; J. Lidgbird, Esq. 542; Sir R. de Lucy, 544; Hon. Robert Mansel, 552; Sir J. Lambert Middleton, Bart. 523; Sir Adam Newton, Bart. 522; Henry Earl of Northampton, 506; Sir W. Page, 586; Peter Pett, Es ;
q. 463
Hon. Brigadier General Michael Richards, 522; Sir Robert Robinson, Knight, 502; Sir W. H. Sanderson, Bart. 502; James Sayer, Esq. 464; John Sedley, Esq. 569; G. Shelvocke, Esq. 462; Captain G. Shelvocke, *ib.*; Elizabeth Countess of Shrewsbury, 549, Dame Elizabeth Shovel, 552; Lieutenant General W. Skinner, 502; Dr. Frederick Slayre, 502; Sir John Spilman, 562; John Styleman, Esq. 554; Sir Ralph Weldon, 571; Lieutenant Pierce Welsh, 496; Sir John Willshyre, Knight, 573.
Morden College, Blackheath, founded for decayed Turkey merchants, 515, 516.

N

Nelson, Admiral Lord, his remains landed at Greenwich, 508; his character, 509.
Northfleet, chalk-works, church, stone seats, 576; screen brasses, 577.
NUNNERIES: at Dartford, 560; Higham, 587.

O

Observant Friars, House of, founded at Greenwich, 591.
Oldcastle, Sir John, secures himself in Cowling Castle, 592.
One Tree Hill, views from, 497.

P

Paper, manufacture of, first introduced into England, 562.
Lime trees brought into England, 562.
Patine, a curious one at Cliff, 590.
PICTURES: in the council-room, Greenwich Hospital, 487; the preservation of St. Paul, in Greenwich Chapel, by West, 492; at Woodlands, 519; at Belvidere, 546; at Cobham Hall, 605.
Plumsted, 541; Court Lodge, church, marshes, 542.

Polly Peachum, resides at Westcombe, 521.
Port of London, its limits, 581.
PORTRAITS:—Sir John Coke, 517; Cap. Clements, 487; Lord Visconnt Dorrington, 487; Flamsteed, 489; Sir John Gage, 546; Garrick, 519; George the Second, 586; Sir John Jennings, 487, 664; Sir John and Lady Morden, 516; Robert Osboldston, 487; Philip, seventh Earl of Pembroke, 517; Rembrant, 546: Rubens, 520; John, late Earl of Sandwich, 487; Edward, first Earl of Sandwich, 436; Snyders, 546; Sir James Thornhill, 489; Henry Prince of Wales, 534; Mr. Thomas Weston, 480; William and Mary, 486, 664; Thomas Wilson, L. L. D. 524; John Worley, the first Greenwich pensioner, 487; Van Tromp, 546.

R

Randall, or Roundall, a manor, 585.
RIVERS of *Kent*. The Thames, 451; the Medway, 451-453; the greatest Stour, 453; the lesser Stour, 454; the Rother, the Darent, the Cray, the Ravensbourne, 455; the Lee Bourne, 456.
ROMAN ANTIQUITIES: stations, camps, coins, glass urns, &c. 449, 450; urns and coins at Blackheath, 512 and 518; a sarcophagus, glass urns, skeletons, rings, shoes, pottery, at Southfleet, 567, 568.
ROMAN ROADS: 448-450; course of *Watling Street*, 449; and of the Stone way, 450.
ROMAN STATION: 448-450; at Southfleet *(Vagniacæ)*, 556, 557.
Romney Marsh, its extent, Drayton's description of, soils, chiefly appropriated to the fattening of Sheep and Cattle, 443-447.

S

Sayes Court, Deptford, seat of John Evelyn, Esq. 457; residence of Peter the Great, his singular amusement, 458.
Schalch Andrew, his fortunate sagacity, 530, 531.
Sculpture, singular, at Chalk, 584.
Sheep, mode of breeding in Romney Marsh, 445-447.
Shepey, Isle of, its soils, agriculture, &c. 440, 441.
Shooter's Hill, formerly greatly infested by robbers, 538; Henry the Eighth entertained here by archers, 539; Tower built in commemoration of Sir W. James, Bart. *ib.*
Shorne, 585; church, monuments, font, 586; battery at, 587.
Southfleet, the *Vagniacæ* of the Romans, 566; Roman antiquities found here, 567; church, monuments, stone seat, font, Parsonage house, 568, 569.
Spilman, Sir John, Jeweller to Queen Elizabeth, introduces the manufacture of paper into England, 562.
Stainer, Admiral Sir Richard, his brave actions, 504.
St. Margaret, at Helles, chapel, 566.
Stone, 571; its curious church, Brass of Lumbarde, chapel, 573; marine shells, 573, 574 (note).
Stone Castle, a seat, 571.
STONE SEATS at Bexley, 554; Chalk, 584; Northfleet, 576; Southfleet, 569; Stroud, 611.
Stroud, church, Temple-farm, hospital, 610-612.
Swanscombe, 569; said to be the place where the Kentish Men opposed the Conqueror, 570; manor, church, 571.
Swerdling Downs, supposed to be the scene of Cæsar's first action with the Britons in his second expedition, 410 (note).
Sweyn, the Danish King, ravages Britain, 421, 422.

T

Temple Farm, a manor of the Knights Templars, 612.
Tenure, singular one at Shorne, 585.
Thanet, Isle of, its extent, high state of cultivation, produce, 434, 435.
Tilt Boats, Gravesend, 580.
Tindal, Rev. Nicholas, buried at Greenwich Hospital, 495.

TOURNAMENTS and JUSTS, at Greenwich, 472, 473, 474; at Dartford, 559.
Tunnel, projected one at Gravesend, 580.
Tower on Shooter's Hill, built in commemoration of Sir W. James, Bart. 539.
Trial by battle, ancient and singular, 546, 547 (note).

U, V

Upnor Castle, now used as a powder magazine, 594; Dutch fleet sail up to this fortress, 595.
Vanbrugh's Fields, 519.
Van Ghent sails up the Medway, 595.
Vortigern invites the Saxons into Britain, 414; marries Rowena, 415.
Vortimer, his battles with the Saxons, 416.

W

Wantsume, an ancient channel so called, which separated the Isle of Thanet from the main land, 454.
Wat Tyler, his immunities, 559; and death, 560.
Weald of Kent, a remarkable tract, formerly an immense forest, its aspect, soils, produce, 442, 443.
Welland Marsh, 447.
Westcombe, a manor, 520; residence of William Lambard, the antiquary, and of Polly Peachum, 520, 521.
West Kent, its soils, produce, &c 441, 442.
Whale, a large one caught near Gravesend, 582; and three Whirlpools, *ib.*
Wilmington, the residence of the Rev. S. Denne, a late antiquary, 565.
Wolfe General, buried at Greenwich, 505.
Woodlands, a seat, 519.
WOOLWICH, part of the parish in Essex, 525; manor of, marshes, royal dock, 526; dock-yard described, 527; church and monuments, 528; almshouse, schools, rope-walk, 529; Warren, or Royal Arsenal, and singular circumstances that led to its establishment, 529-532; described, foundery, laboratory, 533; Royal Military Academy, 534; qualifications of cadets, New Military Academy on Woolwich Common, 535; Artillery Barracks, riding-school, military hospitals, veterinary hospital, 536, 537; population, 538.
Wricklesmarsh, an estate of the late Sir Gregory Page Turner, at Blackheath, 515.

7

Additions and Corrections to Vol. VII.

Page 22, line 2 of note, *for* ' loci,' *read* loco.

Page 40, lines 8 and 9, *after* ' de Albany,' *read* or, de Albini.

Page 75, line 26, and page 79, line 32, *for* ' England and France,' *read* France and England; and over the verses in the latter page, insert the date M,DC,XXIII.

Page 81, line 3 of first note, *for* ' 1623,' *read* 1684.

Page 86, line ult. of note, *after* ' Ancient Painting and Sculpture,' *add* On the sides are two small coats of arms of the De la Mares, who bore argent, or a bend azure, three eagles displayed, or; the same as assumed by Abbot Ramryge, with additions.

Page 88, line 16, *for* ' Philosophæ,' *read* Philosophiæ.

Page 89, line 27, *for* ' renders,' *read* render.

Page 96, line ult. *for* ' Reliquæ,' *read* Reliquiæ.

Page 112, line 12, *for* ' John,' *read* James.

Page 327, line 2, *for* ' Godmanchester,' *read* Huntingdon.

Page 425, line 7, *after* ' Queenborough,' *insert*, besides two for each of the Cinque-Port boroughs of Dover, Folkstone, Hythe, and Romney.

Page 487, line 17, *for* ' Luxemburgh,' *read* Luxborough.

END OF THE SEVENTH VOLUME.

Printed by T. Maiden, Sherbourn Lane.

RD JAN 5 1915